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AN

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

IRELAND,

FROM

THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY

INTO THAT COUNTRY,

TO THE YEAR M.DCCC.XXIX.

BY THE REV. M. J. BRENAN, O.S.F.

A New Edition

REVISED, AND WITH NOTES.

COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME.

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PREFACE.

THERE appears little necessity for employing any lengthened preliminary observations, in recommending an ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY of our National Church to the serious attention of an Irish public. It matters not at what period or under what circumstances this Church may be contemplated; let it be viewed through a dispassionate medium, either in its origin or in its progress during the revolution of ages, and it will be found to contain materials of the highest importance to religion, and worthy of being embalmed in the eternal recollection of Irishmen. The ancient Fathers by whom this sacred edifice was raised, have an undoubted claim to the gratitude of posterity. By their apostolic virtues they have won for their country a name which shall ever be cherished, and of which no other nation can boast, that of an *Island of Saints.* By their persevering industry they have caused the Church of Ireland to spread and to strengthen and to bid defiance to the wreck of time; but, above all, they have transmitted it to us, as the depository of that faith, which in itself is the most precious of bequests, and which no ingenuity or power of man has been able to wrest from us.

It is not, however, in the origin so much as in the

triumphant progress of this Church, that its history becomes interesting. Centuries in rapid succession have rolled on; the works of man, after flourishing for a time, decay and disappear, but this supernatural work has continued as fair and as vigorous as ever. The Church of Ireland, it is true, has had seasons of serenity, but it was also doomed to endure the tempest, and has passed through an ordeal of trial and persecution unparalleled in the history of mankind. During those awful periods the priesthood of Ireland, like the primitive martyrs, have been tried in the crucible; numbers of them sealed the faith with their blood, others confirmed it by exile: and while death stalked in the sanctuary, and desolation spread around, they nobly secured the ancient religion of the country, and handed it down unchanged to succeeding generations. Are the heroic sufferings of such apostolic men to be consigned to oblivion? Are their names and their memory to be for ever blotted out from the recollection of an intelligent posterity? To obviate such contingency has been one of the motives which induced the author humbly to present the following concise but comprehensive work to the attention of his fellow-countrymen.

History, however, in order to be instructive, must be employed as a medium for illustrating some interesting truth. Historical facts are, in reality, so many data, and when accompanied with suitable deductions, the work becomes, as it actually should, one of solid and practical information. For this reason, the present analysis of Irish Ecclesiastical History is offered to the public; and among the various important truths that could be deduced therefrom, two principal ones shall be

selected, which may, indeed, with propriety be designated moral theorems. The first is, that public gratuitous education, aided by a priesthood disengaged from the wealth, pleasures, and dignities of this world, is one of the chief ordinary means employed by Providence in the conversion of a nation; and the second is no less interesting and equally true, videlicet, that the superintending power of the Almighty has been visibly displayed in the protection of the Church of Ireland, from the moment of its foundation down to the present hour. The first of these truths shall be illustrated by the events connected with the primitive ages of our National Church; while the whole series of the History shall contribute successfully to establish the second.

It may be proper to observe, that in endeavouring to compress such a variety of matter within so small a compass, the author could not possibly be as descriptive on each subject as he might have otherwise wished; his attention was principally directed to a statement of facts, for the accuracy of which, reference shall be made to the most approved and unquestionable authorities.—Guided by genuine documents, and divested of all prejudice, he has been enabled to complete a faithful record of the ecclesiastical events of his native country; and should it, in any degree, tend to advance the interests of religion, his object is attained.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

As the first impression of BRENAN'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF IRELAND has been many years out of print, some members of the Irish Hierarchy suggested to the Publisher the propriety of issuing a second edition of the same invaluable work enlarged and improved.

It is almost superfluous to remark, that this History has been esteemed by many of our most learned ecclesiastics and laymen—the late John O'Donovan among others—as the best and most comprehensive book of its sort that has yet come from the Irish press. Written in a style calculated to make it popular with the learned as well as unlearned, no one can peruse its pages without acquiring a large and satisfactory amount of information, on all subjects relating to the Church of Ireland, from the earliest introduction of Christianity, down to times not very distant from our own.

Were it necessary to do so, we might dwell at considerable length on the distinctive features of Father Brenan's learned work; but as these have long since been recognised and duly appreciated, we have only to repeat, that no other volume of a similar nature presents such strong recommendations to the support and patronage of studious readers. Nevertheless, in justice to the

author's memory we feel it a duty to state, that in the following pages he has given unquestionable evidence of intimate familiarity with *rarest manuscript sources*, from which he derived so many facts of highest importance, and also with the published writings of Fleming, Wadding, Colgan, Ware, Usher, and other eminent literati, whose works are seldom found outside great public libraries.

The history of the foundation of the religious houses by native chiefs and Anglo-Norman settlers, is accurately chronicled in Brenan's pages, and it is almost unnecessary to say that he has taken special care to tell us all that could be collected regarding their suppression and confiscation. We may also add that he has spared no pains to make us acquainted with the biography and works of those great Irish writers, who, though banned from the land of their birth, devoted all their energies to maintain its ancient and well-deserved reputation for learning and fidelity to the Holy See. Viewed in all its aspects, no work is better calculated to afford reliable information on all the subjects which come within its scope.

The section of this volume in which the author treats of the sanguinary attempt to plant the Reformation in Ireland, throws a strong light on that disastrous period; and nothing can be more faithful than the manner in which he deals with the vicissitudes of the Irish Catholics during the seventeenth century, which, we need hardly observe, teems with episodes of most spirit-stirring nature. The portraits which he gives us of the men who figured prominently in those calamitous periods are depicted with a master's hand, and, indeed, so vividly, that the reader cannot fail to realise a comprehensive notion

of the cold-blooded tyranny of the Tudors, and a just estimate of the duplicity and ingratitude with which the Stuarts behaved to their Irish Catholic subjects.

Some additional notes, few, indeed,—for Father Brenan left little room for such—have been inserted wherever the text seemed to require them; but though few, it is hoped they may help to enhance the value of the whole work.

ECCLESIASTICAL

HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

Character of the ancient Irish previously to the introduction of the Gospel—The Christian faith most probably known amongst them before the preaching of Palladius—Arrival of that Missionary—His departure from Ireland—St Patrick—The place and period of his Birth—Brought as a captive into Ireland—Released from his captivity—Retires to the Monastery of St. Martin of Tours, and afterwards to Lerins—Repairs to Rome—Is elevated to the Episcopacy—Receives his Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction from Pope Celestine—Arrives in Ireland—His Apostolic Labours in Ulster—In Connaught—In Leinster—In Munster—Establishes his See Armagh—Synods of St. Patrick—His writings—His death and funeral obsequies—The wonderful mercy of the Almighty displayed in the conversion of the Irish nation.

THE moral condition of Ireland in the commencement of the fifth century was in many respects perfectly similar to that of the other nations of the Gentile world. The ancient Irish were a brave, warlike, intelligent and a high-minded people; heroism and unbounded hospitality were inseparable traits in their character; and although in the universal wreck which human nature and the human mind had undergone, they became fellow-sufferers with the rest of mankind, yet their idolatry and superstition were less gross and [illegible] in consequence of their apparent proximity to the real notions of the God-head, and to the laws and principles of rational worship. It is certain that there was neither a hierarchy nor a Christian bishop in Ireland antecedent to the period of which we are now treating, although it is highly probable that the natives in many parts of the island were by no means unacquainted with the Christian religion. Tacitus, in his life of Agricola, bestows very high encomiums on the

harbours and commercial advantages of Ireland, and in the days of that writer, a very considerable trade had been kept up between the southern parts of Ireland and the principal maritime towns along the western coast of Gaul. It is, moreover, an historically attested fact, that ever since the landing of the Milesians, a regular commercial intercourse subsisted between Spain and Ireland; and from these circumstances we may, with strong probability, conclude that a knowledge of the Christian religion had been communicated to the Irish, at least in those southern districts which lay immediately opposite Spain and Gaul, and which had been so repeatedly visited by Christian merchants and other adventurers from the continent. For a long period previously to the reign of Nial of the nine hostages, the monarch by whom St. Patrick had been made a captive, the Irish princes were in the habit of making occasional predatory incursions not only on the coasts of Britain, but also on the western shores of the continent, and of carrying away with them vast numbers of the inhabitants, whom they afterwards either sold or retained as menials in their own domestic employment. These captives were generally Christians; and considering the ardent zeal for which the faithful in those primitive times were distinguished, it is very natural to suppose, that many of them were the happy instruments in the hands of Providence for spreading the light of the Gospel over the benighted minds, not only of their associates, but even of their very masters. That Christianity, therefore, existed, at least to a certain extent, in Ireland anterior to the fifth century, rests upon a presumption amounting almost to a certainty; that there were some priests dispersed amongst them who, upon the invitation of the natives, had nobly relinquished their own country for the advancement of the Gospel, might likewise be entertained; but as to a hierarchy, or the establishment of a bishop in Ireland before the year 431, the pages of authentic history are silent, and in such a research we have no other light to guide us but mere hypothesis and unsubstantial conjecture. Some writers have attempted to maintain that Ailbe of Emly, Declan of Ardmore, Ibar of Begerin, and Kieran of Saigar, were bishops in Ireland, and had regular sees prior to the arrival of St. Patrick; but when we come to the period in which these eminent men flourished, which was at the close of the fifth and during the progress of the sixth century, the misstatements of these biographers will be clearly and satisfactorily developed.

Palladius is the first Christian bishop whom the genuine

annals of the Irish Church have upon record. He landed in the year 431.* At that time the Pelagian heresy was making dreadful ravages all over the greater part of the western world, and the heresiarch himself being a native of Britain, the infection, it appears, spread from the Continent, and was gradually gaining ground among the faithful in that country.

Having in this place alluded to the land which gave birth to the heresiarch Pelagius, we shall now take the liberty of proceeding a little farther, and of instituting a brief inquiry into the opinions of some who seem anxious to make the Irish nation a present of this learned but unfortunate dogmatizer.† According to these writers, Pelagius was not a Briton—he was a native of Ireland. The only ancient authority,—infact, the only real authority on which this opinion is made to rest, appears to be a quotation or two taken from the prologue which St. Jerome has prefixed to his Commentaries on the Prophet Jeremiah.‡ The testimony of such an ancient and exalted witness, would, it is true, be an invaluable acquisition to the cause which these writers have undertaken

* Annals of Innisfallen, ad A. 431 ; Prosper, Chron. A. 431.

† Among these writers we are reluctantly compelled to notice our learned countryman, Thomas Moore. The fervent love which that distinguished Irishman is known to have cherished for the ancient character of his native country, had, it would appear, been the predominant cause which led him into this literary transgression. He has been, moreover, mistaken in stating that Pelagius was a monk of Bangor, near Carrickfergus, although this st[illegible] is somewhat modified by the terms, "little doubt." The Monastery of Bangor, near Carrickfergus, was not founded until the year 559, while Pelagius commenced his heresy A. D. 405. How could a man be said to have lived in a place which did not exist?—See Mr. Moore's History of Ireland, vol. i. pp. 206, 208.

‡ We shall give the quotations at large from St. Jerome ; it will be found that in these extracts the name of Pelagius is not even mentioned. The prologue to the first book has these words :—"Nec intelligit nimia stertens vecordia leges commentariorum in quibus multæ diversorum proferuntur opiniones vel tacitis vel expressis auctorum nominibus, ut lectoris arbitrium sit quid potissimum eligere debeat, decernere ; quamquam et in primo ejusdem operis libro præfatus sim, me nec propria vel aliena dicturum ; et ipsos commentarios tam veterum Scriptorum esse, quam nostros. Quod non videns *præcursor ejus Grunnius* olim nisus est carpere ; cui duobus [illegible] sua profert, et alio jam calumniante purgata [illegible] : ut [illegible] niarum volumina, in quibus docet virginitatem [illegible] esse præfatam. Nec recondatur stolidissimus [illegible] nos in ipso dixisse opere," &c.

The second quotation from St. Jerome, taken from his prologue to [illegible] book of his Commentaries on the same prophet, runs thus :—"Hic tacet, alios criminatur ; mittit in universum orbem epistolas fulminas ; prius auriferas, nunc maledicas.—Ipseque mutus latrat per Alpinum canem grandem et corpulentum, et qui calcibus magis possit sævire quam dentibus. *Habet cum præcipuum Scotica gentis*, de Britannorum vicinia, qui juxta fabulas sectarum percutiendus est clavo, ut eterno cum suo magistro Plutone silentio conticescat." S. Hieron. l. 3. Com. &c.

to maintain, provided the language which that father has thought proper to employ, had been clear and unequivocal, and that there could be no doubt that Pelagius was the person to whom he had in reality alluded; this, however is not the case. The name of Pelagius, or of any of his disciples, is never mentioned in any part of this quotation taken from St. Jerome; and indeed a fair and impartial reader, will, by examining the passage, discern at once the mist—the impenetrable obscurity by which it is encompassed. Hence it is, that Garnier, Vossius, and some few others, were of opinion, that St. Jerome alluded to Pelagius; while on the contrary, Ussher, and a host of others, insists that Celestius (who was most probably an Irishman) had been the individual against whom that father in such severe but just terms levels his attack. It is therefore most evident, that the two passages quoted from the work of St. Jerome are anything but clear and decisive, and that consequently his testimony on this subject only leaves the question still wrapt up in conjecture and uncertainty. Against this uncertainty and conjecture, let us now proceed to give a clear, explicit, and an unquestionable authority. Without recurring to those numerous writers who have been appealed to by Ussher, we shall content ourselves with the testimony of one very ancient and learned father of the Church; a man who flourished in the days of Pelagius, and who from the very circumstance of the place in which he lived, must have been well acquainted with the difference between a Briton and a Scot or Irishman: we allude to St. Prosper of Aquitain. That ancient writer, in his *Chronicle*, a work written for the express purpose of recording memorable events and notable characters, has these words:—"At this time (415,) *Pelagius, a Briton*, aided by Celestius and Julianus, advanced the doctrine which goes under the sanction of his name, against the grace of Christ, and drew many persons into his error," &c.* Surely there is nothing obscure in this testimony of our ancient chronographer, St. Prosper, and as has been already remarked, no writer of that age had a better opportunity of being correctly acquainted with the subject on which

* The testimony of St. Prosper in his Chronicon, ad. A. 413, is expressed in these words:—"Hac tempestate *Pelagius Brito*, dogma nominis sui contra gratiam Christi, Cœlestio et Juliano adjuvatoribus exeruit, multosque in suum traxit errorem; prædicans unumquemque ad justitiam voluntate propria regi, tantumque accipere gratiæ quantum meruit: quia Adæ peccatum ipsum solum læsit, nec posteros ejus obstrinxerit; Unde et volentibus possibile sit omni carere peccato; omnesque parvulos tam insontes nasci, quam primus homo ante prevaricationem fuit; nec ideo baptizandos, ut peccato exuantur, sed ut Sacramento adoptionis honorentur."—Chronicon. ad A. 413.

he treats. To this may be added a second evidence, proceeding from the pen of the same venerable author. In his poem entitled "De Ingratis," writing of Pelagius, he again distinctly styles him "Britannus," a native of Britain.* We, therefore, with good reason maintain that Pelagius was not an Irishman, but that, on the contrary, he was a native of Britain; and we maintain, moreover, and glory in the fact, that Ireland never yet produced an heresiarch—never gave birth to the father of a heresy or a schism.

To stem the progress of these pernicious doctrines of Pelagius, the holy bishops St. German of Auxerre, Lupus of Troyes, and others, were despatched by Pope Celestine to Britain. St. German was invested with legatine powers, and had directions for securing the ecclesiastical concerns of that people on a firm and permanent basis. During the course of their mission, the state of the Irish Christians, it may be reasonably supposed, came under the observation of these zealous functionaries; they became acquainted with the spiritual destitution under which the Christian part of the community was suffering; they saw the moral darkness in which an ancient and a high-spirited people were enveloped, and accordingly, on their return to Rome, they failed not to submit to his holiness an exact statement of what they had learned respecting Ireland. This it was which most probably induced Pope Celestine to appoint a bishop who should preside over the Irish people, and take upon him the superintendence of their ecclesiastical affairs.

Palladius, an archdeacon of the Roman Church, and by birth a Briton, was the person selected for that important mission; and having been consecrated bishop, he set out for Ireland, accompanied by four priests, Sylvester, Solonius, Augustin, and Benedict. He landed early in the year 431 in the district of Fohartha,† comprising the present barony of

* "Dogma quod antiqui satiatum fele draconis
Pestifero vomuit coluber sermone *Britannus*."

To these, if necessary, might be superadded, the authority of numberless ancient and modern ecclesiastical writers, all of whom maintain that Pelagius had been a native of Britain.

† According to Marian Gorman the territory called the Fohartha was likewise known by the name of Hy-Garchon; it comprehended seven districts, and comprised a considerable part of Leinster.—See also Colgan, AA. SS. p. 143. The site on which the town of Wexford has been built, was in the southern part of the Fohartha.—Archdall.

Forth, and not far from the site on which the town of Wexford now stands. The adjacent territory went at that period under the denomination of Hy-Garchon, of which Nathi, the son of Garchon, a powerful and a wicked man, was the ruling prince. The short duration of this mission of Palladius, which continued but one year, leaves very little room for the notice of any interesting events. He certainly made a considerable number of converts in the territory of Hy-Garchon, which stretched along the coast from the barony of Forth to the north of the county of Wexford, comprehending likewise a great portion of the now county of Wicklow. It is also certain, that he erected three churches, which were daily attended by the new converts, and in which the holy mysteries were celebrated; one was called Domnach-Arda, another Teach-na-Roman, or the House of the Romans, and the third Cell-fine, in which he deposited the sacred books and some relics of SS. Peter and Paul, and of other saints, together with his writing tablets; all of which were preserved in this church, and held in great veneration for years after the departure of Palladius.* At length the pagan priests of this district, alarmed at the success of the missionaries, and encouraged by their friends and followers, commenced a dreadful persecution against the Christians, and represented to Nathi that his territories were in imminent danger, unless Palladius and his companions were instantly expelled the country. Nathi, whose superstition still surpassed his cruelty, obliged Palladius to quit Ireland; Sylvester and Solonius, however, remained in the country, and to their care he committed the small congregations he had formed. Palladius sailed from Ireland towards the end of the year 431. Having been tossed about by storms, he arrived, at length, in Britain, and died not long after at a place called Fordun, in the district of Mearns, in Scotland.† Thus terminated the mission of Palladius. His labours in arresting the progress of Pelagianism both on the Continent and among his own countrymen in Britain, were truly great, and merit the encomiums of ancient writers; but in the sublime work of Ireland's conversion, he appears to have laboured under many and considerable disadvantages. The conversion of a nation—the erection of the cross of Christ upon the altar of the Druid—the establishment of a hierarchy in

* These churches were all in the territory now called the county of Wicklow. Teach-na-Roman (Teachromhan) is placed near the harbour of Wicklow; and from Domnach arda, the village of Donard, in the interior of the county, is said to have derived its name.—Archdall, Monast. Hib.

† Fiech's Scholiast.

Ireland, that was to outlive the long and illustrious line of her monarchs, rolling on like the sun in the heavens, amidst the darkness and tempests of the moral element, and acquiring a new brilliancy in its progress, despite of the power of man and the wreck of ages—this great supernatural work was reserved for another instrument, and under the protection of the God of heaven, it was splendidly accomplished by the unwearied labours, preaching, and miracles of the blessed and ever-revered Patrick, the glorious patron and illustrious Apostle of Ireland.

The missionary career of this great Saint, being, as it were, the basis on which the whole weight of our ecclesiastical superstructure rests, it may not be improper to enter into an explicit and circumstantial detail of his life; noticing in particular those leading and prominent transactions by which the reign of the Gospel had been established and his labours ultimately crowned with success.

There exists a great diversity of opinion among our ancient as well as modern historians relative to the place of his birth. Some assert that he had been born in Pembrokeshire, in Wales. Others maintain that he was a Scotchman, while numerous writers of great reputed authority hold, that he received his birth in Armoric Gaul, and in that part of it which is now called Boulogne-sur-Mer.* The first assertion, that he was a Welshman, is chimerical and absurd; the second, that he was from Scotland, is a futile hypothesis, unsupported by any genuine historical record, or even by what may be termed the fragments of sound, rational tradition; and the third and best opinion is, that he was born in Armoric Gaul, and near that part of it which is known by the name of Boulogne-sur-Mer. This last opinion stands supported by the "Confessions," a work written by St. Patrick himself, and is further confirmed by the testimony of Fiech, and other contemporary authorities. "My father," says the Saint, "was Calpornius, a deacon, son of Potitus, a priest, of the town *Bonavem Taberniæ;* he had near the town a small villa Enon, where I became a captive."† Now that Bonavem Taberniæ, or Tarabanna, which denote the same place, (*Seu Bonavem‡ in regione Tarabannæ*) is the Boulogne-sur-Mer, now a sea-port town in Picardy, no man versed in ancient geography will deny. Taberna or Tarabanna itself was an ancient city within a few miles

* O'Sullivan, Patriciana Decas, p. 4. † Confess sub. init.

‡ So called from its being situated at the mouth of a river; Bon, *mouth*, Auen, *a river*, in the Celtic language.—Dict. Celt.

of the present Boulogne, the ruins of which are still remaining under the modern name of Terouanne. Gregory of Tours calls the inhabitants Tarabannenses. In fact, Boulogne and Tabernia were formerly one episcopal see;* and what flings the question beyond the bounds of controversy is, that there is no place either in Wales or Scotland corresponding with the quotation which has been already given from the "Confession" of St. Patrick.† There is, however, one portion of the original document of St. Patrick which deserves particular notice:—"My father," he says, "was Calpornius, a deacon, son of Potitus, a priest." Now from his father being a deacon, and the son of a priest, it is very natural to suppose, that Christianity was generally diffused, and well understood in the country where his parents lived. But this undoubtedly could not be said of Scotland, which in the fifth century lay still immersed in all the darkness of long-proscribed polytheism. The more consistent opinion, therefore, is, that St. Patrick was a native of Armoric Gaul, and was born near the place where Boulogne-sur-Mer at present stands. The year of his nativity (though also a disputed question among our antiquarians,) must be set down at 387.‡ About that period, Nial of the nine hostages, who was an enterprizing and predatory monarch, had made several incursions into Gaul, sometimes to gratify his ambition, and very often in compliance with the prevailing custom of the times. On one of these occasions he brought into captivity a great number of the inhabitants, among whom was Patrick, and who was then in the sixteenth year of his age. On his arrival in Ireland, Patrick was sold as a slave to Milcho, an opulent man, residing in that part of Dalaradia which is now comprised within the county of Antrim.§ It seems that Patrick when a boy had been very negligent in the great duties of religion; but the austerities which he was obliged to undergo in his servitude, soon brought him to a knowledge of himself, and to an ardent desire of serving and pleasing his God. We find him, therefore, while tending the flocks of his master, consecrating his hours of solitude to prayer, and estranging himself from the intercourse of man, in order that he might commune more intimately with his

* Jonas in Vit. Eustasii.

† Lanigan, in his Ecclesiastical History, enters into a very critical and learned dissertation on this point, in which the attention and study of the curious would be amply gratified.

‡ Tillemont, Mem. S. Patr. t. 16; see Lanigan, c. 4.

§ Confess. p. 6.

It is stated that he was wont to repeat a hundred prayers by day, and the same number with additional devotions during the silence of the night. It grieved him to see his master (who, it appears, had been a rigid man), and the whole population of the country buried in the gloom of paganism, ignorant of the God that made them, ignorant of the great works that surrounded them, and ignorant of themselves. After having continued six years in captivity,* he tells us that one night he heard, while asleep, a voice announcing to him "Patrick, thou fastest well, and soon shalt thou go to thine own country: behold a ship is ready for thee." Patrick obeying the summons left Milcho's residence, although it is likely he never at the time considered the grand design which Providence had in view, and for which he was ultimately destined. "And I came," says the Saint, "in the power of the Lord, who directed my course towards a good end, and I was under no apprehension until I arrived where the ship was. It was then clearing out, and I called for a passage. But the master of the vessel got angry and said to me—Do not attempt to come with us. On hearing this I retired, for the purpose of going to the cabin where I had been received as a guest, and on my way thither I began to pray, but before I had finished my prayer, I heard one of the men crying out with a loud voice after me—Come quickly, for they are calling you; and immediately I returned: and they said to me—Come, we receive thee on faith; be our friend just as it may be agreeable to you. We then set sail, and after three days reached land."† The two Breviaries of Rheims, together with Fiech's hymn and the Scholiast tell us, that the men with whom our Saint embarked were merchants from Gaul, and that they landed in a place called Treguier in Brittany, some distance from the town in which he had been born.

The year in which he reached his native place may be stated at 410. It was at this time that St. Patrick, now in his twenty-second year, had formed the resolution of embracing the ecclesiastical state. For this purpose he retired to the celebrated monastery or college of his relative St. Martin of Tours, which for discipline and literature obtained at the time a high rank in the Christian world. In this retreat of piety and learning he continued four years, advancing in the knowledge not only of speculative truths, but moreover in the daily and constant practice of those important and sublime virtues recommended by the Gospel. Having thus

* Probus, l. i. c. 3. † Confess. p. 7.

retired for a season to visit his parents, Providence so disposed that he was made a captive a second time.* This second captivity of St. Patrick was of short continuance; and immediately after his liberation, he was favoured with another vision, in which the grand event for which he had been destined was fully unfolded to him. His own words are: "I saw in a nocturnal vision, a man coming as if from Ireland, whose name was *Victoricius*, with innumerable letters, one of which he handed to me; on reading the beginning of it, I found it contained these words—'*The voice of the Irish.*' And while reading, I thought I heard at the same moment the voice of persons from near the wood *Foclut*,† which is near the western sea. And they cried out, as if with one voice: '*We entreat thee, holy youth, to come and walk still amongst us.*' And I was greatly affected in my heart, and could read no longer: then I awoke."‡ Soon after this, and at the age of thirty, he put himself under the direction of St. German of Auxerre. There had been at that time several religious and learned establishments in the island of Lerins.§ To this island, the reputation of which stands high in antiquity, Patrick was directed by his friend St. German, and continuing in it for a period of nine years,‖ he derived that knowlege of sacred literature and of spiritual discipline, which afterwards enabled him to proceed as an apostle and to triumph over the darkness in which a great and a magnanimous people had been for ages involved. When St. Patrick retired from Lerins, he might have been in the thirty-ninth year of his age. He remained for a short time with his director, St. German, after which he returned to Boulogne, for the purpose of visiting his parents and friends. It was at this time that St. German and St. Lupus of Troyes were deputed by Pope Celestine to visit Britain, and endeavour to stem the progress of the Pelagian heresy in that country. They travelled through Boulogne, and as the Scholiast tell us, invited St. Patrick to accompany them. It was likewise at the termination of this mission that Palladius was consecrated. It must be observed, that St. Patrick had, at this period, been directed to proceed to Rome, in company with Segetius, a priest, having been furnished at the same time with letters of

* Probus, l. i. c. 14.

† In Tirawley, county of Mayo; the ancient Tir Amalgaid—Scholiast

‡ Conf. p. 9.

§ Now called St. Honorat, situated between the coasts of Italy and France — Bollandists, Com. ad V. S. P.

‖ Third Life, c. 22.

recommendation from St. German. He met with a most favourable reception from Celestine, who then sat in the chair of St. Peter, and was readily chosen to accompany and assist Palladius on his intended mission to Ireland.* This mission, as has been already noticed, was but of short continuance. Upon the death of Palladius, Patrick received the regular missionary powers from the sole divinely-established source of spiritual jurisdiction on earth, the head of the Church† at that time also Pope Celestine. He left Rome early in the year 432, and was consecrated by the Venerable Amator,‡ a prelate of great sanctity, then residing in the neighbourhood of Eboria.§ The statement of Jocelin and other writers, respecting the number of his companions, rests on no good authority; it is, however, certain that *Auxilius* and *Iserninus*,‖ two priests of great zeal and piety, were selected to accompany him, and had some years after been promoted to the episcopacy by our Saint himself.

In the year 432, St. Patrick landed in Ireland; Celestine was then dead, and was succeeded by Sixtus the Third. It is generally supposed that the harbour in which the Saint landed was situated in the present county of Wicklow; by some writers it is called Inbher-de, that is, the mouth of the river *De*, at present the river Leitrim.¶ On his landing, he met with immediate opposition from the inhabitants; a circumstance which can be well accounted for, in consequence of its proximity to the territory of the Hy-Garchon, from which Palladius had been already so lately repulsed. Patrick having been well acquainted with the localities of the country, did not, it is probable, determine on Wicklow as his favourite landing-place. Accordingly, on the resistance of the people, he set out to sea, and directing his course towards the North, the scene of his former bondage, arrived with his companions at a port in a district now called the barony of Lecale, in the county of Down. Having advanced some distance into the country, they met with a body of men who were in the service of Dicho, the lord and proprietor of that territory.

* Erric, de Vita S. Germ; Fourth Life.

† That St. Patrick derived his mission from the See of [illegible] Appendix I. p. 2.

‡ Probus, l. i. c. 25; Second, third, and fourth lives.

§ A town situated in the north-west of Gaul, and most probably the same as Evreux in Normandy.

‖ They are said to have received holy orders on the same day that St. Patrick was consecrated.—Second Life, c. 26.

¶ See Colgan's commentary on the *portus Erolenorum* of Probus.—Second Life, c. 25; Third Life, c. 28; Jocelin, cap. 29.

These men at first supposed them to be robbers, and having acquainted their master, Dicho came out with a body of his armed servants for the purpose of exterminating them. The Almighty however touched his heart, and Patrick was invited into his house. Here the Saint had an opportunity of unfolding the great truths of the Gospel; Dicho became a Christian, and was baptized,* and thus was he the first convert whom St. Patrick had made to the religion of Christ in Ireland. Soon after his conversion, Dicho erected a church on his estate, known by the denomination of *Saball Padruic* or *Patrick's Barn*, and all his family and dependants became Christians. The road was now open for the Gospel, and every encouragement afforded to our holy Apostle. Accordingly, the Saint, after remaining a short time at the house of Dicho, set out by land to visit his former master Milcho, in the county of Antrim. This man was, it appears, a most obstinate pagan, and Patrick foreseeing that his labours would, at least for the present, be ineffectual, directed his course through the whole north-west of the county of Down and the adjacent districts, gaining multitudes of converts in his progress, and laying the proud superstition of the Druids prostrate at the foot of the cross. Among these converts were Russ, the son of Trichem, and a youth named Mochoe, whom he afterwards educated for the ecclesiastical state, and who in 496 governed as bishop a church at Antrim.

The festival of Easter was now approaching, and St. Patrick was determined to hold its celebration near Tarah, where the monarch and princes of the kingdom were at that time assembled in convocation.† St. Peter planted the cross of Christ in the imperial city of Rome, and St. Patrick, another apostle, resolved to proclaim the mysteries of the same cross at the seat of government, and before the united assembly of the Irish nation.

The present county of Meath, together with the greater part of Westmeath, was, in the fifth century, the residence of kings, princes, and warriors. In the year of the Christian era 79, Tuathal, the reigning monarch of Ireland, after successive victories over the Albanians, and over domestic enemies, summoned a general convocation of his princes and nobility at Tarah. In this national assembly, Tuathal took a tract of land from each of the four provinces, and in each portion a magnificent palace was erected. These four tracts formed the county of Meath; now divided into Meath and

* Probus, l. i. c. 28. † Trias Thaumatur. p. 20.

Westmeath. In the portion taken from Munster, he built the royal seat of Flachtga. In the tract selected from the province of Connaught, a second palace was erected, in which the general convocation of the kingdom was held, usually called Usneach. The third royal seat was Tailten, in a territory originally belonging to Ulster. But the palace of Tarah itself was reserved for the monarch, and at stated times the provincial kings, with their warriors, antiquarians, poets, and druids, were bound to assemble there, and institute such laws as the moral and political state of the country might seem to require.*

St. Patrick and his companions pursuing their journey from Colp, the mouth of the Boyne, to the plain of Breg, in which the city of Tarah was situated, went to the house of a man named Sechnen, by whom they were hospitably entertained. The result of this visit was the conversion of Sechnen and his family, among whom we must notice his son Benignus† who accompanied the Saint to Tarah, and became afterwards his favourite disciple and his successor in the See of Armagh. On Easter eve the Saint and his companions arrived within view of the hill of Tarah. Here he pitched his tent and lit the paschal fire, a ceremony in those primitive times prevalent among Christians, and observed in memory of the resurrection of Christ. Leogaire was then monarch of Ireland; he was the son of Nial of the nine hostages, and agreeably to the usage of his predecessors, kept his court in the palace of Tarah. It happened that the king and his princes were at this very time celebrating an annual festival;‡ and in compliance with the rites of the druidical worship, that eve was observed with superior religious solemnity. The ancient Irish, as we have observed, worshipped the sun; that luminary was considered by them as their principal and supreme deity; hence fire-worship was the leading dogma in the system of Irish druidism. By a standing law, all the fires of the country were on that eve to be extinguished, and no person was allowed, under pain of death, to kindle a fire, until the sacred one should be first lighted by the druids on the hill of Tarah—a ceremony which was to serve as a signal for the rest of Ireland.§ Patrick, however, lit his paschal fire, and when it was from the heights of Tarah, Leogaire with his princes and chieftains was astonished and alarmed. He inquired, who it might be, who dared to stand up in opposition to the law and

* Keating, v. 2. † Third Life, c. 36. ‡ Probus, l. i. c. 35.
§ Second Life, c. 34; Probus, l. i. c. 35.

to the religion of the country; and being informed by the druids that it had been done by the new Christian teachers, and if not extinguished would bring destruction on his realms, the monarch, accompanied by his officers, came down from Tarah and advanced to the place where the Saint and his companions were. The king and his followers having rested at a certain distance from the paschal fire, messengers were despatched to convey the Saint into the royal presence, and orders were given that no respect should be paid him. However, on St. Patrick presenting himself before them, Here, the son of Digo, notwithstanding the command of the king, rose up and saluted him, and receiving his benediction, became a convert. Some years after he was consecrated bishop of Slane, and was noted for zeal, learning and sanctity.* The conference, which on this occasion took place between St. Patrick and Leogaire, is so interwoven with unattested and incredible anecdote, that it might perhaps be as well passed over, in order to come to the following day, Easter Sunday, when our Saint made his first and solemn entrance into the palace of Tarah. On the morning commemorative of the resurrection of Christ, we find, for the first time, the Gospel and the mysteries of the Redeemer publicly proclaimed on the hill of Tarah. In the presence of the monarch, and his princes, chieftains and druids, the cross of Christ was raised, and its truths demonstrated and established. "You worship the sun," said St. Patrick, "and you adore that light; it is however but a mere creature. That sun which we see, rises daily for our use by the command of the Almighty; but its splendour shall not always endure: the day will come when its light will be extinguished, and all those who worship it shall miserably perish. But we adore the true Sun,† Christ the Lord and Ruler of all things." On this occasion, Dubtach, the most eminent of the poets, arose and greeting St. Patrick, became a Christian. His example was followed by numbers, and among them may be ranked Fingar, the son of king Clito, who afterwards suffered martyrdom in Brittany.‡ The bias of education and strengthened habits is stagg[illegible]
St. Patrick announced his doctrine with such convic[illegible] and force that neither prince nor priest was able to resist him, yet Leogaire, the monarch, was not converted. That he became a Christian, has been asserted by some writers; but there appears no sufficient authority for this statement. At all events, the

* Probus, l. i, c. 37. † Conf. c. 22. ‡ Colgan, Acta Sanctorum, Feb. 23.

Saint received permission from the king to preach the Gospel, on condition that the peace of the kingdom should not be disturbed.

On the following day, St. Patrick repaired to Tailten, where the public games were celebrated, and which national amusements were generally honoured by the presence of the whole court of Tarah. Here, likewise, he multiplied the number of his converts; Conall, a brother of the king, heard his doctrine, believed, and was baptized.* St. Patrick after having continued during Easter week in the territory of Tarah, went forth on his mission through other parts of the county of Meath. Having erected a church at Drumconrath, in the now barony of Slane, and also at Drumshallon near Drogheda, he directed his course to Delvin, and thence to the celebrated hill of Usneach, reducing, as we are informed, the whole mass of the people in subjection to the cross of Christ. Pursuing his route through Longford, he proceeds towards the North, for the purpose of destroying the idol *Crom-cruach*,† standing in a plain near Fenagh, in the county of Leitrim. By his prayers, the idol was laid prostrate, and on the spot a celebrated church was erected, over which he placed Mauran, surnamed Bardan.

The next scene of his mission was the province of Connaught. It would be a difficult and an endless task to accompany our Apostle, step by step, through every distinct quarter where his zeal and the advancement of the Gospel had conveyed him. The history of the churches which he erected, and the list of holy and learned men whom he converted in Connaught alone, would supply abundant materials for the admirer of sacred and biographical subjects.

Having crossed the Shannon near Drumsnare, he converted the two daughters of the monarch Leogaire, Ethnea and Fethlimia, together with the druids Mael and Caplat, under whose tutelage these ladies had been placed. The history of their conversion having opened a way to many important events, and being moreover universally acknowledged by our ancient writers, may very justly demand a place in this analysis. When St. Patrick had advanced some distance into Connaught, he stopped with his fellow-missioners at a fountain near the royal residence Cruachan, now Croghan, at Kilglass. At the break of day, the Saint and his companions began to chaunt the matins, and the princesses coming at the same hour to bathe in the fountain, were struck with the singular appearance of

* Fourth Life, c. 52.

† Tripartite, l. ii. c. 31. "Heap of the sun"—Cruach, a *heap*, and Crom an ancient name for the God of fire.

persons clothed in white garments, with books in their hands, and singing aloud the praises of the Most High. "Who are ye," said they; "belong ye to the air, to the heavens, or to the earth?" St Patrick accordingly explained to them the nature and attributes of the only one true God; and they asked him, "where does your God dwell; is it in the sun, or on the earth, on mountains, in vallies, in the sea or in rivers; is he rich, is he young or old, has he sons and daughters, and are they handsome?" The Apostle, with feelings of pity for the ignorance and simplicity of these noble females, and knowing well that the hand of Providence had guided them imperceptibly to the spot, took an opportunity of unfolding at large the whole grand system of revelation,—the fall of man, and his ultimate redemption by the sufferings and atonement of Christ. Pleased and delighted with his discourse, they wished to know how they could be acceptable to him who at the moment was invisibly moving their hearts. The Saint gave the required instruction; they believed, were baptized in the fountain, and afterwards consecrating their virginity to God, died holy virgins, immaculate spouses of Christ.*

From this place, St. Patrick proceeded towards the territory of Hua-Nolella, now the county of Sligo, and left there his disciple Cethenus. From thence he advanced to Oran in Roscommon, where he assigned situations for a number of Gallic priests, who on hearing of the success of St. Patrick, fled for refuge to Ireland, and spent the remainder of their days in monastic retirement. We find him next at Mag-Scola near Elphin, where he held a synod, and among the persons present are named Felartus and Sacellus of Baslisk, in Roscommon. Passing Lough Gara in Sligo, and the territory of Airteach, where he established churches, he next proceeds to the now barony of Costello, in the county of Mayo, and after bringing over the whole population of that district to the faith, he ordained priests to preside over them, among whom may be mentioned Loarn of Costello, Conan of Curragh and Senachus of Aghagower. His next mission was to the extensive district of Firowley. The king of this martial territory was just deceased, and left behind him seven sons, whose match in the field of battle it were difficult to find. It happened that on the arrival of St. Patrick a solemn festival had been celebrating. The Saint advanced in the midst of the people, raised the cross of Christ, and preached its mysteries. The seven princes were converted,

* Tripartite, I. ii. c. 44.

and, as all our annalists inform us, twelve thousand inhabitants.* The extraordinary progress which St. Patrick had now made in the work of the Gospel, brought down on him the hostility and persecution of the whole druidical priesthood of the country. The Saint assures us that at this period his life was in danger; but Enda, one of those converted princes, and his son Conal, protected him, and were the happy instruments in saving him whom Providence, in its unsearchable decrees, had destined for the further execution of its own grand designs.† Our Apostle next crossed the Moy, and entered the territory of Tireragh in Sligo, where he baptized seven brothers, one of whom, Mac-erca, he selected for the priesthood; when duly qualified and ordained, he placed him over the church of Kilroe, situated within a mile of Killala. He next directed his course towards the south-west of the province, and by his preaching and wonderful signs, the cause of truth prevails and the Gospel continues triumphant. The number of churches which St. Patrick erected during the seven years of his apostolic labours in the province of Connaught, is variously stated by our antiquarians. Some go as far as one thousand; but although this cannot be easily credited, yet one thing is certain, that the province of Connaught was no longer a land of idolatry: its brave and ancient people believed in the Gospel; and to this day that same belief continues, notwithstanding the grinding, unmerciful persecutions which the same noble and hospitable province has for centuries been destined to endure.

It has been already observed that St. Patrick's mission in the north of Ireland was but of short continuance. In the year 442 we find him preaching the Gospel in Tirconnell, county of Donegal, and after having converted Owen, a dynast of that country, the Apostle proceeded through the great district of the Dalrieda. Traversing along by Gaura,‡ Imclair, and the now county of Tyrone, he advances into the ancient Dalaradia.§ In this powerful territory, multitudes embraced the faith, and both churches and religious communities were established. In short, the extraordinary conversions he had made, the obstacles which he overthrew, the ease with which that overthrow was effected, and the effectual grand issue of his mission up to this period, presented to the

* Tripartite, l. 2, c. 77; Ussher, p. 865.

† Probus, l. 2, c. 23. ‡ South of Lough Neagh.

§ The Dalrieda comprehended the north-west and south of the county of Antrim. The Dalaradia comprised the east of the same county, together with the county of Down.—Harris, Antiq. p. 48.

Saint a demonstrative conviction, that he alone was the person destined by Heaven for the moral liberation of the country, for the salvation of a people, whose conversion was prompt and sincere, and in whose virtues might be recognized all the lustre and glory of the apostolic times.

St. Patrick had not as yet proceeded to the great and powerful province of Munster, which at that time comprehended the noble territories of Thomond to the north and of Desmond to the south. However, before he embarked on this mission, he visited Slane and other favourite quarters in Meath, for which, of course, he had a predilection, and where, it is said, he established a number of religious houses. On his departure he left his disciple Secundinus, who by this time had been ordained bishop, in care of the church of Dunshaghlin, with powers also over the new congregations in Meath, and over a great portion of the north.* Proceeding on his journey to Munster, our Saint deemed it necessary to visit several districts of Leinster, and even those parts of it where Christianity had been established by Palladius. He baptized the princes Illand and Alind, in a fountain near Naas,† and so extraordinary was the zeal of the people, that it is said many of the leading men in that neighbourhood offered their services, and thought it an honour to be employed in the erection of churches. Having passed through Hy-Garchon, he entered the territory of Magh-liffe, the present county of Kildare, in which he placed his companions Auxilius, bishop at Killossy, near Naas, and Iserninus, bishop at Kilcullen.‡ Directing his course from thence through Leix, now part of the Queen's county, where multitudes embraced the faith, St. Patrick next proceeds to visit his friend Dubtach the poet, who lived in that part of the territory of Hy-Kinsellagh now called the county of Carlow. The Saint, already acquainted with the wisdom and religious sentiments of Dubtach, begged of him to mention a person, who, he thought, might be calculated for the ecclesiastical state. On this occasion he presented his pupil Fiech, of the illustrious house of Hy-Bairrche, in Leinster; St. Patrick finding him duly qualified, gave him the clerical tonsure, and took him under his special care and protection. He was the first native of Leinster who had been raised to the episcopacy: his see was in Slетty§ in the Queen's county and on the borders of the county of Carlow. Fiech was a regular member of the bardic order, a poet by profession, esteemed as a learned man

* Tripartite, l. 3, c. 98.
† Ussher, Ind. Chron.
‡ Colgan, Trip. l. 3, c. 18.
§ Scholiast. Tripartite, l. 3, c. 21.

even before he had embraced Christianity, and during his episcopacy was consulted by numbers, as an oracle of truth and of heavenly wisdom. From Hy-Kinsellagh St. Patrick advanced into Ossory, where he erected many churches and converted a vast multitude of the inhabitants. Having now (A.D. 445) reached the borders of Munster, our Saint proceeds to Cashel, the royal seat of the kings of that province. On his approaching the city, the celebrated Aengus, then king of Munster, a young prince of great piety and knowledge, came forth to meet him.* He invited St. Patrick into his palace; and on the following day both Aengus and the nobility of his court became Christians. A circumstance occurred at the baptism of this prince, which gave rise to the well-known anecdote of the king's foot having been pierced by the staff of St. Patrick. The Tripartite states, that after the baptism, and at the Saint's giving the blessing, the sharp point of the crozier pierced through his foot.† The king considering it a part of the ceremony, patiently submitted to the pain for a considerable time, upon which St. Patrick pronounced a becoming eulogium on the monarch, and foretold the great progress which the Gospel would make under the fostering protection of this pious prince.

It is highly probable that a knowledge of the Christian religion had, before this period, gained some ground in the eastern and southern parts of Munster. However, the famous territory of Thomond, and the whole western coast, lay still buried in all the darkness of paganism. The name of the celebrated tribe of the Dalgais will continue for ever illustriously recorded; but notwithstanding their martial heroism and their many moral virtues, this ancient and spirited people knew neither the cause whence they proceeded, nor the important and noble end for which they had been destined. St. Patrick now preaches amongst them, and it is said that the whole sept almost instantaneously became Christians: at all events, one fact is certain, that the Gospel had made a rapid progress in their territory, and that when once converted to Christ, this powerful tribe became as remarkable for their attachment to the faith, as they had ever been for their well-known fidelity to their prince, their proverbial love for the land of their birth, and their matchless heroism in the field of battle. After having erected and consecrated churches in this great district, we next find our Apostle preaching the faith of Christ along the extensive territory of Thomond. When he entered the district

* Scholiast. Trip. l. 3, c. 29. † Jocelin, c. 74; Tripartite, l. 3, c. 30.

of Ormond, Lonan, its chieftain, hospitably entertained him, and embracing Christianity, became an instrument for the immediate conversion of that renowned territory.* Vast multitudes crossed the Shannon, from north Munster (Clare), anxious to see St. Patrick, and hear the words of truth from his own lips; this countless multitude are said to have been baptized in the field of Tir-glais (the green field). All the neighbouring princes and persons of influence in the country, came to hear his doctrine and witness his power; and on his departure, having, according to the Tripartite, ascended Mount Fintine, near Donaghmore, and casting his eyes over the rich and beautiful country of Thomond, he blessed it, and foretold the birth of the celebrated Senan of Inniscatry.† Afterwards the Saint directed his course to the district of Luachra, near the borders of Kerry, where he prophesied that "St. Brendan of the race of Hua-Alta, the great patriarch of monks, and the star of the western world, would be born, and that his birth would take place several years after his own death."‡ He next traversed the region of Desmond (Cork), and the country of the Desii (Waterford),§ establishing the cross of Christ, and bringing the great mass of the people under its subjection. The mission of St. Patrick in Munster continued for seven years. It would be difficult to form an estimate of the number of converts which he had made, or even of the churches and religious establishments which he founded. The annals of Ireland are crowded with facts setting forth the heroism, the hospitality, and natural intelligence of this fine people; while the bravery which they exhibited in the field of battle, and the generosity which they practised in their own homes, and the mental fire, the intelligence and vivacity for which they had been distinguished, were altogether but so many mediums for the more easy conversion and persevering stability of this ancient, renowned, and proverbially spirited people.

St. Patrick departed from Munster in the year 452, and passing through Brosna, in the King's county, where he erected several churches, pursued his mission until he arrived at Lecale, the place in which he made his first convert, and which was ever after his favourite retreat. Having now spent twenty years in his arduous and extraordinary mission, through the [illegible] and deserts of the kingdom, spreading around the light of Christianity, and by his preaching and stupendous miracles putting a period to the long dismal reign of superstition, St. Patrick determines on erecting a metropolitan see. For

* Third Life, c. 61.
† Tripartite, l. 3, c. 46.
‡ Id. c. 47.
§ Id. c. 49.

this purpose he proceeds (according to the directions of a vision) to the territory of Macha, where stood the royal city of Emania, then the residence of the kings of Ulster. Here he was kindly received by Daire, an opulent man, who gave him a grant of a convenient spot of ground on an eminence, called *Druim-sailech* (the hill of sallows), and upon this site the Saint erected his cathedral.* This high ground is that on which the city of Ard-Macha,† or Armagh, now stands; and here the ecclesiastical metropolis of Ireland was established, A.D. 455.‡ Suitable edifices were annexed to it for the accommodation of the clergy, and adjacent to it were several religious retreats, in which numbers of both sexes, forsaking the world, made a sacrifice of all to the great Author of their existence. The remaining years of our Saint's life were spent at his see in Armagh, and occasionally at his favourite retreat of Sabhul or Saul. The wonderful power of the Most High was now visibly displayed through the instrumentality of this great Apostle; consecrated churches, monastic foundations, and houses of education covered the whole face of the country; the infant congregations were organized, and placed under the government of holy prelates and learned pastors, all subject to the metropolitan see of Armagh; in short, a regular hierarchy—a perfectly national church was established, while the zeal and sanctity of the people elicited the admiration of distant nations, and the country which they inhabited was universally known by the splendid appellation of a holy land and an *island of saints*. At this period (456) St. Patrick held two synods, in which many disciplinary and salutary laws relating to morals and church government were instituted.§ The first of these synods is entitled, exclusively, the synod of St. Patrick; the second bears the title of the synod of bishops, that is, of Patrick, Auxilius, and Iserninus—"Synodus Episcoporum, id est, Patritii, Auxilii, et Isernini." It is evident, from the canons of the former, that some of them had been introduced at a period much later than the fifth century, and had, it is probable, been arranged at some national councils held in another country. The canons of the latter are, with a few exceptions, universally received as authentic, and were undoubtedly passed in the synod to which we have already alluded.‖

Of the writings of St. Patrick which remain, the only genuine ones are his letter to Coroticus, a British prince,

* Probus, l. 3, c. 7. † The hill of the territory called Macha.
‡ Colgan, Ind. Chron. AA. SS.; Ware Bishops.
§ Jocelin, c. 168; Spelman, Con. t. 1, p. 52.
‖ Tillemont, Mem. tom. xvi. p. 786; Wilkins, Con. t. 1. p. 2

and the celebrated work entitled his *Confession.** The cruelty exercised by Coroticus towards the Irish converts, numbers of whom he put to death or sold as slaves, forms the subject of the above-mentioned letter: for these crimes, the Saint pronounces him publicly excommunicated. The *Confession* was written by St. Patrick when he felt his dissolution approaching. His object in writing it was, to point out the extraordinary manner in which the Almighty had assisted him, from the commencement of his mission until its grand and successful termination. At length the great design having been accomplished, for which a merciful and an all-ruling Providence had destined this wonderful Saint, the moment is approaching when he is to be summoned to meet his Lord, and receive the reward of his labours. St. Patrick himself had a foreknowledge of this event; and wishing to breathe his last, and leave his mortal remains in the ecclesiastical metropolis of Ireland, he departed from Saul, in which place he then resided. It is related that on his way he was stopped by an angel, and ordered to return; accordingly he did return to Saul, and having been attended by Tassach, bishop of Rathcolphtha, near Down, and receiving from him the holy viaticum, his happy soul retired from this world to enjoy the glory of his Saviour, on Wednesday the 17th of March, in the 78th year of his age, and in the year of our Lord 465.† Some writers have endeavoured to maintain that the number of his years amounted to one hundred and twenty, and from this and other principles draw a line of comparison between St. Patrick and Moses; it is, however, quite clear, that their calculations cannot stand the test of chronological criticism; and upon a full and fair inquiry, it will be found that the order of time already stated, is that which alone corresponds with the whole series of events, and with the testimony of the best and most approved antiquarians. Equally groundless is the assertion of those who pretend that St. Patrick was a Canon Regular of St. Augustine. There was no such order at that time in the Christian Church; nor was it known in Ireland until the days of St. Malachy, in the twelfth century.‡

* Probus, l. 2, c. 35, Fiech, s. 27. † Annals of Innisfallen.

‡ The appellation of *Canon* was originally given to all such clergymen as had their names placed on the canon or roll of a church. It was, in lapse of time, appropriated to those who lived in community; and inasmuch as they were bound to observe certain canons or rules relative to their institution, they were generally called *Canons Regular*.—Bingham, b. 1, c. 5; Fleury, Inst. part i.

In the eleventh century some communities of clergymen adopted certain regulations, which had been drawn up by St. Augustine, for a nunnery over

The news of the Saint's death having been spread throughout all Ireland, the prelates and clergy flocked in multitudes from the most remote quarters of the country, and the funeral obsequies were celebrated with unusual pomp. As the bishops and priests arrived at Saul, each clergyman proceeded, according to his dignity, to offer up the divine mysteries in commemoration of their Apostle, and hence the funeral service was kept up for several days. Besides the celebration of the Masses and other duties of the day, the Psalmody, the chaunting of hymns, and the divine office, were continued during the night; and the profusion of torches and lights was so great, that (to use the words of an ancient writer) the darkness was expelled, and the whole night seemed to be one day.* In the simple and ancient language of Fiech's Hymn, it is compared to the long day caused by the standing of the sun for Joshua against Gabaon. The inhabitants of Armagh and the Ulidians (the people of Down) were severally and naturally anxious to have his remains deposited amongst them; it was, however, so arranged that his body was interred in Down, and a great part of his relics was conveyed to Armagh.†

The wisdom, the power, and the providence of an all-ruling God were manifested in the general establishment of Christianity; and the same wisdom, the same power and providence were displayed in the conversion of the Irish people, and in the establishment of their national Church. For ages revolving after ages they were buried, like the rest of mankind, in one long and dismal night of mental darkness; but at the presence of the cross of Christ, the clouds and shadows disappeared. Eighteen centuries have since rolled on, during which time this brave and faithful people have passed through an ordeal of trials and persecutions unparalleled in the history of mankind. Every effort has been made to seduce or force them from the old venerable path marked out by their forefathers; but the same light—the same identical faith continues to shine in the midst of them, while the puny and contemptible opposition of man has contributed only to mark her career with still greater glory, with renewed vigour, and with additional brilliancy.

which his sister had presided. These rules, after undergoing some alterations, were adapted to communities of men, and the persons who observed them, were known by the name of "*Canons Regular of St. Augustine.*" These canons bound themselves by vows, yet had the privilege of forming diocesan chapters, and were employed in the cure of souls. During the twelfth and following centuries they became very numerous in Ireland.—See Gilbert, Corpus Jur. Can. tit. xiii. reg. 3; see also chap. xii. and xiii.

* Fiech's Hymn, stroph. 29. † Third Life, c. 88; Tr. Th. p. 262.

As everything connected with the memory of St. Patrick must possess great interest for Irish Catholics, we have deemed it right to make a brief note of the authenticated relics of our Apostle which still exist. Let us premise, however, that the Book of the Scriptures of the New Testament, transcribed by St. Patrick himself, and long preserved in his Metropolitan Church of Armagh, has perished. Fortunately, however, the beautiful copy of that sacred volume, known as the *Canoin Phadraig*, or "the Scripture of Patrick," made in 807, *i.e.* three centuries after St. Patrick's decease, has survived all the accidents of time, and is now deposited in the the Library of T. C. Dublin As one of the pecularities of this venerable volume, we may state that, instead of terminating with the Apocalypse, it closes with the Acts of the Apostles; neither should we omit mentioning that in one of its folios occurs an entry, in the handwriting of the confessor of king Brian Boru, who, visiting Armagh in 1004, ratified all the privileges of the Primatial See, after presenting a gold ring of twenty ounces as an offering at the grand altar of the cathedral.

The following is the translation of the entry, for which we are indebted to the Rev. Doctor Reeves, one of the most eminent of our Irish archæologists:—"St. Patrick, when going to Heaven, ordained that the entire produce of his labour, as well as of baptism, and decisions, as of alms, was to be delivered to the apostolic city, which in the Scotic tongue is called Ardmacha. Thus I have found it stated in the records of the Scots. This is my writing, namely, *Calvus Perennis* (Mulsoohan), in the presence of Brian, sovereign of the Scots; and what I have written he decreed for all the kings of *Macaria* (Cashel)." King Brian, we need hardly say, was killed at Clontarf in 1014, and his confessor's death is recorded by the Four Masters in 1031 thus—"Mulsoohan, confessor (or 'soul-friend') of Brian, son of Cennedy, departed this life." For a detailed history of the vicissitudes of this most venerable volume, we remit our readers to "the Memoir of the Book of Armagh," by the learned Dr. Reeves.

Returning to the relics of our Apostle, which are still preserved and held in highest veneration, we will mention first the shrine of St. Patrick's arm, now in possession of the Most Rev. Dr. Denvir, bishop of Down and Connor. This reliquary, made of massive silver, represents the hand and arm of a bishop in the act of blessing, and measures over a foot three and a-half inches in length. Within it is contained, as has been believed for ages, the arm and hand of the saint, which were enshrined in the twelfth century by order of Cardinal Vivian, when he caused the bodies of SS. Patrick, Brigid, and Columbkill to be translated into the interior of Down cathedral. It would appear that this reliquary was carried off by Edward Bruce when he invaded the north of Ireland, and that it was given after his defeat at Dundalk, in 1318, to the head of the house of Magennis of Castlewellan, in the possession of whose successors it remained till late in the last century, when it passed into the Russell family and from them to the family of the McHenrys, from whom it was obtained for the present bishop of Down and Connor.

Another reliquary, enshrining the maxillary bone of St. Patrick, has been long and religiously preserved by a family named Cullen, residing in the parish of Derriaghy, county Antrim. The shrine is of silver and of comparatively modern date, and the bone is in a perfect state, though having only one double tooth; it formerly had five, three of which were taken away by members of the family when going to America, and the fourth was deposited under the altar-stone of the Catholic church of Derriaghy by the parish priest, when the said church was re-built in 1797. The staff or crozier of St. Patrick, or "baculus Jesu," we need hardly say, was impiously destroyed by Brown the apostate archbishop of Dublin, who, in the reign of Henry VIII, burnt it, after having first stripped it of all the precious stones with which it was richly ornamented.

Far more fortunate was another sacred object intimately associated with our Apostle—namely, his Bell, which, owing to the jealous care of its hereditary keepers, has escaped all the accidents of time, and the barbarous fanaticism which dealt so ruthlessly with everything venerated by our Catholic forefathers. Like the "Book of Armagh," St. Patrick's Bell was entrusted to the charge

of custodians, who, in consideration of their high office, during the ages of faith, had allotted to them many townlands for their maintenance, together with many special immunities. The office of "keeper," whether of Bell or Book, was hereditary in one family, and was transmitted from father to son. Thus, the Mulhollands were, from time immemorial, keepers of the Bell of St. Patrick, and the last representative of that family, when dying, bequeathed it to a gentleman of Belfast, from whom it has passed into the possession of the reverend and learned Dr. Todd, S.F.T.C.D. Of the authenticity and identity of this valuable relic there cannot be the faintest doubt, established, as both have been, by the clearest historical evidence. The case in which the Bell is enshrined is of the most elaborate workmanship, and bears an inscription begging a prayer for "Donnal O'Lachlin," by whom it (the shrine) was made, early in the eleventh century. Distinct reference to St. Patrick's Bell is made in Primate Prene's "Registrum," about the year 1441, when the venerable relic was consigned to the exclusive custody of the Mulhollands, from the last of whose posterity it passed, as we have already stated, into the hands of its present distinguished keeper.

CHAPTER II.

Successors of St. Patrick—Episcopal Sees—Religious Foundations of the Fifth Century.

THE attention of the reader having been hitherto almost exclusively directed to the important labours of the Apostle himself, our next object must be to examine, with the same care and impartiality, all the other portions of this ancient and venerable superstructure. On the demise of St. Patrick, BENIGNUS, his constant missionary companion and favourite disciple, was, by the unanimous voice of the prelates, priests, and people, appointed his successor,* and accordingly (A.D. 465) he entered on the duties of his office, as Archbishop of Armagh and Metropolitan of Ireland.† While St. Patrick was employed in Connaught, the missionary labours of Benignus in several parts of that province are frequently mentioned and honourably extolled. However, it was in the district of west Munster, or Kerry, and in some portions of the now county of Clare not visited by our Apostle, that Benignus gave splendid proofs of his zeal for religion, and of his anxious desire for the conversion of his countrymen.

* It may not be amiss to notice a most important mistake into which Colgan and others have unaccountably fallen, by introducing a *Patritius* styled *senior*, as successor of the Apostle, and immediately preceding Benignus. The fact is, this Patritius senior, or, as the Tripartite has it, Sen-Patrick, is no other than St. Patrick himself, to whom, in his old age, the appellation *senex—senior* had been applied by some of our annalists.—See Lanigan, chap. vii. p. 324; Jocelin, c. 116.

† Tr. Th. p. 293.

St. Patrick entrusted him with the mission of those remote places, although he had been at the time only a priest; and so great were his services, and such the veneration in which he was held, that the people of that country always considered him a second apostle.* He is said to have had two learned disciples, Buadmel and Carellus, the latter of whom, according to the Tripartite, was bishop of Tamnach, in the county of Sligo. The incumbency of Benignus was very short, being but three years and some months; our annals supply us with very few facts connected with his episcopal government. He is represented throughout as a very holy man, and before his death had the happiness of witnessing the triumph of religion in many retired and uncultivated parts of Ireland. Like his master, he foresaw his end approaching, and having sent for Jarlath, from whom he received the body of the Lord, his blessed soul shortly after retired to eternal rest, A.D. 468.†

Jarlath was his successor, and continued to preside over the archdiocese for a period of fourteen years. This prelate was descended of an illustrious family, and was born in a place called Rath-trena, in the present county of Down.‡ His father, whose name was Trena, had, it appears, been an uncle of Dicho, St. Patrick's first convert. He was a man of considerable power in that territory; and from him it seems to have derived the above appellation. During the incumbency of Jarlath, the truths of the Gospel were making still rapid advances over Ireland. His virtues, and the influence which he possessed among the neighbouring dynasts of the country, had served to open a way for the missionaries, and enabled them to preach in various districts, which had not been hitherto favoured with the light of Christianity. Nevertheless, we have no sufficient authority for stating that Alild-Molt, the then reigning monarch of Ireland, and successor of Leogaire, had followed the example of his subjects, and embraced the Christian faith. Had such an event taken place, the relation of it would not have been omitted by the several hagiologists, who have, in such copious abundance handed down to us the acts of St. Patrick, and all the memorable conversions that had been effected in those times. The contrary opinion, however, has been maintained by some, while all agree that Murtagh, who reigned during the incumbency of Jarlath's successor, was, without doubt, a Christian, and employed his authority in placing the interests of religion

* Vita S. Benigni, c. 6; Tr. Th. p. 203. † Ibid, c. 18. ‡ Ibid, l. 3, c. 57.
§ O'Connor, Dissert. 1. sec. 15.

on a secure and permanent basis. Jarlath, adopting the great example of his predecessor, was particularly attentive to the cause of education, and laboured incessantly in advancing the welfare of the rising literary establishment at Armagh. He supplied it with teachers, and gave high encouragement to its scholars, many of whom, when duly qualified, he advanced to the sacred ministry, and afterwards employed on the arduous duties of the mission. Having governed the see for about fourteen years, Jarlath died, abounding in merit, on the eleventh of February, A.D. 482,* and was succeeded by CORMAC, the son of Enda, and nephew of Leogaire.† Enda, as we have already noticed, was converted by St. Patrick; on which occasion Cormac, who was then a young man of prepossessing manners and considerable acquirements, was placed by his father under the peculiar care and instruction of St. Patrick himself. Having afterwards distinguished himself by his learning as well as by his sanctity, he was universally and most deservedly looked up to as a proper person to fill the metropolitan see, and become a successor of his master St. Patrick. Leogaire, the monarch of Ireland, had, some years before this, been cut off in battle.‡ He was an obstinate and a wicked man, and although at times he seemed inclined to change his heart and embrace the Gospel, yet it appears he lived and died a pagan. Alild-Molt, as already stated, succeeded him, but it is probable had not been a Christian. Lugaid, the son of Leogaire, was the reigning monarch in the time of Cormac. This prince followed the example of his father, and if possible surpassed him in wickedness and hardness of heart. His end was still more awful than that of his parent; he was struck dead by lightning, as a just judgment from Heaven for his obstinacy in paganism and his opposition to the Christian religion. However, the succeeding monarch, Murtagh, became a Christian, and by his excellent and exemplary reign made ample reparation for the crimes and excesses of his predecessors.§ Cormac died A.D. 497, and was succeeded in the see of Armagh by DUBTACH, a native of the district of Dervin, in the county of Louth.‖ The few scattered fragments that remain, merely to remind us of the wreck which our ancient history sustained during the awful periods of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, give us to understand, that the primate Dubtach made the life and actions of our holy Apostle his favourite and constant model,

* AA. SS. at 11th Feb.
† Ware, Bishops.
‡ O'Flaherty, Ogygia, c. 93.
§ AA. SS. p. 677.
‖ Ware, Bishops.

during the sixteen years of his administration in the see of Armagh. He took care that a suitable number of churches should be erected in those remote quarters on the northern and western coast, which until his time had not been actually converted to Christianity. He caused many of the churches hitherto erected to be enlarged and beautified. By his means, an ample supply of active and holy men was in constant readiness, and these missioners were, by their learning, zeal and sanctity, prepared on all occasions to go forth and teach the truths of the Christian Gospel, to the remaining portion of their brave but benighted countrymen. Above all, he took especial charge of the education and morals of the people, and accordingly devoted a great portion of his time to the establishment and superintendence of schools, particularly to the celebrated seminary of Armagh. As the incumbency of Dubtach commenced at the close of the fifth century and included a portion of the sixth, the regular order of time requires that we should, at least in a brief manner, turn our attention to the other episcopal establishments, which even now in their infant, yet well regulated, condition, were springing up numerous and triumphant throughout the land.

Agreeably to a canon of the Council of Sardica, bishops were not to be consecrated unless there was a necessity for them; and even then they were to be placed in respectable cities. This decree was, however, evidently dispensed with, in the peculiar case of the Irish Church at this period, as appears from the very establishment of the see of Armagh, which at that time was little more than a solitary uninhabited wood. St. Patrick was guided in this respect according to the exigency of time, place, and other circumstances. When a district had been converted to Christianity, and a church erected therein, a bishop was then consecrated, and placed in that part where the Christian population was most numerous. His business was to establish the faith in the hearts of the people, to erect churches, ordain priests, and superintend the ecclesiastical affairs of the district. Hence it is that we find prelates residing in some places, without any mention having been made of their immediate successors, such as Auxilius at Killossy, near Naas, and Iserninus at Kilcullen. Many of these presided over districts which, after the death of the incumbent became annexed to other sees, as Tassach of Rathcolphtha, near Down, and others; and some, as Cethecus, without having any fixed see, were employed by the Apostle in preaching the Gospel throughout those remote quarters, where the faith had not as yet been fully established. According to the Tripartite, St.

Patrick consecrated three hundred and seventy bishops; Jocelin reduces the number to three hundred and fifty, while Nennius and others, adapting their computation to the number of days in the year, swell up their list to three hundred and sixty-five. But these statements, besides being incredible, cannot, for the want of sufficient authority, be admitted as genuine. Most undoubtedly, a great number of prelates had been consecrated by St. Patrick, and the catalogue was greatly increased immediately after his death; so that reckoning a hundred years—the period assigned to the first class of Irish saints—there might have been in all, between bishops properly so called and *chorepiscopi*,* three hundred and fifty, or perhaps more, in Ireland. Our object being to examine the origin of the sees now in existence, together with the principal early ones which have been since united, we shall proceed chronologically, and commence with the see of Ardagh.

The See of Ardagh.—This see, situated in the county of Longford (the ancient Teffia), may be deservedly numbered among the most ancient churches of Ireland. Its founder and first bishop was Mel, or Mael; he was a native of Britain, and was consecrated by St. Patrick about the year 453.† The scattered fragments which now remain of the acts of this holy man, when separated from the inaccuracies with which they are accompanied, are but very few and unsatisfactory. During the long and painful mission of St. Patrick throughout the north of Ireland and in Munster, Mel was his constant and beloved companion. When the Apostle, after his many and successful conversions, had returned from the latter province, he conceived the noble design of establishing an episcopal see in the centre of Ireland; and meeting with great encouragement from the dynasts and people of Teffia, he consecrated Mel, and appointed Ardagh as the place of his residence. From this spot, as from a centre, the fame of his learning, but especially of his virtues, widely circulated, and he is said to have been powerfully instrumental in collecting vast multitudes to the fold of Christ. He is also represented as having been eminently endowed with the gift of prophecy, and during his travels through Kildare he foretold, among other particulars, the birth and exalted sanctity of the great St. Brigid. His eloquence and sweetness of disposition endeared him to all, and elicited the well-merited encomiums of many ancient writers. "Mel," observes the author of the Tripartite, "was a man of honeyed tongue." It must be observed that the history of this

* For Chorepiscopi, see cent. 8, chap. 2. † AA. SS. at 6th Feb.

Saint, as delivered to us by Colgan, Ware, and others, abounds with improbable and unauthenticated matter, and has not been followed, at least in most points, by any of our subsequent hagiologists. That the founder of the see of Ardagh had been the nephew of St. Patrick, by his sister Darerca, is an error, which by no means can be admitted. St. Patrick had neither sisters nor nephews in Ireland; nor do the acts of St. Brigid, from which this story is taken, seem to warrant any such assumption.* The veneration in which St. Mel had been held, for both learning and sanctity, is well authenticated, and he has been deservedly ranked in Tirechen's list among the first and most distinguished disciples of St. Patrick.† He was both bishop and abbot, and is said to have written a monastic rule, which, however, is not extant. St. Mel died on the sixth of February, A.D. 488, and was interred in the church of Ardagh. The records of this see must have suffered severely during the devastations of the Danes. From the date of its foundation down to the incumbency of Christian O'Heotai, in the twelfth century, we have the names of only four of its prelates on record. After that period, however, the succession proceeds regularly and satisfactorily.

The See of Clogher, in the territory of Tir-Eogain, appears to have been founded about the year 454.‡ According to some writers, this see was established by St. Patrick himself,§ who afterwards resigned it to St. Maccarthen. This, however, is a groundless improbable assertion. Its first bishop

* That St. Patrick had neither sisters nor relatives with him in Ireland is evident from his own words, contained in his letter to Coroticus, so frequently referred to. "Numquid (says the Saint) sine Deo, vel secundum carnem Hiberione veni? Quis me compulit, alligatus spiritu et non videam alicuem de cognatione mea?" And in his "Confession" he expresses an ardent wish to see his relatives. "Non id solum, sed eram (paratus) usque in Gallias visitare fratres," &c. Can it, moreover, be supposed that the Saint, when entering on his arduous mission, would have brought with him to Ireland four sisters and a numerous train of relations? The story, as taken up by Colgan and others, is, besides, interwoven with most incredible circumstances. One of the sisters, Darerca, had, it appears, seventeen sons, who were all bishops, and two daughters, who became nuns (Tr. Th. p. 227); while another sister, named Tigridia, had also seventeen sons, who became bishops or priests, and five daughters nuns. A similar narrative is given of the other two sisters, and among the sons are named Kieran, Brendan, Columb, Maccarthen, and others, who were unquestionably descended of Irish parents. Ussher appears to have countenanced some of these stories; for which reason they have been incautiously received by some with a degree of credibility. In those ancient times, it was customary to designate religious persons by the appellation of *brothers and sisters*, and hence it is probable the mistake originated relative to Darerca, Tigridia, etc., who were eminent saintly women, and lived in the days of St. Patrick. Darerca died A.D. 518, Tigridia at a later period.—Four Masters; AA. SS. p. 90; see Ussher, Pr. p. 824.

† Ussher, p. 950. ‡ Trip. l. 3, c. 3. § Jocelin, c. 143.

was St. Maccarthen. He belonged to the noble family of the Arads of Dalaradia, and was one of the oldest disciples of St. Patrick. The "Acta Patricii," with the fragments published by Colgan, inform us, that he had constantly attended as a fellow-labourer with our Apostle, and at a very advanced age was appointed by him bishop of Clogher. Together with his cathedral, he likewise, by the directions of St. Patrick, laid the foundation of a monastery. It was situated (as the Register of Clogher observes), in the street before the royal seat of Ergall. Eochad, the dynast of that territory, and an obstinate pagan appears to have given considerable opposition to the preaching of St. Maccarthen; he was, however, ultimately converted, together with his whole family and dependants. In the appendix annexed to the life delivered by Colgan, twenty-one saints are enumerated, all of whom belonged to the family from which St. Maccarthen was descended. We have also the names of twelve of his successors in the see of Clogher, with the date of their incumbency, commencing with the death of the founder and ending with the year 1138, at which time Christian O'Morgair, the brother of St. Malachy, presided over this diocess.† St. Maccarthen died on the 24th of March, A.D. 506, and was interred in his own cathedral.‡ St Tigernach, his immediate successor, fixed his residence at Clones, in the county of Monaghan, retaining, at the same time, the regular administration of the Church of Clogher. For this reason he has been styled by our annalists, *Ferdacrioch*, that is, *the man of the two districts.*‖ This great Saint, like his predecessor, was of princely descent, and was elevated to the episcopacy at the request of St. Brigid. He received his education at the monastery of Rosnat in Britain; was the founder of a religious establishment at Clones, and during his government of the diocese, was a great admirer of learned men and a promoter of literature. The events connected with this diocess occupy a considerable portion of the ecclesiastical history of subsequent times, but which neither the facts themselves nor chronological arrangement will allow us in this place to anticipate.

The See of Emly was founded by St. Ailbe, about the year 464.§ He was a native of *Eliach*, now called Eliogarty, in Munster, and became a disciple of St. Patrick about the year 445. Ailbe is represented by some writers, as having been a bishop, and exercising episcopal functions in Ireland,

* AA SS. at 24th March. † Ussher, Ind. Chron.
‡ AA SS. p. 740 § Bollandists, at 12th Sept.

previously to the arrival of St Patrick. This statement, besides being opposed to the testimony of Prosper, Tirechen, and other high authorities, becomes altogether incredible when the important circumstance of the chronology itself is taken into account. It is evident from the annals of Ulster, of Innisfallen, and other unquestionable sources, and is laid down as a truth admitted by all, that Ailbe's death occurred in the year 527.* If, then, he had been a bishop in Ireland before the arrival of St. Patrick, he must, of consequence, have been more than ninety-five years an acting prelate, counting from 432, the year in which St. Patrick landed in the country. The opinion of these writers, therefore, cannot be received; and the date already mentioned, appears to be the most correct and consistent. Ailbe lived under the pious king Aengus, and having erected his cathedral on a convenient site, presented to him by that monarch, he soon after laid the foundation of a monastery and college, in which human literature and heavenly science were gratuitously taught, and which was, in after times, frequented by scholars from all parts of Europe. Among the number of eminent Irishmen who had received their education under St. Ailbe, we may, with propriety, mention Colman of Dromore, and Nessan of Mungret. The monastic rule of this great Saint is extant. Such were the virtues of Ailbe, and so profound the veneration in which he was held by both prince and people, that he was looked upon as another St. Patrick and considered a second patron of Munster. Desirous to avoid the respect which was shown him, Ailbe determined to retire to the island of Tyle (Iceland). He departed with a great number of his monks; the king, however, unwilling that himself and his subjects should be deprived of the eminent services of so great a man, prevailed on him to return to Emly. The monks, to the number of twenty-two, were allowed to proceed on their journey, and thus did the Church of Ireland, even at this early period, send forth and scatter its light among the benighted inhabitants of other and distant lands. During the incumbency of Ailbe, a synod was held in Cashel, at which the king, together with the chiefs of the Desii, attended. St. Declan of Ardmore with others were likewise present; and several [illegible] regarding morals and ecclesiastical discipline were enacted.† St. Ailbe died A.D. 527, and has been deservedly numbered among the Fathers of the Irish Church.

THE SEE OF ELPHIN, situated in a district of Connaught,

* See also Ware, ad op S. Patr. † Ware, Antiq. c. 29.

called *Machaire Connacht*, or the plain of Connaught, and given to St. Patrick by Ono, a chieftain of the Hy-Brunes, had for its first bishop St. Asacus, a man of a most austere and penitential life.* Asacus, as well as the fathers already noticed, had been ranked among the earliest disciples of St. Patrick, and most probably had accompanied our saint during his travels and laborious mission in the province of Connaught. Hence it is that he has obtained a distinguished rank among the forty disciples of St. Patrick, as recorded in the ancient list of Tirechen. When St. Patrick had arrived at the territory of Elphin (*Oilfinn*) in the plain *Machaire*, he appointed Asacus, then a simple priest, to superintend the missionary concerns of that district.† Here the saint continued for some years, and, by his preaching and powerful example, became an instrument in the ways of Providence for the conversion of vast numbers of the inhabitants. We have already stated, that in the year 455 St. Patrick had laid the foundation of his cathedral church at Armagh; Asacus, who, it appears, had been an excellent artist, expressed an anxious desire to co-operate in this noble undertaking, and prayed that he might be allowed to assist in completing and beautifying the building. Having been accordingly selected, he superintended the erection of the church, and spent a considerable time in making the sacred vessels and other furniture requisite for the sanctuary.‡ Not many years after this occurrence, he was consecrated and placed over the see of Elphin. The year of his consecration has not been ascertained; but it appears to have been, in all probability, about the year 465. St. Asacus founded a celebrated monastery and college at Elphin, which, both in his time and in after ages, was frequented by numbers of students, and has been justly ranked among the ancient literary institutions of the kingdom. After a laborious incumbency of many years, his great love of retirement induced him to withdraw from his diocese, and to devote the remainder of his days to prayer and solitude. He accordingly repaired to the mountain of Slieve-league, in Donegal, and amidst the awful recesses of this solitary spot, he fixed his abode; but was at length discovered by a number of his affectionate disciples.§ These faithful followers, having in vain implored him to abandon the resolution which he had formed, had now determined on leading an ascetic life, and placed themselves under

* Ware, Bishops.
† Tripart. l. 3, c. 39.
‡ Id. l. 2, c. 41.
§ Tripart. l. 2, c. 40.

his spiritual direction. On this desolate and solitary mountain, the saint, attended by his brethren, ended his mortal career. The year of his death has not been stated by any of our annalists, but his decease is marked at the 27th of April.* His remains were interred at a place called Rath-cunga, in the present barony of Tyrhugh, and county of Donegal.† Of the acts, or even of the names of his successors, we have no certain record, until the twelfth century, at which period Domnald O'Dubhai had presided over the see of Elphin.

The see of Connor, in the county of Antrim, had for its first bishop St. Ængus Macnisse; but the precise year of its foundation remains involved in great obscurity. It appears, however, to have been founded about the close of the fifth century. Ængus Macnisse was a member of an ancient and powerful sept in Dalrieda, and agreeably to a custom which then prevailed in many of the Irish districts, he adopted the name of his mother, Nisa, whence he was generally denominated Macnisse, or Macnise.‡ St. Patrick, during his mission in Dalrieda, had taken Macnise under his special care, and after some time placed him under the guidance of St. Olcan, the learned abbot and bishop of Rathmuighe, in the county of Antrim. According to the Salamantine copy, produced by the Bollandists, Macnise was consecrated bishop by St. Patrick, after which he proceeded on a journey to Rome and from thence to Jerusalem. Here he remained for some time, and on his return to Rome was received by both clergy and people with peculiar marks of veneration. During his residence in Rome he ordained some bishops, and many priests and deacons, and on his return to Ireland was presented with various relics of St. Thomas and other apostles, together with an abundance of gold and silver vessels requisite for the use of the sanctuary. Soon after he had reached his native country, he laid the foundation of a monastery at Connor, and appears to have, about the same period, established his see in that place. St. Macnise is represented as a man of very exalted sanctity; he is said to have wrought many miracles, and had been endowed with the gift of prophecy. Our annalists have not agreed as to the year of his death, but it may, according to the most probable account, be dated at A.D. 507.§ The

* Colgan was of opinion that St. Asaeus of Elphin, must have been the same person as the Assanus mentioned in the Martyrology of Marian Gorman; in which case the natalis stands at the 27th of April. Or should he be the Assinus referred to in the same martyrology, the feast must then be commemorated on the 1st of May, or on the 19th of July.—See A.A. SS. p. 114.

† Tripart. l. 2, c. 40. ‡ Ex codice Salaman. MS. ap. Bolland, 3rd Sep.

§ Annals of Innisfallen.

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decease of the saint is marked at the 3rd of September. By orders of Clement XII, a proper Mass, as well for this festival as for those of several other patron saints of Ireland, was edited, at Paris, by Nicholas Anthony O'Kenny, prothonotary apostolic, in 1734.* The see of Connor was united to that of Down in the fifteenth century, under Eugene IV.†

THE SEE OF KILDARE‡ appears to have been indebted for its foundation to the celebrated nunnery, established by St. Brigid in that place.§ The sanctity of the saint, and the excellence of her institute, attracted vast multitudes to her establishment, so that in the lapse of a few years it became very extensive, and Kildare formed what in those days might be called a considerable and populous town. This circumstance it was which induced St. Brigid to make application for the appointment of a bishop. Her request was complied with, and Conlaith or Conlian, a man of retirement and sanctity, was the person selected. This holy man had, for years previously, led an ascetic life, in a solitary spot on the south bank of the Liffey;‖ his virtues were eminently admired by St. Brigid, and agreeably to her desire, he was removed from his favorite retirement, and advanced to the episcopal dignity. Conlaith was accordingly the first bishop of Kildare, and was consecrated about the year 490. It would appear from Cogitosus, that this ceremony had been conducted with more than usual magnificence, and was attended by many of the ancient and sainted Fathers of the Irish Church.¶ Fiech, bishop of Sletty, Ibar of Beg-erin, Ereus of Slane, Maccaleus of Hy-falgia, in the King's county, Bronus of Cassel-irra, in Sligo, and other prelates alluded to by that author, attended on that solemn occasion. The administration of St. Conlaith was marked with great wisdom, and during his incumbency, the diocese of Kildare obtained a high rank among the episcopal sees of Ireland. At this time, however, it was not, as some writers assert, the ecclesiastical metropolis of the province, nor had its prelate the title of archbishop. It certainly enjoyed that dignity at a later period, and after the title had been transferred to it from the see of Ferns; but at the time of which we are now treating, that distinction belonged, without doubt, to the see of Sletty.** The cathedral church of Kildare, which, next to Armagh, was, in those days, the most extensive and beautiful in the kingdom, had, it appears, belonged conjointly

* Bolland. † See cent. xv. c. 2

‡ So called from Kill (cell or church,) and Daire, which signifies oak, there having been a very high oak tree on the site where the church was built

§ Cogitosus, Second Life, Prolog. ‖ Fourth Life, l. 2, c. 19.

¶ Cogitosus, c. 6. ** Vide century vii. c. 2, See of Ferns.

both to the nunnery of St. Brigid and to the diocesan. Beyond the sanctuary, the great aisle was divided by a partition; the bishop and his clergy entered the church by a door on the the north side, while the entrance for the abbess and her community was situated towards the south. It has been gratuitously asserted that St. Brigid and her successors had, for many years, been invested with jurisdiction over the see;* but this misstatement has most probably emanated from the circumstance of the expenses of the cathedral having been usually defrayed out of the funds of the nunnery. On the other hand, it is said that St. Conlaith had authority, not only over the nunnery of St. Brigid, in Kildare, but also over all the Churches and communities belonging to her institute throughout Ireland. This statement, however, proceeds solely from the unwarranted testimony of Cogitosus. He was an ecclesiastic of that diocese, and had, it may be presumed, availed himself of every opportunity to exalt the privileges of his native see.† Notwithstanding the repeated ravages of the Danish wars in this part of Ireland, the names of the successors of St. Conlaith have been carefully handed down to us. An unbroken series of prelates, amounting to thirty-five, governed this see, from the time of its foundation down to the year 1100, at which period Aid O'Heremon was constituted bishop of Kildare ‡ St. Conlaith, after a life of zeal and apostolic labours, died the 3rd of May, A.D. 519.

Besides these episcopal sees, which continue to flourish even to this day, there were various other places over which bishops had been stationed in this century,—towns and districts, at that period, of great celebrity, but which, through the revolution of time, are now reduced to comparative insignificance. Many of them in fact exhibit nothing but the scattered ruins of their former grandeur, or perhaps the solitary name of the holy men by whose learning, sanctity, and wonderful labours they had in their day been rendered great and illustrious.

Among these may be classed the SEE OF SLETTY, in the Queen's county, and on the borders of the county of Carlow. It was governed by the venerable Fiech § PRO-ERIN, or Fiech Ireland, an island on the coast of Wexford, over which St.

* See Colgan; Tr. Th. p. 627.

† During the eighth century, when Cogitosus flourished, the bishops of Kildare enjoyed the title of archbishops of the province (a mark of honorary distinction, which had been transferred from Ferns), and had, at the same time, a degree of jurisdiction over the nunneries of St. Brigid situated in Leinster; but we have no authority whatever for believing that this privilege had extended to any of the other provinces of the kingdom.

‡ Ware, Bishops. § See c. iii. Fiech.

Ibar presided.* Louth, which was placed under the direction of the learned and venerable Moctheus.† Antrim, where St Mochay presided.‡ Rath-colpthia, near Down, committed to St. Tassach, the prelate from whom St. Patrick received the last sacraments. Hy-falgia, in the King's county, placed under the jurisdiction of St. Macaleus, from whom St. Brigid received the veil. Oran, in Roscommon, where Cethecus had been stationed after years of wonderful missionary labour. West-Cashel, in Sligo, governed by St. Bronus. Rath-cunga, in the county of Donegal, had St. Bitheus for its bishop. Rath-muighe, in the county of Antrim, was directed by St. Olcan.§ The celebrated see of Duleek, in the county of Meath, was founded by St. Kienan, who presided over its administration for a number of years. Dona-Patrick, in the county of Galway, was consigned to the care of St. Falertus. The see of Slane, in the county of Meath, venerable for its antiquity, but much more for the great character of its bishop, was placed under the guidance of St. Ercus; and the famed see of Ardmore, in the martial territory of the Desii (county of Waterford), was, in the fifth century, governed by the learned and holy Declan.‖ The solitary ruins of its once celebrated cathedral, with its round tower hanging upon an eminence over the ocean, stand, in the nineteenth century, an existing monument of the piety and religious spirit of our forefathers, and afford to the passing traveller a glimpse of those happy days, when Ireland, in her glory and independence, reared up and adorned her altars at home, and afterwards erected and adorned others in the land of the distant stranger.

After this brief classification of the sees of Ireland founded in the fifth century, the monasteries—the religious and literary instutions which constitute the glory and ornament of the country, next challenge our attention. Some of these had been erected by the converted princes of the nation, but most of them by the zeal and unremitted labour of great and holy men, whom Providence had raised up as instruments for the accomplishment of its own grand designs.

The rules by which the ancient monasteries of Ireland had been governed, were, in all probability, copied after the constitutions of the houses of Tours, and the monastic establishment of Lerins, in which places St. Patrick had received his education. Hence we find that, similar to Tours and Lerins, schools of science were attached to each monastery, and besides

* See cent. iii. Ibar. † See cent. ii. Louth. ‡ Tr. Th. p. 265
§ See cent. iii. Olcan. ‖ See cent. iii. Declan.

the usual solemn vows, and the observance of a contemplative life, the Irish monks were likewise obliged to pay particular attention to what may be termed the active and practical duties. They had in many instances to attend to the cure of souls—to the conversion and instruction of the people, and to the diffusion of general and useful knowledge. The following are some of the principal monastic foundations of the fifth century.

The monastery of Emly,* once a place of celebrity, but now a mere village and a scene of desolation, was founded by St. Ailbe. It was situated on the borders of a beautiful lake, and was surrounded by a delightful and romantic country. The lake, consisting of two hundred acres, has since been dried up, while the abbey, after having been eleven times plundered and demolished by the Danes, was suffered to fall into decay, soon after the arrival of the English. There were six hundred students at one time in the schools of Emly; in which (says an ancient writer) the sciences, together with the knowledge of heavenly truths, were gratuitously taught.

The monastery of Ardmore, in the county of Waterford, and in the barony of Decies-within-Drum, had St. Declan for its founder. This abbey had suffered the same fate with that of Emly, and the last abbot Eugene, is marked as a subscribing witness to the charter granted to the monastery of St. Finbar in Cork, by Dermot king of Munster, in 1174.†

The monastery of Beg-erin, in an island to the north of the harbour of Wexford, was founded by St. Ibar. The saint and founder of this abbey (says Colgan) was versed in the knowledge not only of the holy word, but moreover in worldly science. The doctrine of magnitude was taught in his holy retreat, and made applicable to heavenly purposes; and scholars in countless numbers came and lived in and near the monastery, where they were taught without expense the hidden truths regarding God and man.‡ These three establishments having declined and perished much about the same period, are here merely noticed in regular succession. We now come to those which, after surviving the fury of the Danes, and continuing to a later period, sunk at length amid the general ruin and national wreck of the sixteenth century.

The monastery of Armagh, was founded by the great apostle of the nation, and had for many ages ranked amongst the most celebrated ecclesiastical establishments of the Christian world.§ The great school of this monastery was afterwards

* County of Tipperary and in the barony of Clanwilliam.
† King, p. 336. ‡ AA. SS. p. 617. § Tr. Th. p. 2 . .

conducted by St. Benignus. In process of time it became amazingly extensive, and so great was its reputation, that scholars flocked to Armagh, not only from Britain, but from almost all nations of the continent. In consequence of this vast conflux of strangers, the city of Armagh branched out, in a few centuries, to a great extent. In the eleventh century it was portioned into four divisions, one of which, called the Trian-Saxon, was inhabited almost exclusively by English students, who had resorted thither for the purpose of receiving their education. The rule of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine was introduced by Imar, the master of St. Malachy, in the commencement of the twelfth century, at which time its great church was rebuilt, and dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul.* Its abbots continued in regular succession until the time of Elizabeth, when James O'Donnelly was prior, and the last superior of this venerable religious foundation. Its possessions, arising from bequests and other sources, were immense. By the inquisition which was taken in 1537, it was found to possess upwards of two hundred and forty town-lands in various counties, together with their tithes and alterages. Of these, twenty were situated in the parishes of Clonkarney, Clonkoughrose, and Tucaghy; besides various other property comprised within the town of Armagh. This establishment was remarkable for its attention to the destitute; a considerable part of the possessions having been, by order of the donors, constantly devoted to the sacred and noble purposes of Christian benevolence. In the sixteenth century, this asylum for the poor was closed for ever. Both the priory and its possessions were seized upon by Elizabeth, and afterwards sold to Sir Toby Caulfield, at a stipulated annual rent.†

The monastery of Saul, in the county of Down, and barony of Lecale, was founded by St. Patrick. This monastery was the favourite retreat of our saint after the unremitted labours of his apostleship; here also he breathed his last, on the 17th of March, A.D. 465. It was governed by eminent and holy men until 1526, when the last abbot, Gilasie, son of Hugh Macgennis, was massacred, and shortly after the monuments of Saints Patrick, Brigid, and Columbkille were sacrilegiously profaned, while the church itself was burned to the ground by the notorious Grey, then lord deputy of Ireland. The possessions of this abbey were granted by Henry VIII. to Gerald earl of Kildare.‡

The monastery of Downpatrick had St. Patrick for its

* See cent. xii. c. 2. † Lodge, vol. 3, p. 86. ‡ Aud. office.

founder, and became in succeeding ages universally celebrated. The names and acts of its abbots have not been carefully recorded until about the year 1183, when the Benedictines were introduced, having being brought by John De Courcey, from the abbey of St. Werburgh, in Chester.* In this enterprising leader, the monastery of Downpatrick found an attentive and a powerful benefactor. He endowed it with various and ample possessions, which were afterwards considerably augmented by the influence and benevolent donations of Malachy, bishop of Down.† The recollections of its founder, and of its ancient national importance, were, however, unable to rescue it from those monopolizing enactments which disgraced the parliaments of the fourteenth century. In 1380, it was enacted that no mere Irishman should be admitted to make his profession in this abbey.‡ At this period the prior of Downpatrick sat as a baron in parliament. In the sixteenth century, when the work of confiscation commenced, this abbey was found to possess, among other property, twenty-eight parcels of land, each parcel containing a carucate or ballyboe, all of which was situated in the county of Down. These possessions, together with other property attached to the establishments of Lismullin and Ballybogan, in the county of Meath, and to the abbeys of Inche, Saul, Gray, and Bangor, in the county of Down, along with the Franciscan convent and abbeys of St. John and St. Thomas, in the town of Down, were all granted to Gerald earl of Kildare.§

The monastery of Dulcek (Daimhliag, which signifies a house of stone), in the county of Meath, was founded by St. Kienan (Cennanus), about the year 470. The saint himself was a native of Meath; was descended of a noble family, and when an infant, was baptized by St. Patrick. The establishment of his see at Dulcek about the year 472 was, in pursuance of the example set by other prelates, accompanied by the foundation of this celebrated monastery. To it, likewise, a school was attached, while the zeal of its founder, and the encouragement with which he received the admirers of literature within its walls, had raised it, at this early period, to the rank of a rival institution with [illegible]
Kienan has written a life of St. Patrick, which was great admired. He died on the 24th of November, A.D. 489.‖ T venerable retreat of sanctity was, at six differe[illegible] sacked and plundered by the Danes. In 1171, My[illegible]

* Ware, Annals. † Monast. Angl. vol. ii. ‡ King, p. 93
§ Aud. office. ‖ Four Masters.

at the head of an English party, committed frightful destruction within its sanctuary; but the Danes of Dublin, whom Providence had now raised up as a scourge against the invaders, fell suddenly upon Cogan and his troops, and took ample satisfaction for the outrages which had been committed. After the lapse of eleven years, this establishment was rebuilt at the expense of Hugh de Lacy, at which time the rules of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine were introduced, and it was moreover made subject to the priory of Lanthony, near Gloucester. Its priors continued until the period of the general suppression, when its possessions, consisting of eighty-three townlands, became a sacrifice to the confiscating fury of the times. These lands were included in the following rectories: the rectory of Stamullen, Ardcath, Marre, Clonalwaise, Macetown, Dowth, Tynolle; Kilmessan, Rathkenny; Rathconnell, in the county of Westmeath; Castletown-Delvin, Killowan, Cregganstown, Kilcarvan, Duleek, part of the rectory of Mullingar, Nall, Dunrath, Gradagh and Cologe, besides various property situated in Mullingar, Duleek and other towns. These immense possessions were granted to Sir Gerald Moore.*

The monastery of Louth, which, in after times, became not only the seat of literature but moreover an open and friendly asylum for the poor, was indebted to St. Mocteus for its foundation. This holy man was a Briton, and after having spent many years as a companion with St. Patrick in his missionary labours, he was consecrated bishop, and established his residence at Louth.† It would appear that the monastery of which we are treating had not been founded until some short time after the death of our apostle, and that the founder, who is generally designated in our annals by the term *Longævus*, had lived to the advanced age of one hundred years. Gratuitous education forms a prominent object in those various and sublime plans which Mocteus had contemplated for the general conversion and happiness of the Irish nation. The schools of Louth became on that account celebrated; and it is recorded, that one hundred bishops and three hundred priests, distinguished for learning and sanctity, had received their education within its sacred walls.‡ It was several times pillaged by the Danes, while the native chieftains themselves, in their unfortunate struggles against each other, scrupled not to exhaust their vengeance on the literary retreats and consecrated sanctuaries of this venerable establishment. In 1148,

it was rebuilt by Donchad O'Kervaill, (O'Carroll,) prince of Orgiel, and Edan O'Kelly, bishop of Clogher, and adopted the rule of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine.* From this period its priors continued in unbroken succession until the year 1540, when John Wile was last prior, and its extensive possessions (the outline of which shall be reserved for the sixteenth century) became involved in the general wreck, and were afterwards granted to Sir Oliver Plunket.†

The monastery of Clogher was, according to some accounts, founded by St. Patrick; it appears, however, much more probable that it had been established by St. Maccarthen, and had been altogether coeval with the see. It was erected under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin, and continued for many years a celebrated nursery of learned and holy men. Its principal benefactors were Christian O'Morgair, the brother of St. Malachy, and Matthew Mac Catasaid, who had been bishop of the see in 1316, and at his own expense erected a capella immediately over the sepulchre of St. Maccarthen. During the two successive conflagrations of 1395 and 1396, this splendid establishment was almost laid waste, but was afterwards rebuilt on a more extensive scale and in a style of still superior magnificence. At the time of the general suppression, this monastery shared the same fate with the other religious foundations of the kingdom. We have no precise account of its possessions; it is certain, however, that in 1610, they had been annexed by James I. to the see of Clogher.‡

The monastery of Kildare, situated in the barony of Offaly, and in the heart of a beautiful country, appears to have been established about the same period with the see, and to have derived its foundation from the same influential source. This origin of the religious retreat is certainly involved in considerable obscurity. The first abbot of Kildare, whom we find recorded in Colgan's catalogue, is Aidus, or Aidan, surnamed Dubh (the black), who, after having abdicated the throne of Leinster, became abbot, and afterwards bishop of Kildare, about the year 638. After him are placed Lochin, surnamed the Wise, abbot of Kildare, in 691; Forannan, in 697; Modimochus, in 743, and many others to whom the single epithet of abbot has been exclusively applied. Nor does it appear from this catalogue that Natfroich was the first abbot of this monastery, a misstatement which Archdall has advanced, while at the same time he refers to Colgan's list as his authority. The hospitality of this religious establishment was

* AA. SS. p. 737. † Harris's tab. ‡ Rolls, 10 Jac.

proverbial; the noble example of benevolence bequeathed by St. Brigid, having been handed down with scrupulous care from one generation of religious to another. Hence the monastery of Kildare was, in those happy days, designated the "stranger's home," where attention and comfort were afforded indiscriminately, to all who had found it necessary to visit its sacred and hospitable gates. At length, after a lapse of a thousand years, and during the reign of Henry VIII, it seems that both the Christian religion and Irish customs wanted to be reformed; the former was considered too ancient to be good, and the latter too contemptible to be endured any longer. Accordingly, the old work of spoliation commenced, which in those days went by the name of reformation. The sacred name of religion was industriously employed, and under the pretence of remodelling the Church, that property, which for eleven centuries went to relieve the destitute, was at that period torn from them, and sacrificed to the confiscating spirit of the day. Ever since—for the last three hundred years, an unemployed and impoverished population have been left to starve upon a wild and bleak commons, without any other comfort save that patience and fortitude, which by habit has become natural to the heart of an Irishman, or perhaps, occasionally, the casual pittance of some more fortunate and tender-hearted fellow-creature. Elizabeth made a grant of this abbey and its tenements to Anthony Deeringe and Redmond Oge Fitzgerald. Thus was religion *reformed*, and the poor of Ireland brought to a sense of moral order, social happiness, and consequent civilization!

The monastery of Lough Derg, in the county of Donegal. The lake in which this monastery stood, is situated in the barony of Tirhugh, and contains several islands, the largest of which is called that of St. Dabeoc, and by some, the Island of All Saints. In this island was a religious establishment, founded, according to some writers, by St. Patrick, but most probably by St. Dabeoc,* in whose honour three festivals are observed yearly—on the 1st of January, on the 24th of July, and on the 16th of December. St. Patrick's purgatory, so called, appears to have taken its rise from a holy man, named Patrick, who governed the monastery, and lived about the year 850.† It was a place of great sanctity, and much frequented by penitents and holy persons; but being situated too near the shore, the station was closed up, and another opened in a lesser island, and at a more retired distance. Lough Derg, as a place of penance, was for many centuries in great

* Annal. Munst. † Ware. Mon.

As the Hymn of St. Fiech, who died A.D. 530, has been referred to in the foregoing chapters, we take this opportunity of stating, that the best and most faithful interpretation of that valuable metrical narrative will be found in the "Book of Hymns of the Ancient Church of Ireland," edited for the Irish Archæological Society, by the Rev. Dr. Todd, T.C.D. The Hymn of St. Sechnall, or Secundinus, which appears to have been composed during the lifetime of St. Patrick, is also a metrical narrative of our apostle's inner and outward life, and concludes with a prediction that he is to reign with the apostles "a saint over Israel for ever."

"Cujus ingentis laboris percepturus præmium
Cum Apostolis regnabit sanctus super Israel."

To St. Sechnall is also attributed the exquisite hymn sung at the Post-Communion by the priests, and a venerable legend tells us that it was chaunted by angels in St. Sechnall's church. This beautiful composition is found in the Antiphonarium Benchorense, as well as in the "Book of Hymns;" and we need hardly observe, that it is a most patent evidence of the faith of our forefathers in the dogma of transubstantiation, as well as an attestation of the profound reverence with which they approached the body and blood of our Lord in the most holy Eucharist.

I.

Sancti venite,
Christi corpus sumite;
Sanctum bibentes,
Quo redempti sanguinem.

II.

Salvati Christi
Corpore et sanguine,
A quo refecti,
Laudes dicamus Deo.

III.

Hoc sacramento
Corporis et sanguinis,
Omnes exuti
Ab inferni faucibus.

IV.

Dator salutis,
Christus filius Dei
Mundum salvavit,
Per crucem et sanguinem.

V.

Pro universis
Iam datus Dominus,
Ipse sacerdos
Existit et hostia.

VI.

Lege præceptum
Immolari hostias,
Qua adumbrantur
Divina mysteria.

VII.

Lucis indultor
Et salvator omnium,
Præclaram sanctis
Largitus est gratiam.

VIII.

Accedant omnes
Pura mente credulâ
Sumant æternam
Salutis custodiam.

IX.

Sanctorum custos,
Rector quoque Dominus,
Vitæ perennis
Largitor credentibus.

X.

Cœlestem panem
Dat esurientibus,
De fonte vivo
Præbet sitientibus.

XI.

Alpha et omega
Ipse Christus Dominus
Venit, venturus
Judicare homines.

CHAPTER III.

Religious and Literary Characters of the Fifth Century—General Observations.

The saints who flourished in Ireland during the fifth and sixth centuries, are divided by our ancient hagiologists into three classes; and in making this classification, Ussher rests upon the authority of some very old and authentic manuscripts.* The first class was composed of one hundred and fifty bishops, who were all filled with the spirit of God, and were the founders of churches. The second class consisted of priests, to the number of three hundred, besides many bishops. And the third class, to the number of one hundred, was composed of priests and some bishops. "These (he says) inhabited woods and desert places, living upon herbs which they cultivated themselves, and drinking nothing but water." The austerity of their lives, and the sublime virtues which they practised, would appear to men of the present age almost incredible; but these were some of the means by which the great saints of Ireland purchased glory for themselves, and eternal honour for the Church of which they were members. We are not to expect that the holy men of the fifth century, who were active and laborious missionaries, and who had an unbounded harvest before them, could find much time for the production of any deep, elaborate, scientific works. Many of them were well versed in science and polite learning; some of them were gifted with mental powers of the first order, and all of them were enriched with that knowledge which is above and far surpasses all human knowledge—the knowledge of themselves and of God, and the method by which they could draw their fellow-creatures to happiness here, and to never-ending happiness hereafter.

St. Ibar, bishop, abbot and founder of the celebrated monastery of Beg-erin, on the coast of the county of Wexford, holds a high rank among the saints of the fifth century. This saint was a native of Ulster, and became a convert to the Christian faith while St. Patrick had been employed on his mission in that province. Though descended of an illustrious family, with all the allurements of honor and opulence before him, his resolution in obeying the call of Heaven

* Primord. Eccl. Brit. c. 17.

remained unshaken, and in all the subsequent labours of our apostle through the several districts of Leinster and of Munster, Ibar was his constant companion, and ranked in the number of his most favourite disciples. So high was the opinion which St. Patrick had entertained of the zeal and virtues of Ibar, that after some time he commissioned him to preach the Gospel through Ireland; and by his instrumentality were numbers converted to the faith.* On his return from this mission, and on his arriving at the eastern boundaries of Leinster, he settled at Beg-erin, and here he founded his great monastery, in which human science and the secrets of heavenly wisdom were taught. This religious and literary retreat was opened gratuitously for all: the stranger from the distant shore was received and welcomed at its gates, and these foreigners, with crowds of native alumni, served in process of time to establish the high reputation of the far-famed school of Ibar. The date of his promotion to the episcopacy has not been accurately ascertained; but it must be, in all probability, about the year 460. However, we are not left in the same uncertainty with respect to the year of his death, which, according to the Annals of Ulster and Innisfallen, took place A.D. 500. This circumstance alone is sufficient to overthrow the opinion of those who have endeavoured to maintain that Ibar was a bishop, and officiating as such in this country, previously to the arrival of St. Patrick. Should the veracity of this statement be admitted, it must follow from the above annals and other authorities,† that the Saint had been nearly eighty years an acting bishop in Ireland! Those who defend the above opinion rely principally on the authority of some unauthenticated fragments of the *Acta Sancti Abbani;* but from these very documents it would appear, that both St. Abban and St. Ibar had flourished in Ireland during the pontificate of Pope Gregory I, and consequently at the close of the sixth century, which involves a still greater absurdity.‡ The date specified in the Annals of Innisfallen and of Ulster, is that which is now generally admitted; while the natalis of the saint is marked by all at the 23rd of April.

St. Declan, bishop and founder of the see of Ardmore, in the county of Waterford, flourished in the fifth, and became

* "Ibarus missus est ad evangelium prædicandum per Hiberniam, in qua innumeros ad fidem Christi convertit—ad fines Lageniensium venit et australem ejus partem, ubi est litoralis parva insula, *Beg-erin*, ubi celebre condidit cœnobium, et Sacras ibidem literas aliasque artes optimas docuit."—Vita Hiari, Ussher, p. 1061.

† Ware, Annot. ad op. etc. ‡ See Bollandists at 23rd of April.

eminently distinguished during a considerable part of the sixth century. This saint was descended from Ercus, prince of the Desii, and by his exalted virtues, soon became the object of universal respect and veneration. The precise time in which he fixed his see at Ardmore is not exactly stated; but it must have been at least some years after the death of St. Patrick. St. Declan is mentioned as one of the four prelates who had been employed in preaching the Gospel in Ireland, prior to the arrival of St. Patrick. The statements regarding the seniority of Ailbe and Ibar were certainly incorrect; but the introduction of St. Declan among the number, leads to a still more palpable anachronism. The opinion is founded on a manuscript copy of his life, preserved in the Franciscan convent of St. Isodore, at Rome, and on some anonymous tracts compiled and published at Louvain. Now if these documents were to be received, the most evident inconsistency must follow. We are informed by the Isodorean manuscript and by the Louvanian memoir that, on Declan's second return from Rome, he repaired to Wales, for the purpose of paying a visit to St. David, then bishop of Minevia.* But this event would bring us to the middle of the sixth century, that being the period at which St. David lived; hence, in this hypothesis, St. Declan must have been at least one hundred and twenty years a bishop! The truth is, St. Declan did not become a member of the episcopal order until some time after the decease of St. Patrick; and his death occurred shortly after that of St. Ailbe of Emly, A D. 527. The martyrologies of Dungal and Ængus supply abundant evidence of the virtues and sanctity of St. Declan, and of his wonderful missionary labours in the extensive territory of the Desii, over which he had presided.

St. Fiech, the learned bishop of Sletty, in the Queen's county, is deservedly ranked among the Fathers of the Irish Church. He was of the distinguished house of Hy-bairrche, in Leinster, and, as has been already noticed, was the first person from that province who had been raised to the episcopacy in Ireland. Having been a member of the bardic order, and deeply skilled in the literature of those times, Fiech established a seminary, which soon became celebrated, and he is said to have had a great number of disciples. Sletty [illegible] this time, the ecclesiastical metropolis of the province, and its prelate enjoyed the title of archbishop.† This dignity, however, did not in a canonical sense imply any sort of metropolitan jurisdiction; it was simply a mark of pre-eminence, an honorary

* Ex Archiv. S. Isodori. Arm. vi. † Trip. l. 3, c. 21.

token of precedency and of superior distinction. It had been continued in the see of Sletty until the seventh century, when it was transferred to Ferns. Fiech has written a metrical life of St. Patrick, which is extant and held in high veneration: the Scholia annexed to it in later times contain some inaccuracies, but these, besides being of minor import, are almost overlooked amidst the great quantity of valuable information with which they are embodied.

St. Olcan, sometimes called Bolcân, bishop and abbot of Rathmuighe or Derkan, in Dalrieda, county of Antrim, is considered the most learned of all those who conducted education in the fifth century. He was baptized by St. Patrick, and after some years, repaired to Gaul, for the purpose of prosecuting his studies;* on his return, he was advanced to the episcopal rank, and stationed in Dalrieda. The great monastery of Rathmuighe was founded by Olcan, and its schools† became pre-eminently celebrated for the study of the sciences, as well as for Scriptural and theological instruction. Among the number of his scholars was St. Macnise, who afterwards became the first bishop of Connor. Several valuable works are said to have proceeded from his pen, which have since become a prey either to the wreck of time or to the fury of persecution. The natalis of St. Olcan is dated at the 20th of February.

St. Fridolinus, famed for learning as well as for piety, flourished in this century. He was son of an Irish prince, and after embracing the monastic state, retired from his native country, and travelled through Germany, France, and other parts of the continent; on which account, he is called Fridolinus *the traveller*, by Coccius, Possevin, and others‡ After preaching in many parts of Gaul, he was appointed superior of the monastery of St. Hilary, at Poicteurs. Several religious establishments were founded by him in Strasburg, Thuringia, Alsace, and on the frontiers of Switzerland. That Fridolinus ranked amongst the most learned men of his day, may be collected from the testimony of Gastard Braccius,§ Possevin, and numerous other foreign authorities. He died about the year 514, and was interred in the monastery of Secking, an island of the Rhone, and of which he himself was the founder.

Sedulius‖ (Sheil), the poet, an Irishman, and a disciple of

* Jocelin, c. 86. † Usher, Ind. Chron. ‡ Appar. Sac. § De Monas. Ger.

‖ The name written in Irish, is *Siedhuil* – a name, as it appears, not to be met with in any other nation Colgan has enumerated eight distinguished Irishmen of this name who flourished in ancient times, and he very justly adduces it as a circumstance to prove that Sedulius was a native of this country. – Vide, A.A. SS. p. 315.

Hildebert, likewise flourished in the fifth century. He was deeply read in both sacred and profane literature, and had a particular taste for poetry. Having distinguished himself as a scholar in his own country, he went to Gaul and from thence to Italy, afterwards to Asia, and then returned to Rome, where he shone by his astonishing erudition and beautiful compositions. A council composed of seventy bishops, in the pontificate of Gelasius, bears honourable testimony to his writings. "We have the highest opinion (say these fathers) of the Paschal work, written in verse by the venerable Sedulius."* He was a great favourite with Hildephonsus, archbishop of Toledo. This learned prelate, speaking of Sedulius, says—"He was an evangelical poet, an eloquent orator, and a Catholic writer." Finally, the Church has selected the hymns, "A solis ortus cardine," and "Hostis Herodes," with many others from the writings of Sedulius, and honoured them with a place in the divine office, together with the "Salve sancta parens," which forms the Introit of the Mass of the Blessed Virgin. According to some writers, he was a bishop, but it is more probable that he rose no higher than to the rank of a simple priest.† Sedulius died about A.D. 494.‡

We shall close this brief biographical series with the history of the ever-revered and illustrious St. Brigid. This eminent saint was of royal extraction, her father, Dubtach, having been descended from Con "of the hundred battles," and her mother, Brochessa, from the noble house of the O'Connors, in the territory of Bregii, near Drogheda.§ They were both Christians, and from them Brigid received not only the best example, but also an excellent education, suited to her sex and necessary for her high station in life. She was born A.D. 453, at Fochard (Faughar), about two miles to the north of Dundalk; but the residence of her parents was in Kildare, and not far from the place where the monastery had afterwards been established. When arrived at a suitable age, they seemed desirous that she should embrace the married state; but Brigid humbly objected, declaring her wish and intention of remaining a virgin and of consecrating herself to God. For this purpose she applied to the holy bishop Maccaile,‖ who was then at Usneach, in West-Meath, and from him she received the veil and white cloak or habit, that being the only colour used by consecrated virgins in the ancient Church of Ireland. At this time she is said to have been in her sixteenth year.

* Usher, Pri. Eccl. c. 769; AA SS. at 12th Feb.
† St. Isidore, de Eccl. Scrip. ‡ Usher, Pr. p. 777.
§ Third Life; Fifth Life. ‖ Ussher, p. 1031; Cogitosus, c. 30.

Eight maidens took the veil with her, and having acceded to their request, she fixed her residence in Ballyboy, in the King's County, at a place called to this day Brigid's-town. The fame of her sanctity had now reached the most distant parts of the island, and she was invited to come and form establishments in various districts. Erc, bishop of Slane, had a particular respect for the saint. Him she accompanied to Munster, whither he had gone on business connected with the general interest of the Irish Church. We next find her in the plain of Cliach (Limerick), and here also she established a religious foundation. Brigid next proceeds to Connaught, where she founded several nunneries, which were soon filled with holy women, all living under the constitutions and government of the saint. Having sojourned for a time in this province, she directed her course back to Kildare, and passing through Hy-Kinsellagh, formed many communities in that district. In 483, the celebrated nunnery of Kildare was founded by St. Brigid. The great reputation of the saint, and the supernatural gifts with which she was endowed, attracted multitudes of pious females to her establishment, and in a few years it became, perhaps, one of the first religious houses at that period in the Christian Church. Next to the attention which her nuns were obliged to pay to the education of the poor, hospitality has been noticed as a leading characteristic. At one period the country was visited by an awful pestilence, accompanied with famine, on which occasion the holy virgin sold even the sacred ornaments for the purpose of relieving the poor. This example of charity and benevolence was ever after remembered; and tenderness for the poor and the afflicted was the great motto in which the succeeding members of her institute were accustomed to glory. St. Brigid was gifted with the power of miracles,* and her respect for the memory of St. Patrick was most profound and oftentimes enthusiastic. By her means a bishop was appointed for Kildare, which in a short time became a considerable town; an extensive monastery and school were soon after attached to this church. Thus, while the poor of Kildare, and of the surrounding country had been blessed with the advantages of education, the door of hospitality was thrown open, and every [illegible] afforded them by the generous followers of this heavenly justly-celebrated institute. St. Brigid, after having received the viaticum from St. Nennidh, was called to enjoy the reward of her labours, A.D. 523. This great saint left behind her a

* Third Life; Tr. Th. p. 625.

rule or body of constitutions, which was afterwards scrupulously observed in all the establishments subjected to her institute; likewise several tracts on the ascetic life; a letter written in Irish to St. Aidus, and two poems on the merits of St. Patrick.* The virtues of St. Brigid have been honourably recorded by all our martyrologists, and her memory was revered not only in Ireland, but likewise in Britain, and by the faithful all over the western Church.†

From the concise review which we have now taken of the historical facts of the fifth century, several pertinent and profitable observations must present themselves to the reflecting mind of the reader. In the first place, it may be noticed, that St. Patrick, although invited by a heavenly call, to undertake the great work of preaching the Gospel, and of converting the Irish nation, yet did not embark on the high duties of that solemn office without having had recourse to the fountain-head of authority, from which alone all missionary powers and ecclesiastical jurisdiction must lawfully and regularly emanate. Our apostle was well aware of the necessity and existence of a supreme visible head over the Church of Christ upon earth. Hence he repaired to Celestine, who at that time sat in the chair of St. Peter; and from him did St. Patrick receive his missionary and legitimate jurisdiction

Again it must be observed, that the apostle of Ireland, though he was not about to establish a religion hitherto unheard of by mankind, or to effect that, which in the language of modern times, is inconsistently termed a reformation of the Church of Christ, yet did he demonstrate the truth of his doctrine, and the grounds of his authority, and the validity of his commission, in the presence of the whole nation, by the most powerful and stupendous miracles. This has been

* Colgan, Tr. Th. p. 610.

† Colgan has published six lives of St. Brigid, with learned and copious appendixes. There are also four different ecclesiastical offices for the festival of the same saint. The first is that published at Paris, in 1622, with proper lessons hymns, antiphons, etc.; the second is taken from the Roman Breviary, edited at Venice, by Anthony de Giunta, in 1522; the third is from the Gregorian Breviary, and the fourth from the Canons Regular of St. John Lateran. The first of the above-mentioned is a metrical one, and, as appears from its preface, was written by St Brogan of Rostuire, in Ossory, about the middle of the seventh century. It was composed in the Irish language, and is given by Colgan in the ancient characters, together with a Latin translation. The whole piece consists of fifty-three stanzas, the last of which runs in the following words:—

"Sunt duæ sanctæ Virgines in cœlis,
Quæ suscipiant meam protectionem;
Maria, et sancta Brigida,
Quarum patrocinio muniamur singuli."

—See Tr. Th. p. 518.

attested by both Protestant and Catholic antiquarians, and stands incontestably supported by the writings of Probus, the scholiast, and all our ancient hagiologists. In short, the doctrine which St. Patrick received, together with his ordination from the Catholic Church, was of course the same which was then believed and practised by the universal Christian world; and that the Catholics of Ireland now hold and believe the same truths, which fourteen hundred years ago were taught and inculcated to our forefathers, by the apostle of the nation, cannot by possibility be denied. Protestant writers of great literary distinction bear honorable testimony to the truth of this position; nay more, our ancient liturgies, and even the fragments that remain of our national records—the very ruins of the country, and the ivy-clad monuments that lie mouldering on the walls of the cathedral and the convent—all proclaim the venerable Catholic creed of former days, and serve to remind us of that holy religion in which our forefathers gloried, and for which numbers of them shed their blood. Besides the dogmas or articles of faith which the apostle delivered to our ancestors, and which must be essentially one and the same through all ages and nations, there are also disciplinary laws emanating from St. Patrick, which must challenge our attention. For the sake of brevity, allusion shall be made merely to those few on which the conversion of the country and the moral civilization of the people mainly depended. St. Patrick was fully aware that two grand mediums were absolutely necessary for the conversion of any country—namely, public gratuitous education, and a priesthood divested of wealth, estranged from this world, and having neither the ties of kindred nor of earthly affection to lead them astray from the great work in which they were engaged. This doctrine he himself learned in the retreats of Tours and Lerins; and almost as soon as he had entered on the mission of Ireland, he took particular care to reduce it to practice. Hence we find numerous monasteries founded in a very short time after the conversions made by our apostle in the halls of Tarah. These parent establishments in a few years branched out through the country; every monastery was essentially a college, in which youth was gratuitously instructed; the indigent and the desolate found an asylum and a home within its hallowed walls—while the monks themselves, renouncing the world, and bound down by solemn obligations, placed their only happiness in the hope of an eternal reward, and their only glory in the extension of the cross of Christ. Such was the system adopted by St. Patrick; such has been

the system of the Catholic Church from the earliest ages, and its effects, particularly in this country, shall be more clearly developed in the subsequent pages of this analysis. It now remains for the reader to draw the contrast between the state of Ireland in those ancient times, and its present impoverished degraded condition. The former exhibits a nation prosperous and happy, with its people abounding in every comfort. The traveller on his way, and the stranger far from home, had a place of welcome and of rest; the child of genius, though destitute and abandoned by the world, knew where to find an asylum; the indigent and the infirm had a home, and a friendly home, within the hospitable gates of the Christian convent. It is unnecessary to dwell on the counterpart of this melancholy picture. Instead of plenty or comfort, or houses of hospitality, we have now an unemployed population—a people literally maddened with distress and beggary; a nation overwhelmed with a debt, such as has not been known since the foundation of society, together with all its concomitant train of evils—discontent, pauperism, disease and starvation. When we come to treat of the sixteenth century, the clue of this apparent paradox shall be fairly unravelled.

As a supplement to the epitome of St. Brigid's life given in the preceding chapter, we may add, that this great saint, styled the "Mary of the Irish," forms the subject of a hymn, attributed by Colgan and other learned authorities to St. Ultan, bishop of Ardbraccan, in Meath, who died A. D. 656. This ancient poem, in honor of the holy woman whose virtues were so highly appreciated by our Catholic forefathers, proves that the ancient Irish Church venerated the memory of its saints, and relied on their potent intercession to obtain favors, spiritual and temporal, from God.

"Christus in nostra insula quæ vocatur Hibernia
Ostensus est hominibus maximis mirabilibus
Quæ perfecit per felicem cœlestis vitæ virginem
Præcellentem pro merito magno in mundi circulo.
Hymnus iste angelicæ summæque sanctæ Brigitæ
Fari non valet omnia virtutum mirabilia
Quæ nostris nunquam auribus si sint facta audivimus,
Nisi per istam virginem Mariæ sanctæ similem.

"Zona sanctæ militiæ sanctos lumbos precingere
Consuevit diurno nocturno quoque studio:
Consummato certamine sumpsit palmam victoriæ
Refulgens magno splendore ut sol in cœli culmine
Audite virginis laudes sancta quoque merita.
Perfectionem quam promisit viriliter implevit;
Christi matrem se spopondit dictis et fecit factis
Brigita automota veri Dei regina."

To the same author Colgan attributes another poem on St. Brigid, the concluding verses of which we subjoin, in order to show that the invocation of saints was as familiar to our predecessors as it is to us.

"Mitte beata preces pro nobis, virgo benigna,
Ad Dominum semper mitte beata preces."

SIXTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

State of the Church of Ireland at the commencement of the sixth century—Ecclesiastical seats of literature established during that period—The Colleges of Clonard, of Clonfert, of Clonmacnois, and of Bangor—Effects which the religion of the country had derived from these literary foundations—Effects which foreign nations had received from the same establishments—St. Columbkille—History of his apostolical Labours—St. Columbanus—His acts at Lutzen—At Bregentz and in Switzerland—Establishes the celebrated Monastery of Bobbio—His writings and death—Character of the Church of Ireland at the close of the sixth century.

The sixth century forms one of the brightest epochs in the annals of the Church of Ireland. At this period the monarchs and princes of the land were Christians; their subjects, save in some few and remote places, had generously embraced the faith; the ancient druidical superstitions, which had for so many ages triumphed over reason, truth, and morality, were laid prostrate, while genuine religion, and the practice of the most sublime virtues, were progressively advancing, and formed the standing character of the nation. It has been already stated, that education and a priesthood disengaged from attachments to this world, were the principal ordinary means employed by our great apostle and his successors for effecting this grand and wonderful revolution. The same Gospel-like system had been followed up on a more extensive scale, and with similar results, in the century of which we are now treating. It will, therefore, be necessary in this chapter to turn our attention, first to the principal schools or colleges founded in the sixth century, together with the history of the great and holy men by whom they had been conducted; and then to examine the effects which these establishments had produced, not only in Ireland, but likewise in other and distant regions. From among the numberless retreats of literature by which our country had in this age been distinguished, four principal ones shall be selected; namely, Clonard under St. Finian—Clonfert under St. Brendan—Clonmacnois under St. Kieran, and Bangor under St. Comgall. Clonard is situated near the banks of the Boyne, in the barony of Moysenrath, county of Meath, and its celebrated monastery

and school were founded by St. Finian, A.D. 530. Finian was a native of Leinster,* and having spent the early part of his life under the care of the learned Fortkern, he felt a desire to visit foreign countries, for the purpose of acquiring an additional stock of theological information. Accordingly, he retired to Kilmuire, in Britain, and was kindly received by the holy men, David, Gildas, and Cadoc, with whom he continued for some time. Near this place he afterwards erected three churches, and remained there for thirty years. About the year 520 he returned to his native country, and having landed at Carn, near Carnsore Point, in the county of Wexford, he sent messengers to Muiridach, sovereign of Hy-Kinsellagh, requesting permission to settle in his territory. This prince was overjoyed at the arrival of Finian, and granted him a site, on which he erected a church and established a religious community, at a place called Achad-abhla.† His next religious establishment was at Magna, in the territory of Hy-barche (county of Carlow). Here he taught theology, and gave lectures on the holy Scriptures for seven years. After having formed retreats of piety and education in other quarters, he came to Clonard, A.D. 530, which at that time was a dreary and frightful desert. Diermit, the monarch, was his particular patron; and under his sanction he erected the celebrated monastery and school of Clonard, which, in the sixth century, and in after times, was the fruitful nursery of learned men, zealous missionaries, and eminent saints. The Scriptures and the reading of the Fathers were particularly attended to in this retreat; and among those who received their education in it, were Columbkill, Kieran of Clonmacnois, Kieran of Saigar, Brendan of Clonfert, Columb of Tirdaglass, and numberless others.‡ In the house of Clonard, hospitality kept pace with literature. Its fame soon spread beyond the shores of Ireland, and scholars in multitudes repaired thither, not only from Britain, but also from Gaul and other parts of the continent. Nor did its reputation cease after the death of the founder, in 552; Clonard still continued to send forth a host of learned men, while these missionaries were not only the ornaments of their own country, but moreover the luminaries of foreign and distant lands. In 1170 both the town of Clonard and its ancient monastery were plundered and laid waste by MacMorough and the English under the command of Strongbow. This religious establishment continued to flourish until the time of

* Hymn Off. Finn. † Archdall, Mon. ‡ Ussher, p. 909.

Edward VI, when its possessions were confiscated, and the monastery, with its appurtenances,* was granted for ever in foe-farm to Thomas Cusacke and Richard Slayne, at a stipulated annual rent.†

The next celebrated seminary established in the sixth century was that of CLONFERT, near the Shannon, in the county of Galway, founded and superintended by that primitive father of the Irish Church, St. Brendan. This eminent saint was descended from the princely family of Hua-Alta, in Kerry,‡ and his birth, as has been already observed, was foretold by St. Patrick himself. Having received the first rudiments of his education under Ercus, bishop of Slane, he repaired to Jarlath of Tuam, under whom he is supposed to have read theology. Some few years after, Brendan retired to Brittany, where he erected a monastery and school, and among those who received their education under him, is mentioned the learned Maclovius, bishop of the ancient see of Ailech or Alectum, now St. Malo.§ After his return from Brittany he founded the great monastery and college of Clonfert,‖ while the rule which he drew up for his monks was held in such high estimation, that it was supposed to have been dictated by an angel. St. Brendan presided over three thousand monks, including, besides the community of Clonfert, those who belonged to the other houses of his institute in various parts of Ireland. If we except the schools of Clonard and of Bangor, this at Clonfert deserves to be ranked in the first place among the sacred and literary institutions of Ireland. The number of scholars, and particularly of foreigners, who received their education in it, soon rendered its name celebrated. Besides theological truths, philosophy, the sciences, and the general literature of the day, were taught in the schools of Clonfert; and the aid which it contributed in diffusing morality at home, and in establishing the reputation of Ireland in distant countries, has been acknowledged and deservedly eulogized by many of our ancient writers. Henry O'Gormacan was the last abbot, in 1540, when the abbey was plundered and suppressed by Henry VIII, and its possessions were united to the bishopric of Clonfert.¶ We

* At the period of the general suppression of religious houses in Ireland, this ancient establishment was found to possess 160 messuages, with their gardens; 912 acres of arable land, 1,280 acres of pasture, 192 acres of meadow, 184 acres of underwood, and 400 acres of moor, a great portion of which was situated in Kilbreny, Ballynlogh, and other parts of the county of Kildare.—Auditor-General.

† Auditor-General's Office. ‡ Tripart. l. 3, c. 47. § Ussher, p. 955.

‖ Colgan, p. 102. ¶ Aud.-Gen.

have no exact account of these possessions, but they must have been very considerable.

The monastic school of Clonmacnois, on the banks of the Shannon, and in the barony of Garrycastle (King's County), may be justly ranked among the literary establishments of the sixth century. Its founder, St. Kieran, was born in the county of Meath, A.D. 507, but his parents were originally from Ulster. Kieran received his education at Clonard, after which he retired to the monastery of St. Nennidius, in one of the islands of Lough Erne, in order to improve himself still more in the knowledge and observance of monastic discipline. Having the same object in view, he afterwards repaired to the island of Arran, and placed himself under the guidance of St. Enda, whose monastery was at that time considered the most rigorous in all Ireland. In 548 Kieran removed to the western banks of the Shannon, where he founded the great monastery of Clonmacnois,* on a site granted to him by the monarch Dermot. The school attached to this monastery was celebrated particularly for theological literature, contemplative and ascetic exercises, but, above all, for the number of missionaries and holy persons whom it produced. St. Kieran died in the prime of life, and shortly after its erection, in 549, having been cut off by a pestilence, which in that year raged throughout Ireland. Although a simple priest, he is universally considered as one of the Fathers of the Irish Church, and to his monastery at Clonmacnois, together with its appendant institutions, the literature and morality of Ireland in the sixth century were eminently indebted.

The celebrated establishment of Bangor is that to which the attention of the reader must now be briefly directed. Its founder, St. Comgall, was of a distinguished family of Dalaradia, and was born about the year 516. Under the austere rule of St. Fintan, at Clonenagh, he became acquainted with the practice of monastic discipline; after which he repaired to the schools of Clonmacnois, where he finished his education and was ordained priest. On his return to Ulster, he preached in several districts of that province, and in 559, Comgall entered Dalaradia, and laid the foundation of Benchor; or, as it is now called, Bangor, near the bay of Carrickfergus, county of Down.† In a short time the celebrity of this house was so great, that the original establishment could not contain the multitude of monks and scholars who flocked, not only from all parts of Ireland, but from various and distant countries on

* See c. ii. century 6. † Ussher, p. 956.

the continent, to learn knowledge, discipline, and morality within its sacred walls. The number was at one time computed at three thousand;* all observing the rule which the saint himself had drawn up, and acting under his instruction and superintendence. Among these may be noticed Cormac, king of south Leinster, and Columbanus,† one of the greatest men whom the Christian Church could boast of in that age. St. Comgall, besides his monastic rule, was the author of several valuable tracts on literature and practical morality, and is most deservedly ranked in the list of the Fathers of the Irish Church.‡ The fame of the schools of Bangor continued for centuries after the death of its founder. St. Bernard testifies that its name had been spread throughout Europe; and we are assured by contemporary annalists, that while numbers repaired to Bangor, as the seat of science and wisdom, still greater multitudes took shelter within its hallowed walls, and looked up to it as an asylum, in whose sanctuary they might rest secured from the angry and perilous scenes of a troublesome and fluctuating world. William O'Dorman was the last abbot, A.D. 1541, when the work of national ruin commenced.§ What Henry VIII. had left undone, Elizabeth and James I. completed; while the ancient abbey of Bangor, and that part of the possessions situated in Ballyegan and Corbally, were granted for ever in capite to Gerald earl of Kildare.‖

By the instrumentality of these and similar establishments, did the Christian religion make a rapid and an amazing progress over Ireland, during the sixth century. Along the northern coast, and throughout the province of Connaught, the number of new congregations had so considerably multiplied, that the episcopal sees which had been already founded, were now deemed insufficient for the missionary duties of those districts. Besides the ancient diocese of Elphin, we find, in this century, four additional sees established in the same province; while in the north, together with the territory of Meath, a still greater number derive their origin from the same period.¶ The triumph of the Gospel was marked with

* Second Life, c. 13. † Acta Malac[illegible].

‡ Codex Ardmach.

§ The possessions of this religious establishment (according to an inquisition taken in the reign of James I.) were thirty-one townlands, among which were Bangor, Carogh, Ballow, Batlemajor, Caronser, Ballerohan, and Ballenbarnen, all situated in the Ards and the Upper Clandeboy. Likewise the two Copland Islands, in the bay of Carrickfergus, together with [illegible] of Antrim, and the same number in the barony of Lecale. It also possessed a townland in the Isle of Man, and the advowson of all the vicarages of the above-mentioned lands.

‖ Aud.-Gen.

¶ See chap. ii.

similar success in the principalities of Thomond and Desmond. At the very extremity of the south, in rural districts as well as in towns and villages, suitable edifices had been raised for the celebration of the divine mysteries, and thus were the ancient sees of Cloyne and Ross organized and established, during the period of which we are now treating. But the morality of the faithful was that in which the glory of the rising Church of Ireland chiefly consisted; and many even of our princes, sacrificing their natural thirst for fame, and laying down the shield and the sceptre, retired within the silent walls of the monastic cell, and consecrated the remainder of their days to the service of their God. It would seem as if the Almighty had, at this time, taken Ireland under his especial and providential care. Other countries were distracted either by wars, or by heresy and schism. On the continent of Europe, one general scene of confusion prevailed. The great and ancient Roman Empire, once the terror of the world, was struck to its centre by countless hordes of barbarians, who rushed down from the wilds and deserts of the north, and like an inundation swept all before them. These savage tribes, after having made themselves masters, not only of Gaul and Spain, and other Roman provinces to the west, but likewise of the rich and luxuriant plains of Italy and of Rome itself, began to subdivide and form dissensions among themselves; so that the sword for centuries remained unsheathed—society seemed, as it were, tottering to its foundation—the temple, the sanctuary, and the altars of the Most High had been polluted, while the very plains of the country were crimsoned with the blood of its bravest inhabitants. To complete the climax of this scene of human desolation, schism and heresy (which are still greater curses than war, and which in fact are the forerunners of war,) were making rapid strides amongst them. The most ancient and venerable and fundamental truths of the Christian religion had been blasphemously assailed; and novelties hitherto unheard of—the wild chimeras of disappointed apostates—were about to be set forth and substituted in their place. Such had been the melancholy picture which the great continent of Europe presented. In the meantime, Ireland was a land of peace, religion and happiness: her monarchs were practical Christians—her hierarchy was established—her religious institutions were rising up numerous and magnificent—her schools of learning had their halls and gates thrown open for the welcome reception of all who had a desire to come and taste of the fountain of knowledge—while the board of hospitality was spread out and plentifully

furnished for the traveller and the stranger, for the poor and the destitute. Hence it was that foreigners in multitudes fled for refuge and for education to Ireland, during the sixth and succeeding centuries; and to this circumstance must, most probably, be attributed that anxious desire which our great saints had, of leaving their own country, and of going forth to preach the Gospel through the wilds and deserts of distant lands. Among the number of these extraordinary men, SS. Columbkill and Columbanus eminently deserve to be noticed; and to their history, the remainder of this chapter shall be devoted.

Columba or Columbkill was of a princely race, having been descended in a direct line from Nial of the nine hostages,* and was born at Gartan, a district in the county of Donegal, A.D. 521. At an early age he repaired to the schools of St. Finian of Maghbile, in the county of Down, and afterwards attended the lectures of St. Finian of Clonard, where by his intense application to sacred literature, and his extraordinary rigorous mode of life, he elicited the admiration of that master and model of saints. On his return to Tirconnell, the country of his birth, Columba founded a sumptuous monastery, on an eminence near Lough Foyle, called Daire-Colgaic, whence is derived the name of the present city of Derry.† This establishment having been committed to the care of the elder monks, the present barony of Ballycowen, in the King's County, became the next scene of his missionary labours; and here he erected the great monastery of Durrogh, A.D. 550. During his residence at Durrogh, several prelates, admiring his sanctity, judged him worthy of the episcopal order, and sent him with letters of approbation to St. Etchen, then residing at Clain-bile, in the county of Meath. Columba was received by the prelate with marks of great kindness, and shortly after was ordained priest; the saint himself having an objection to be raised to a higher rank in the Church. This event occurred A.D. 551, and in the thirtieth year of his age. To this period must be referred the date of the numerous monastic foundations, particularly in Ulster, Sligo, Roscommon, and Meath, which then, and in after times, constituted the glory and ornament of the Columbian institute in Ireland. The light of Christianity had not yet beamed upon the Northern Picts. That martial and powerful people had, for ages, been the scourge and terror of surrounding nations, but having been weakened by constant wars and successive

* Ussher, p. 689.

revolutions, their dominion became gradually circumscribed, and about the middle of the sixth century, their possessions were confined to some of the Hebrides, and to that portion of modern Scotland which branches to the north of the great and wild range of the Grampian Mountains. Columba, viewing with pity the forlorn state of this nation, and the still more desolate condition of his own countrymen who were settled in Argyle and the adjacent tracts,* determined on proceeding amongst them and laying the basis of a new and extensive mission. For this purpose he set out from Ireland in 563, accompanied by twelve companions, and having arrived at Hy, a grant of that island was made to him by his relative, Conall, king of the Albanian Scots.† In the island of Hy he erected a monastery, which afterwards became his favourite establishment, and having arranged its affairs, Columba departed with a few companions, and directed his course towards the Pictish territories. Bride, who was then monarch of that nation, kept his court at Inverness. This prince, on being acquainted with Columba's intentions, sternly refused even the permission of an audience, and gave directions that the gates of his castle should be locked. This order was carefully obeyed; but, as Adamnan writes, the saint placed his hand on the bolt; at the name of Christ, the massy irons gave way, and the gate flew open for the reception of the man of God.‡ Bride very soon after embraced the Christian faith, while his conversion necessarily contributed to prepare the way for the more successful and triumphant progress of our Columbian missionaries. The Orkney islands were next visited by our saint, and here also the cross of Christ was planted and His Gospel embraced by multitudes. But the Hebrides or Western Islands became the principal scene of his missionary labours; and to the conversion of these wild and sequestered tracts, all the zeal of Columba seemed to be chiefly directed. The inhabitants of Himba were soon gained over to the faith. Elna was next honoured by the erection of several churches. In the island of Ethica, he laid the foundation of a splendid monastery, the government of which was committed to his disciple Baithen; and finally he visited Skey, where the faith of Christ made rapid progress, and several religious institutions were soon seen rising from their foundations.§

* It may be proper to remark that the Scots or Irish had formed an establishment in North Britain, Albania, A.D. 503. The foundation of this Scottish kingdom was laid by Loarn, son of Erk, and his brother Fergus, who became his immediate successor.—O'Flaherty, Ogygia, p. 472.

† Smith, Life, p. 18. ‡ L. 2, c. 35.

§ Cumineus Vit.

meantime Columba paid frequent visits to the British Scots, whose ecclesiastical affairs he superintended, and among whom he formed several establishments, the most considerable of which stood near Lough Awe, in Argyle. His principal missionary labours were, however, devoted to the Western Isles and to the Pictish territories. These places he supplied with churches and enriched with monastic foundations, which, having been subjected to his own rule, became at the same time seminaries of learning and nurseries of saints. Adopting the system which he had been taught at Clonard, this apostolic man, during his missionary career, took care to employ the two great ordinary mediums ordained by Providence for the conversion of mankind—gratuitous education, and a priesthood disengaged from the world and bound down by strict and solemn obligations. By means of these, and with the aid of Heaven, did the Cross and the Gospel at length prevail; the long and dismal reign of idolatry was brought to a close, and compelled to give way to the kingdom of Christ, and our saint was ever afterwards revered as the patron and apostle of these extensive regions.

In the year 490, St. Columba paid a visit to Ireland, at which time an assembly of the kingdom was held at Drumceat, in the county of Derry.* Aidus was then monarch of Ireland, and the saint was pressingly invited to attend this national convention. One of the principal objects for which it had been summoned was the suppression of the bardic order, against which a general outcry was, at that time, raised throughout the country. The merits and importance of that body have been variously recognized by many of our ancient annalists; its nature and offices are thus described by a modern writer:† "The Irish nation, greedy of praise, and very solicitous about its history, was accustomed, from its origin, to hold in high estimation professors of antiquity, of whom there was a great number, and who were called Antiquarians or Poets. It was their official duty to describe the transactions, wars, and triumphs of kings, princes, and heroes; to register the genealogies and prerogatives of noble families, and to mark and distinguish the boundaries of districts and lands. They wrote in verse preferably to prose, partly for the purpose of helping the memory, and partly to guard against the diffusiveness of prosaic composition." The charges alleged against them were, that their numbers had multiplied to such an extent that they became an intolerable nuisance to the country; and again, that their insufferable

* Tr. Th. p. 375. † O'Donnel, l. 3, c. 2.

impudence frequently allowed them to extol, in the most exaggerated strains, such of the nobility as paid them well and entertained them hospitably; while others who refused to comply with their exorbitant demands, were sure to be satirised and villified. In short, that they roamed about the country in groups; were literally billeted on the people, and required, as a right, the best of every thing,—a demand which the inhabitants, overawed by these lampooners, had seldom the fortitude to refuse. On these charges the whole order would most probably have been suppressed, had not Columba interfered. Upon his advice it was finally agreed that they should be reduced to a limited number, and placed under such regulations that they could no longer be an annoyance to the public.* From Drumceat St. Columbkill repaired to his favourite monasteries of Derry and of Durragh. He afterwards proceeded to Clonmacnois, where he was received with great marks of respect and veneration. His next visit was to St. Comgall of Bangor, and from these he went to Coleraine, the inhabitants of which assembled in multitudes to see the saint and to receive his benediction. This is the last place in Ireland where we find St. Columba. He returned to Hy, and notwithstanding his great age, he continued to govern that and his other numerous religious establishments. Frequently did he pray that the Lord would be pleased to call him to himself at the expiration of thirty years after his first arrival at Hy; and that period having now elapsed, Columba looked with hope and joy to his departure from this world, but was apprized in a vision that his presence on earth was still necessary for four years longer. The happy day was at length approaching, and the saint went, accompanied by his attendant Diermit, to bless the barn belonging to the monastery. Having acquainted Diermit that said day would be his last in this world, he ascended an eminence and with uplifted hands gave his blessing to the monastery. On his return he sat down in an adjoining hut and copied a part of the Psalter; but having come to that passage in the 33rd psalm, "Inquirentes autem Dominum, non deficient omni bono," he stopped and said "let Baithen write the remainder." The saint afterwards attended vespers in the choir, and then retired to his cell, where he reclined on his bed of stone, and gave instructions which were at a future time to be communicated to the brethren. When the hour for midnight prayers had arrived, he hastened to the church and was the first to enter it. Diermit appeared soon after, and found him in a reclining

* O'Donnel, l. 3, c. 7.

posture before the altar and at the point of death. Instantly the brethren were assembled, in grief and tears, around him; but the saint raising his eyes, looked upon them with a bright and cheerful countenance; and then, with the assistance of Diermit, raising his right hand, he gave his last benediction to the community, and resigned his happy soul into the hands of his Saviour, on the morning of Sunday the 9th of June, A.D. 597, and in the 76th year of his age.*

The memory of this great and extraordinary saint will be ever held in the most profound veneration, not only in Ireland, but also in Scotland, the Hebrides, and over the western world. Although but a simple priest, St. Columba possessed for many years an ecclesiastical jurisdiction even over the bishops of these countries;† and this singular privilege was, as a mark of respect for his memory, enjoyed by his successors for a considerable time after his death. He drew up a monastic rule, which was scrupulously observed in all the houses of his institute.‡ St. Columbkille composed several tracts, both in prose and verse, abounding with great biblical research and theological learning. Colgan has published three of his Latin hymns, the first of which, after commencing with the Eternity, Unity and Trinity of God, branches out into several sacred subjects, and concludes with an awful description of the day of judgment, the resurrection of mankind, and the future state of the just and unjust. Besides his hymns, he has also left a beautiful tract in honour of St. Kieran of Clonmacnois. His last work was a life of St. Patrick, written in Irish; of which mention is made several times by the authors of the Tripartite. With respect to those prophecies which commonly appear under the sanction of his name, there seems to be no settled opinion among antiquarians. Ussher, Colgan and others receive some of them as genuine, and many of them they reject as spurious.§ St. Columbkille was succeeded in the government of Hy by Baithen; and while his institute contributed to the salvation of thousands, it stood for centuries after, the glory and bright ornament of the western Church.

Next to the history of St. Columbkille, that of the great COLUMBANUS deserves to be noticed. Columbanus was a native of Leinster, and was born about the year 5[illegible]. [illegible] a youth, he was placed under the care of [illegible] Senile, a man, at that time, very eminent for his sanctity and

* Adamnan, l. 3; Annals of Innisfal. † Bede, l. 3, c.
‡ Tr. Th. p. 471. § Tr. Th. p. 474.

knowledge of the holy Scriptures. While under the instruction of this master, Columbanus formed the determination of embracing the monastic state, and for that purpose repaired to Bangor, where he remained for many years, under the discipline of the holy abbot St. Comgall. During this time, Columbanus gave many and strong proofs not only of a powerful mind and of superior talents, but likewise of a most holy disposition and an ardent desire to please his God, and consecrate the remainder of his days to his sacred service. With this object in view, he resolved to retire to some foreign country, and having communicated his intentions to St. Comgall, twelve of the brethren were selected and adopted by him, as the companions of all his future spiritual labours. The provinces of Gaul, and of the whole south of Europe, presented at this period a most frightful picture. Even as yet, the breaches occasioned by invasion without, and much more by discontent and rebellion within, had by no means been repaired; society appeared unsettled; law, subordination—every material requisite for its frame-work seemed to have been wanting, while infidelity and licentiousness, the usual attendants on war, made awful strides, and prevailed almost universally, from the throne to the cottage. Columbanus and his companions, after making a short stay in Britain, sailed for the coast of Gaul, and about the year 590 arrived on the frontiers of Burgundy. The neighbouring territory of the Vosges was that which the saint and his companions had now selected; and having penetrated into this wild and desolate region, they took up their abode in a deserted fort called Anagrates, situated in the present *Franche-comte.* In this solitude they endured they greatest distress, having lived merely on a limited supply of wild herbs and a species of apples which that wilderness had produced. The fame of their sanctity had soon spread through the surrounding country, and multitudes of people came to hear the word of life from the lips of our saint; while many of them presented themselves and prayed to be admitted into his community. It was soon found necessary to erect a monastery; and a site was fixed upon named *Luxovium*, now *Luxeuil*, in the heart of the forest, about eight miles distant from Anagrates, the number of postulants increasing daily, and among them not a few of the nobility, a second establishment was founded, at a place which, on account of its number of springs, was called Ad-fontanas (Fontaines). For the use of these estab-

* Fleury, Hist. Eccl. l. 35.

lishments Columbanus drew up a rule, which was afterwards received and observed in France before that of St. Benedict had been introduced into that country.* The Columbian constitutions were approved of and highly commended by the Gallican bishops in the Council of Macon, A.D. 627; and after having been for many years the rule of several monasteries, not only in France, but also in Italy, Germany, and Switzerland, became at length modified and incorporated with those of St. Benedict. Columbanus had not been very long at Luxen, when he had to endure one of those storms which not unfrequently fall to the lot of zealous and holy men. This persecution was set on foot by Theodoric, king of Burgundy, or rather by the powerful though secret agency of the queen-dowager Brunchaut.† For some time Theodoric had treated the saint with great marks of respect, was wont frequently to visit him in his solitude, and listened with attention to the instructions which he was always sure to receive. But the good impressions which the saint's counsel had made on the mind of the king, were as speedily removed by the bad example and wicked designs of the queen-dowager. This haughty and irreligious woman had long held the reins of power in her hands; the king's marriage was recommended and settled upon—a rival in the court could not be endured—and to prevent the possibility of such an occurrence, every means were employed to debauch the morals of the young prince, and to lead him into the most shameful excesses. By her intrigues, the palace was converted into a den of prostitutes; decency, order, and religion were set at naught, and, as is generally the case, the example was followed in other quarters, so that the infection was making its way rapidly through the different classes of society. Columbanus remonstrated with Theodoric, but his admonitions were unheeded. At that time the court had been removed to Spissia. Thither the saint repaired, but could not be prevailed upon to stop at the palace or in any of the mansions belonging to the king. Theodoric, however, on hearing of his arrival, was resolved to receive him with becoming respect; the servants of the royal household were in attendance; a sumptuous repast was got ready, and wines of delicious flavour with [illegible] were laid before him. But these tokens of respect, however flattering to others, were not such as Columbanus would admire, nor had they a single charm by which he could even for a moment be diverted from the high object which he had

* Biblioth. Patr. tom. 12. † Jonas, c. 17.

in view. "What meaneth this munificence? (observes the saint) why those costly presents, which to us must be unacceptable? It is written: 'The Most High rejects the gift of the impious';* nor is it meet that the servants of God should be defiled with such viands." The king and Brunchant made most solemn promises of reform; scarcely, however, had the saint departed, when the irregularities of the court were renewed, and scenes of vice and profligacy of a still darker shade were introduced. As a last resource, Columbanus addressed a strong letter to the king, denouncing his licentious conduct, and refusing to hold communion with him, unless he should give at once ample signs of repentance, and abandon his wicked career. This remonstance would most probably have had effect, were it not for the influence of Brunchant. That wicked woman, at once enraged, and still anxious to maintain her power, even at the expense of the royal character, had used every means to inflame the passions of Theodoric, and so far did she succeed, that the king himself, attended by his courtiers and guards, set out for Luxen, determined on banishing Columbanus and the community from his dominions.† Theodoric forced his way into the cloister; an armed soldiery were now stationed in the house of prayer, while the saint himself, remaining in the sanctuary and with the firmness of a martyr, boldly addressed the king:—"If (he exclaims) thou, Sire, art come hither to violate the discipline already established, or to destroy the dwellings of the servants of God, know that in heaven there is a just and an avenging power; thy kingdom shall be taken from thee, and both thou and thy royal race shall be cut off and destroyed on the earth." The denunciation alarmed Theodoric; he withdrew and retired to his palace; however, a body of armed men were soon after directed to proceed to Luxen and expel Columbanus, together with such of the monks as were from Ireland, out of Theodoric's dominions. Those members of the community who had been natives of France were permitted to remain; and the saint, on his departure, amidst the tears and lamentations of his brethren, besought them to be of good heart, for that the Lord would be to them a Father, and reward them with mansions into which the workers of sacrilege can never expect to enter. St. Columbanus departed from the Vosges in the year 610, after having resided about twenty years in that country.‡ The captain of the guard, Ragamund, had orders to escort the religious to the

* Eccl. xxxiv. 23. † Jonas, c. 18. ‡ Fleury, l. 37, c. 6.

coast, which commission was executed with great cruelty. The journey was performed by night as well as by day, and having at length reached Nevers, they were compelled to embark on boats then plying on the Loire. Passing by Tours, they arrived with great difficulty at Nantz, and here they remained for some days waiting for a passage to Ireland. At length a vessel was found ready to sail, and the saint with his companions were put on board. Scarcely, however, had they reached the ocean, when a violent storm arose, by which the vessel was driven back and cast on the shore, where it lay stranded during the night. The captain and his crew conceiving that this misfortune arose in consequence of having the saint and his brethren on board, refused to carry them any farther, and accordingly they were left on shore, when immediately the storm abated and the ship put out to sea. Columbanus, recognizing the will of Heaven in these events, and conscious of the important services which he might render to the ignorant and unsettled inhabitants of that region, proceeded with his companions to Nantz, and without much interruption bent his course to the kingdom of Austrasia, then governed by Theodobert, brother of the Vosgesian Theodoric. His ulterior object was, to form a settlement in some part of Italy near the Alps. Thither, therefore, he proceeded, and during his journey was kindly received by several bishops, and experienced great hospitality from Clotharius, a relative of Theodoric and king of the Soissons. When the saint had entered the dominions of Theodobert (Austrasia), he was introduced to the king, and was received with marked respect and distinction. Having, after a few days, embarked on the Rhine, he continued his route to Mentz, where, at the request of the bishop, he preached to the people, and would have been detained, but his love for the desert, and his glowing zeal for the conversion of its inhabitants being still paramount, he was, at his own request, allowed to proceed on his journey. At the desire of the good king Theodobert, he travelled along the lake Zurich in Switzerland, and in the canton of Zug converted a great number of souls to the faith of Christ. From thence Columbanus departed to Arbona, near the lake of Constance; but district having been tolerably supplied with missionaries, saint directed his course to the ancient Brigantium (Bregentz), then inhabited by an idolatrous people. The holy missioner here met with an immediate repulse; judging it, therefore, more prudent to commence his labours with the Suevi or ancient Swiss, who dwelt in the adjoining lands, he removed amongst them; and by numerous miracles and incessant preach-

ing, aided by the good example of his community, he ultimately succeeded in converting the entire population of this sequestered and hitherto unfrequented territory.* Returning to Bregentz with his brethren and a number of the Suevi, Columbanus entered their pagan temple on the day of a solemn festival; he addressed the people, and called on the name of Christ, when, as the historian relates, the three great brazen images which their ancestors worshipped were upset, and the leading men and principal portion of the inhabitants embraced the faith. At their request, the saint afterwards erected a monastery in their neighbourhood, and following the custom of Ireland, had a seminary annexed to it, which in after times became exceedingly celebrated. At this period, he felt a strong desire to preach the Gospel to the Venetii or Sclavi, who were likewise ignorant of the true God, but in consequence of a vision, he perceived that the time had not yet come for the conversion of that people.†

St. Columbanus now proceeds on his journey to Italy, and arrived in Milan about the year 612.‡ The Arian heresy, although ably refuted by various writers and solemnly condemned by the Council of Nice, was still upheld, and its impious tenets advocated by a considerable portion of the eastern Church. Against these heretics, Columbanus published a very learned tract, in which he demonstrated the divinity of Jesus Christ, both from the authority of the sacred Scriptures and the unanimous tradition of ages.§ At this period, likewise, the celebrated question of the three chapters had caused an unusual sensation all over Italy. These productions were condemned in the second general Council of Constantinople, yet the controversy connected with them was, even now, like the waves of a troubled ocean, beating high and restless, and especially in the district of Milan. This it was which occasioned St. Columbanus to write his celebrated epistle to pope Boniface IV.‖ In this very able and learned document, he addresses Boniface as the most honoured head of all the churches—as the most exalted prelate, and as the pastor of pastors.¶ He then apologises for having troubled his holiness, declaring that he had done so at the urgent

* Fleury, l. 37; Jonas, c. 26. † Jonas, c. 28. ‡ Muratori Annal. d'Ital.
§ Jonas, c. 29. ‖ Mabillon Annal. l. ii.
¶ The title of the epistle runs thus: "Pulcherrimo Omnium totius Europæ Ecclesiarum Capiti, Papæ præculci, præcelso Præsuli, Pastorum pastori, Reverendissimo Speculatori, humillimus celsissimo, minimus maximo, agrestis urbano, micrologus eloquentissimo, extremus primo, peregrinus indigenæ, pauperculus prepotenti (mirum dictu nova res rara avis!) scribere audet Bonifacio Patri Palumbes."—Vide Collectanea Sacra, ap Fleming.

request of the king (Arnulf); and after humbly imploring him to employ his authority and put an end to the schism, he concludes by saying: "For we, Irish, are disciples of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of all the divinely-inspired canonical writers; adhering constantly to the faith and apostolic doctrine. *Among us neither Jew, heretic, nor schismatic can be found, but the Catholic faith, entire and unshaken, precisely as we have received it from you, who are the successor of the holy Apostles.* For as I have already said, we are attached to the chair of St. Peter, and although Rome is great and renowned, yet with us it is great and distinguished only on account of that apostolic chair. Through the two Apostles of Christ ye are almost celestial, and *Rome is the head of the churches of the world.*"* In the year 613 St. Columbanus, at the earnest request of the king, founded the celebrated monastery of Bobbio, in a magnificently romantic part of the Appenines.† In the mean time Theodoric was cut off, just as he had been on the point of waging war against his relative Clotharius; two of his sons were slain, and the third was banished the kingdom. The infamous Brunchant was put to death by Clotharius, who accordingly ascended the throne, and became monarch of all France, A.D. 613.‡ The saint, thus tried in the crucible and exhausted with labour, spent the remainder of his days in the holy retreat of Bobbio, and died on the 21st of November, A.D. 615, and in the 72nd year of his age.

It would be impossible in this review to enlarge specifically on the learned, theological, and classical writings of this great and holy man. An analysis of his works is to be had in Dupin's Bibliotheque; and an accurate and erudite inquiry into that portion of his works which are lost, may be found in the "Histoire Litteraire de la France," by the Benedictines.§ The memory of this great saint will be for ever revered in the western Church; and while in Ireland his name shall be

* This passage deserves to be noticed. It affords another convincing proof of the doctrine of the ancient Irish Church, relative to the supremacy of the see of Rome, and the source whence its ecclesiastical jurisdiction had been derived.—Ep. ad Bon. Vide Appendix No. 1.

† Mabillon, Annal. Bened. l. 10. ‡ Abregé Chronol.

§ According to Fleming, (Collect. Sacr.) his works consist of seventeen discourses on various subjects appertaining to a spiritual life. His treatise on Canonical Penances (De Mensura Penitentiarum); his Monastic Rule, with the Regula de quotidianis Monachorum; Instructions on the Eight principal Vices; and five epistles, the first of which is addressed to pope Boniface, the second to the Fathers of the Gallican Synod, on the subject of the Pasch; the third to his disciples and monks; the fourth to pope Boniface IV., and the fifth to pope Gregory the Great. To these are added a valuable collection of his poetical writings.

handed down with admiration and love, the pages of Gallican history will furnish a splendid and an immortal record of the many signal services rendered to that nation by the zeal, labours, and writings of the great and ever-blessed Columbanus.*

In this manner did the Church of Ireland send forth her missionaries to distant countries. Meanwhile a bountiful and an all-ruling Providence supplied her with an abundance of holy and learned pastors, who both in solitude and in the bustle of life—in the city and in the cell, were leading thousands to heaven, and shedding new and additional lustre around the cross of Christ. There was not, perhaps, a single national church in the Christian world which could show forth such a host of literary, zealous and sanctified men as could the Church of Ireland at that period. This is a truth well supported by historical evidence, and shall be more fully illustrated in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II.

Successors of St. Patrick—Episcopal Sees—Religious Foundations of the Sixth Century.

The metropolitan see of Armagh was, in this century, governed by eight eminent and learned prelates in regular succession. It is, indeed, to be regretted that their acts, together with other important events connected with the history of that see, have not been handed down to us. These invaluable documents were, alas! sacrificed to the fury of those angry times, when the name of religion was made use of as a pretext for plunder, and when men of another creed and of another country, after laying prostrate the independence of the nation, attempted to bury in its ruins, every record of that venerable religion in

* The Monastic Rule of St. Columbanus (which may properly be said to have crowned all his labours with success) consists of ten chapters, in the following order: 1. De Obedientia (and be it remarked, this forms the grand basis of his entire monastic system). 2. De Taciturnitate. 3. De Cibo et Potu. 4. De Cupiditate calcanda. 5. De Vanitate calcanda. 6. De Castitate. 7. De Cursu (seu de Officio divino). 8. De Discretione. 9. De Mortificatione. 10. De Perfectione Monachi. To this rule is subjoined his Regula Coenobialis, seu de Quotidianis Penitentiis Monachorum, in fifteen chapters. This latter rule appears to be an abridgment of his Penitential, and on many points presents an exact coincidence with the more recent Penitential of Cummian.—Collect. Sacr.

which their forefathers gloried, and for which they were willing to shed their blood. DUBTACH or DUACH I, who was primate of Ireland at the close of the fifth century, died in 513, and was succeeded by ALILD I. and ALILD II, the latter of whom, after an incumbency of ten years, died A.D. 536. Alild was followed by DUACH II, descended from Colla-Huas, an ancient king of Ireland; Duach held the see for twelve years. His successor was David, of the illustrious house of Hua-Fiachraigh of Ulster, and called in the Psalter of Cashel Fiachrius. David governed the see only three years, and upon his demise, FEIDLIMID FION was elected archbishop of Armagh.* This prelate was a great encourager of learning, and enlarged the metropolitan seminary, to which he was a great benefactor. He was likewise most active in organizing the new episcopal sees, which, in this century, began to spring up in every province throughout the kingdom. Feidlimid died in 578, and had for his successor, CAIRLAN, a native of Hy-Nielan, in the county of Armagh. Cairlan's incumbency continued for ten years, and that of his successor EOCHAID for the same period; when, upon the death of the latter in 598, SENACH was consecrated archbishop of Armagh. Several annalists make mention of Senach as a learned man; and he is said to have written some valuable tracts on the Scriptures and writings of the Fathers, none of which are extant. After having governed the metropolitan see for twelve years, Senach died A.D. 610.†

The most ancient episcopal establishment of this century was the SEE OF DROMORE, founded about the year 514, by St. Colman.‡ This distinguished prelate was a descendant of the Dalaradian family, and after having studied the sacred Scriptures under St. Ailbe of Emly, he returned to his native province, and erected a monastery on the banks of the Locha, now the Lagan, in Dromore. Several eminent men received their education under St. Colman, among whom may be mentioned the great Finian of Clonard. We have no account of the succession in this see until about the close of the twelfth century; for which reason, some writers have been led to conjecture that Dromore had, during the intermediate period, been united to Armagh.§ This opinion, however, shall be examined in its proper place. The year of St. Colman's death has not been ascertained, but his festival is celebrated on the 7th of June.

THE SEE OF OSSORY derives its foundation from St. Kieran,

* Ware, Bishops at Armagh. † Tr. Th. p. 292.
‡ Ussher, p. 1065. § Ware, Bishops

A.D. 538. Kieran was born in Ossory, and after having spent many years under St. Finian of Clonard, he retired to a solitary spot, since called Saigar, in the territory of Ely O'Carrol, where he erected a monastery. The schools attached to this establishment were so celebrated, that students resorted here in numbers; and in a very few years Saigar (in the now King's County) became a city of great distinction.* The Ossorians being a martial and an ancient people, and very strongly attached to the institutions of their ancestors, were not so easily rescued from the errors of paganism as were the inhabitants of other territories. St. Kieran, however, preached amongst them, and with wonderful success. After having been consecrated bishop he fixed his see at Saigar. It was afterwards translated to Aghaboe, in the Queen's County, and finally to the city of Kilkenny. A circumstantial account of this translation, together with the history of this ancient and celebrated see, will be found in our review of the twelfth and succeeding centuries. St. Kieran died about the year 550, and his memory is revered on the 5th of March, the anniversary of his death.† Some English martyrologists pretend to maintain that St. Kieran died and was interred at Padstow, in Cornwall; but this assertion is merely a fac-simile of the Glastonbury fabrications regarding St. Patrick, and is repugnant to the concurrent testimony of all our ancient writers. Equally groundless is the opinion of those who assert that this saint was an acting prelate in Ireland previously to the arrival of St. Patrick. The above-mentioned date, relative to his decease, unaided by a single circumstance, is clearly sufficient to overthrow this absurd, unsupported, chimerical hypothesis. St. Kieran was buried at Saigar, where his virtues have been recorded and his memory revered with the most profound gratitude and devotion.

The see of Tuam was established about the year 550. St. Jarlath, a descendant of the noble house of Clonmacnic, was its founder, and was born about the beginning of the sixth century. His first establishment was at Cluainfois, not far distant from Tuam, at which place he erected a celebrated monastery and school. By the advice of St. Brendan of Clonfert, he removed to Tuam, where he was consecrated bishop and established his see.‡ Besides being master of a spiritual life, Jarlath was esteemed a very learned man, and among the number of his scholars is mentioned Colman, son of Lenine, surnamed Mitine, the sainted founder of the see of

* First Life, c. 6. † Annals Innisf. ‡ Ware, Bishops.

Cloyne, and St. Brendan. The day of his death, as marked in several calendars, is the 26th of December, but the festival is observed in the diocese of Tuam on the 6th of June. This see was raised to the rank of an archdiocese at the Council of Kells, in 1152, the particular account of which, together with a catalogue of its suffragans, must be reserved for the history of that period. The remains of St. Jarlath were preserved in a silver shrine, and deposited at Tuam in a capella, called from thence *Templene-scrin*, or the chapel of the shrine.

The see of Clonard, famous for the great monastery and school of St. Finian, was founded about the year 552. In after times, the bishops of this see were called *Comorbans*, or successors of St. Finian; for which reason, Colgan and others suppose that Finian was the founder of the see. However, in the list given us by the Four Masters, Finian is simply styled abbot,* and in the lessons of his office there is no mention whatever made of his episcopal rank; St. Senach, his successor, was unquestionably bishop of Clonard.† He governed the see thirty-six years, and died on the 21st August, A.D. 588. It may be proper to remark that the county of Meath, in which Clonard is situated, comprehended in ancient times several episcopal sees; viz., Clonard, Duleek, Slane, Kells, Dunshaughlin, Trim, Skrine, Ardbraccan, and Fore, all of which, except Duleek and Kells, were united to Clonard before the year 1152. Kells and Duleek became, in like manner, united to it in the thirteenth century. In the year 1206, and under the incumbency of Simon Rochfort, the see was translated from Clonard to Newtown, near Trim, where a cathedral church was erected, and from this time its prelates assumed permanently the title of bishops of Meath.‡

The see of Clonfert was founded by St. Moena, about the year 550. Passing over the confused variety of opinion which prevails among our annalists regarding the history of this saint, the probability is, that he was a native of Brittany, and came over with St. Brendan, on his return from that country to Ireland.§ The calendar of Cashel styles St. Moena bishop of Clonfert and *Comorban*, or successor of St. Brendan. Hence, some were of opinion, that St. Brendan was the first bishop of that see; a conjecture, completely at variance with the Annals of Ulster, the authority of the Four Masters, and other high documents. The fact is, the establishment of Clonfert became, in a few years, so extensive, that

* See also AA. SS. p. 406.
† Finian's Acts, c. 19.
‡ See cent. 13.
§ Colgan at 26th Feb.

a bishop was considered indispensably necessary for the purpose of ordaining missionaries, and of assisting St. Brendan in his ecclesiastical government; upon his recommendation, therefore, St. Moena was consecrated bishop, and afterwards founded the see. The cathedral of Clonfert was, in those days, noted for its seven altars, while the death of the founder is thus marked in the Ulster Annals: "Moena, bishop of *Confert-Brenain*, slept," on the 1st of March, A.D. 571.

THE SEE OF ACHONRY had for its founder St. Nathi, a disciple of St. Finian of Clonard, and placed at Achonry by that saint about the year 560.* Following the example of his master, Nathi erected a monastery and a celebrated school, in which St. Fechin of Fore, and other eminent men, received their ecclesiastical education. The bishops of this see were called Leinicences, from the district in which it was situated; but the catalogue of the succession is incomplete, until the year 1170. The year in which the founder died has not been accurately ascertained; his festival is celebrated in the diocese of Achonry on the 9th of August.

THE SEE OF KILLALA, on the left bank of the river Moy, was founded by St. Muredach, of the royal house of Leogaire. This saint was not, as some writers have imagined, contemporary with St. Patrick; on the contrary, Colgan, in tracing his descent from Leogaire, brings him down several years later.† Colgan's authority acquires additional weight from the fact, that Muredach was one of those persons who waited on St. Columbkill at Drumceat, for the purpose of paying their respects to the great apostle of the Hebrides. The bishops of this see were sometimes called Tir-Amalgadenses, from the district itself, and its ancient possessions were confirmed, at the request of the incumbent Donagh, by pope Innocent III, in 1198.‡ The year of the foundation, as well as that of St. Muredach's death, is uncertain; but his natalis is marked in all the ancient calendars on the 12th of August.

THE SEE OF DOWN, in the territory of Dalaradia, was founded in the sixth century by St. Fergus. The founder was of a princely family, and before his elevation to the episcopacy erected a monastery at Killbian, in that county. St. Cailan has been named by some as the founder of this see; but the Annals of Ulster make mention of Fergus, as the first bishop of Down, and mark his decease at the 30th of March, 583. From the death of the founder, until the time of St. Malachy,

* Ware's Antiq. c. 29. † AA. SS. p. 739. ‡ Ware's Ant.

there appears no account of a succession in this see for which reason it is generally supposed, that the diocese of Down had, during that period, been united to that of Connor.*

The see of Ross, in the county of Cork, was established by St. Fachnan, about the year 570. Before he settled at Ross, Fachnan was abbot of Darinis Moelanfaidh, now Molona, a small island in the river Blackwater, county of Waterford. His school was greatly frequented, and at that time was the most celebrated in the south of Ireland. This see has been sometimes called Ross-Alithre, on account of the number of pilgrims who retired there for devotion. The see of Ross became united to that of Cloyne in the eighteenth century, the particulars of which may be found in the history of that period. St. Fachnan died at the close of the sixth century, and the day marked as his natalis, is the 14th of August.

The see of Cloyne, in the county of Cork, was founded by St. Colman, about the year 580. This prelate was of royal extraction, and has been sometimes surnamed Mitine, having been a native of the district called *Muscraighe Mitine*, now Muskerry, in the county of Cork. From his early years he evinced great taste for poetry, and was held in high esteem by the prince Aodh Caomh, who, in this century, was raised to the throne of Cashel. Colman, at an early age, repaired to the school of Jarlath of Tuam, and became eminent not only for his learning, but much more for his holy and austere manner of living. He was the author of several valuable treatises, the only one of which that remains is a metrical life of St. Senan, of Inniscaithy, written in the Irish language. St. Colman died on the 24th of November, A.D. 604.

Many other sees had been founded by eminent men in this century, which were afterwards united either to some of those already mentioned, or to others established in the seventh century. Among these may be noticed the see of *Ardstrath*, now Ardstraw, in the barony of Strabane and county of Tyrone, founded by St. Eugene.† It was afterwards annexed to Maghera, and finally united to the see of Derry. The see of Clunes or Clones, in the county of Monaghan, had St. Tigernach for its first bishop. This saint, having resigned to Macarthen in Clogher, fixed his see at Clones, still retaining the government of Clogher. These sees were, however, afterwards united. Coleraine was a bishopric in 540, having St. Corpreus for its first bishop.‡ It was in after times united to

* Ware's Bishops. † Ussher, Ind. Chron. ‡ Id.

Derry. Kells, in the county of Meath, the founder of which is unknown, was united to Clonard in the thirteenth century. Dunshaghlin, in the same county, had St. Seehnal for its founder, and was united to Clonard about the year 1152. The see of Killare, in the barony of Achonrath, in the county of Westmeath, had St. Aidus for its founder.* St. Dagaeus was bishop at Iniscaoin-Deghadh, in the territory of Oriel, county of Louth. St. Etchen, by whom St. Columbkill was ordained, resided in the county of Meath; besides Sedna, Dallan, Lugidus, Mocu, Loige, Cronan, and numberless others who were stationed through the provinces according as local circumstances or the exigency of the mission required. Thus was the Church of Ireland organised and governed by great and holy men, while the doctrine which they preached, and the discipline which they enforced, acquired new efficacy and lustre from the many and exalted virtues by which their own lives had been adorned.

In presenting a general outline of the principal monasteries founded in this century, we shall commence with the ancient and celebrated abbey of Clonmacnois, the schools attached to which have been already noticed.† Clonmacnois was one of the most extensive and splendid monasteries in the kingdom, having been amazingly enriched by the nobility of the country and by several kings and princes. Ten stately churches were annexed to it, erected by various princes, and covering a space of seven acres. The first was built by O'Melaghlin, king of Meath; the second by O'Connor Don, king of Connaught; the third by M'Carthy More, of Munster; the fourth, by O'Kelly; the fifth was called Temple Hurpan; the sixth, Temple Kieran; the seventh, Temple Gauney; the eighth, Temple Doulin; the ninth, Temple Finian; and the tenth, Temple Mac Dermot, from its founder the great Mac Dermot, prince of Connaught. The Danes committed dreadful ravages in this splendid monastery, destroying the library and plundering the sanctuary of vestments, chalices, crosses of gold and silver, jewels and other valuable ornaments with which it was enriched. What the Danes had left undone, the English completed. They came from Millick, in 1201, and pillaged the church, sanctuary, and [illegible] macnois; neither the monuments of the dead, nor the altars of the Most High, could be secured from the fury of these usurpers; and to finish the devastation, when glutted with sacrilege, they robbed and laid waste the adjacent domains, together with the crops, gardens, and houses of the inhabitants.‡ In the sixteenth

* AA. SS. p. 422. † See. c. i. ‡ M'Geoghan.

century, the ancient monastery of Clonmacnois, like the other religious institutions of the country, fell a sacrifice to the rapacity of the times; and thus was the door of hospitality closed against the poor and the stranger, while sanctity and learning fled, leaving nothing behind but mouldering ruins and ivy-clad towers, the sad memento of bye-gone days—the melancholy record of a profaned sanctuary, and of a fallen degraded nation!

The monastery of Inniscatthy, situated in a beautiful island of that name, at the mouth of the Shannon and in the county of Clare, was erected by St. Senan about the year 520.* St. Kieran of Clonmacnois spent several years in this monastery as providore for the poor and the stranger. In 972, the Danes committed great destruction here; but Brian, king of Munster, recovered the island after having defeated Iomhar, the Norman; in which battle his two sons and eight hundred of the Danes were slain.† In the 20th of Elizabeth, this abbey, with forty-four acres of land (part of its possessions), and a right of toll on certain fishing-boats coming into the port of Limerick, were granted to the mayor and citizens of Limerick at an annual rent.‡ The monument of St. Senan is still preserved, with the remains of eleven small churches and several cells; and in the centre of these venerable ruins may be seen one of those round towers of other days, one hundred and twenty feet high, rising in majestic grandeur over the waters of the Shannon.§ The ancient library of this abbey was greatly esteemed for the number of its rare and valuable

* For St. Senan, see c. iii. † Annal. Munst. ‡ Aud-Gen.

§ On the subject of these round towers there appears a variety of opinion. It is supposed by some that they had been originally intended for belfries; others conjecture that they had been designed as habitations or retreats for anchorites; while according to a third hypothesis, they might have been places of penance, in which the penitents, after having performed certain stations in the several lofts of the tower, at length came forth and were publicly absolved. These opinions, however, do not seem to correspond with the peculiar architectural construction of these towers, the doors of which are generally ten or twelve feet from the base, while four windows are placed at the top, facing exactly the four cardinal points. The general and most probable, opinion is, that these round towers had been originally constructed and used as temples for fire-worship, in the lower part of which was the altar with the hallowed fire, while the top, with the windows so peculiarly disposed, served as an observatory for celestial or astronomical purposes.

[It must be remembered that this note was written before the appearance of Dr. Petrie's most learned lucubrations on the Round Towers. That erudite scholar has proved most satisfactorily that those structures served our Christian forefathers for belfries; and also as safe depositories for the sacred furniture of the altar against the Vikings or Scandinavians, who so often plundered the holy shrines of Ireland. 'Tis probable, too, that these towers may have been used for penitential purposes, in imitation of the eastern Stylites.]

manuscripts; these have been all swept away in the wreck. Neither religion, language, nor nation has been spared; but the grand and hallowed ruins are still to be seen, and in silent eloquence present to the mind of the Irishman an impressive but melancholy outline of the wrongs, the woes, and the sufferings of his country.

The monastery of the Island of All Saints, in Lough Ree, county of Longford, was established by St. Kieran, about the year 544. The temporal as well as the spiritual wants of the poor, appear to have been among the first of those noble objects contemplated by the founder in the erection of this religious asylum. By his extraordinary influence, as well as by the united exertions of his community, this monastery became, within the lapse of a few years, possessed of sufficient means to answer all the purposes which had been originally contemplated.* It was, therefore, usually designated the House of the Poor, to whose relief its possessions were made applicable; while their spiritual wants were at the same time attended to by the benevolent followers of its truly apostolic founder. About the year 548, St. Kieran having resigned the government of this monastery to his disciple St. Domnann, repaired towards the south, and laid the foundation of his great establishment at Clonmacnois. The monastery of the Island of All Saints remained in a flourishing condition for upwards of six hundred years after its foundation; but about the period of the English invasion, it was suffered to decline, and at length became a complete ruin. It was, however, rebuilt by one of the Dillon family, about the reign of Henry III, while its abbots continued in regular succession until the sixteenth century. We should be guilty of an ungrateful transgression, were we to omit noticing the learned professor and writer Augustin Mac Graidin, who flourished in this ancient retreat of literature about the year 1405. That learned man was at this period its abbot, and compiled a complete history of the acts of the saints of Ireland, together with a comprehensive outline of the annals of this abbey, down to his own time.† The possessions, of which we have no exact account, were granted, at the suppression, to Sir Patrick Barnwall.‡

The monastery of Derry was founded by St. Columbkill, about the year 546. This abbey became a constant scene of plunder during the ravages of the Danes, and particularly under the government of the abbot Gilla O'Brenain, and of

* AA. SS. p. 191. † Ware Writers, p. 87. ‡ Harris, tab.

his successor Gill Christ O'Kearnich, when the noted Rotsel Pitun was defeated by the O'Neils, and his troops routed with dreadful slaughter. By a decree passed at the Council of Brigh-Mac-thighe, in the county of Meath, in 1158, the abbot of Derry had supreme jurisdiction over all the abbeys of the Columbian order in the kingdom;* and its superiors continued in regular succession until the sixteenth century, when its possessions, of which we have no exact account, became involved in the general confiscation.

The monastery Clonenagh of, in the barony of Maryborough, Queen's County, was founded by St. Fintan, about the year 548.† This saint, anxious to establish a religious house, and place it under that austere discipline for which he had been remarkable, fixed on a place called Cluain-Ednech (now Clonenagh), or *Latibulum Hæderosum*, the retired spot covered with ivy. The school attached to this sequestered monastery was so celebrated, that it ranked after the four distinguished seminaries already noticed. Among the eminent men who received their education in it, was Comgall of Bangor.‡ It was called the Gallican School, from the great number of foreigners who resorted there, and particularly from Gaul. The hospitality of this house was proverbial, while the monks, by their rule, were obliged to observe the most rigorous austerity. This religious retreat suffered severely during the Danish wars, and about the year 1070 became a complete ruin.

The abbey of Kells, in the county of Meath, was founded by St. Columbkill, about 550, and was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.§ This abbey is remarkable for many memorable events. In 967, a furious attack had been made on it by Sitric, the Dane, when he was routed with great slaughter by O'Neil the Great, king of Ireland. In 1152, the famous synod was held in the abbey of Kells, at which Cardinal Paparo, the pope's legate, presided, and in which he distributed palliums to the four archbishops.‖ The abbey of Kells was six times destroyed by fire; but was afterwards rebuilt in a style of greater magnificence, partly by the bounty of the princes of Ireland, but much more out of the immense revenues attached to it. It had the most splendid library any monastery in the kingdom, having been celebrated for manuscripts, among which was St. Columbkill's book of the four Gospels, adorned with gold and precious stones. Richard

* Tr. Th. p 205. † For St. Fintan, see. c. iii. ‡ Life of Fintan, c. v
§ Tr. Th. p. 508. ‖ See 12th century.

Plunket was the last abbot, in 1537, when Henry VIII. held three inquisitions, and took into his own hands the extensive possessions belonging to this abbey, an account of which shall be given in the history of the sixteenth century.

The monastery of Durrow, in the barony of Ballycowen, King's County, was one of the favourite retreats of St. Columba, by whom it was founded, A.D. 550. This religious asylum has contributed a large supply of learned and holy men to our calendar, and during the seventh and eighth centuries became exceedingly celebrated for literature. Cummian, distinguished alike for his extensive knowledge and for his advocacy of the Roman paschal computation, may be ranked among the number of its scholars, while Kineth, Aidan, Blathmac, and others, are noticed by our annalists among its learned professors and abbots.* The English, soon after their arrival in Ireland, committed great destruction in this ancient establishment, having in 1175 stormed the town, gutted the monastery, and reduced the surrounding country to the condition of a desert. By an indispensable ordinance of the Columbian institute, its members were obliged to devote a considerable portion of each day to the useful employment of transcribing; on which account, it is said that the library of Durrow was the most select, and, perhaps, the most valuable in the kingdom. Among other curious works, there had been preserved in it a splendid copy of the Four Evangelists, transcribed by St. Columba, and adorned with engravings on plates of silver.† In the sixteenth century it became a wreck; and during the fourth of Elizabeth, a lease of the abbey and of its possessions (which cannot be ascertained) was granted at an annual rent to Nicholas Herbert.‡

The monastery of Birr, in the barony of Fercall, King's County, had St. Brendan for its founder, about the year 550.§ During the administration of the abbot, St. Killian, in the seventh century, the reputation of the school of Birr had been so high, and the influx of foreigners so great, that numbers of the native students generously yielded to the strangers, and proceeded to finish their education in other seminaries.‖ So unbounded was the hospitality of this abbey, that the [illegible] themselves were not unfrequently sent out by St. [illegible] through the surrounding country, [illegible] person in distress. The last superior whom we have on record was Sioda MacNamara. His death is marked at 1511, after

* Tr. Th. p. 507. † Ware Mon. ‡ Aud.-Gen.
§ For St. Brendan, see c. iii. ‖ Ussher, p. 491

which time this ancient retreat was suffered to fall into decay; nor does it appear that any effort had been made for its restoration.

The monastery of Moville (or Maghblie, the Plain of Trees), in the barony of the Ardes, and county of Down, was founded, most probably, by St. Finnian, about the middle of the sixth century. Several saints and patrons of literature have flourished in this ancient retreat, among whom are noticed St. Senell, St. Liberius, and the pious and learned abbot Flathbertach, who died on a pilgrimage, in 1098. The abbey of Moville continued to flourish until the year 1542: James M'Guilmore was the last abbot, when this venerable foundation, after having for a series of centuries braved the storms of the Danes, and the repeated attacks of both Scottish and Irish depredators, became a prey to the plunderers of the sixteenth century; and among its extensive possessions the following parcels were confiscated to the crown:—Seven townlands, among which were Drom Kerry and Ballyhuggan, in Upper Clandeboy; a townland and a-half in the Little Ardes; four townlands of Luggan Droma; three townlands in the Ardes; and eight townlands in the country of South O'Neil, together with the tithes of the whole lands of the priory of Newton.*

The monastery of Aghaboe,† in the barony of Upper Ossory, Queen's County, derives its foundation from St. Canice, or Kenny, about the year 577.‡ In the eleventh century the cathedral see of Ossory was removed from Saigar to Aghaboe, when the shrine of the patron saint, Canice, was deposited therein. This establishment was rebuilt in 1250, by Fitzpatrick, ancestor of the lords of Upper Ossory, under the invocation of St. Canice, and granted to the Dominicans. The town of Aghaboe was burned to the ground by M'Gillepatrick in 1346, and the shrine and reliques of St. Canice were lost in the conflagration. This retreat of learning and sanctity continued to flourish until the time of Elizabeth, when its possessions, which were then indeed very limited, were granted, together with the advowson of the rectory of St. Canice of Aghaboe, at an annual rent of £5 18s., to Florence Fitzpatrick.§

The abbey of Glendaloch,‖ "once the luminary of western world," says an eminent writer, "whence savage septs and roving barbarians derived the benefit of knowledge and the blessings of religion." The abbey Glendaloch, in the

* King, p. 345. † Anciently called Achadhbho, or the Field of the Ox.
‡ For St. Canice, see c. iii. § Aud.-Gen.
‖ The Abbey of the Glin, or Valley of the Two Loughs.

barony of Ballynacor, county of Wicklow, was founded by St. Coemgen, or Kevin, about the year 549.* The site on which the abbey stands is bold and romantic: here the mountains cast a melancholy gloom on the valley beneath, and so awful and venerable is the scene, that even to a momentary beholder, it appears as if formed by nature for the study and contemplation of the eremitic life. The abbey was founded under the invocation of St. Peter and St. Paul, and in process of time, owing to the vast number of students and religious persons who resorted here, Glendaloch became a populous and a noted city. It was the see of a bishop in the seventh century, while the succession of its abbots went on in uninterrupted order; and the schools of Glendaloch were frequented and crowded with students even in those frightful times, when the plains of this country were deluged with the blood of Danes and Irishmen. In 1162, St. Laurence O'Toole, who was descended from the princely patrons of this abbey, was unanimously elected its superior, and was shortly afterwards advanced to the archiepiscopal throne of Dublin. Its reputation at length excited the jealousy of those who ought, in gratitude, to have been its benefactors. In 1398, the posterity of the original English adventurers, viewing the glaring contrast between the flourishing schools of Glendaloch, and the petty, limited, mercenary seminaries in their own country, came with fire and sword, and burned and destroyed the city! The abbey was, however, preserved, and continued to be governed by its proper superiors until the sixteenth century, when the universal wreck took place; and what the English in 1398 forgot or scrupled to have done, was well remembered, and without scruple regularly executed by Henry VIII. and his inimitable successors. The venerable ruins of Glendaloch, even at this day, present an awful and an interesting picture to the mind of the curious and contemplative stranger. Among these must be noticed the Church of the Trinity, standing on a rising ground north of the abbey. The Seven Churches, which in former days were the pride and glory of Glendaloch, and for which it will be celebrated, even when the vestiges now remaining are no more. The Cathedral Church, with its curious doors, jambs and lintels, and its round tower, one hundred and ten feet high, rising up in its ancient grandeur amidst the prostrate ruins which surround it. Our Lady's Church, the most westward of the seven, and nearly opposite the cathedral, is in ruins; but the very ruins

* For St. Kevin, see c. iii. † Annal Four Masters.

speak volumes, and the scattered monuments, crosses, and inscriptions refresh the memory, and fill the mind with new and painful thoughts. St. Kevin's Kitchen, so called, and undoubtedly one of the Seven Churches, is entire; together with its architraves, fretted arches, and round belfry, forty-five feet high. The finger of Time alone and of human neglect seem to have wrought the work of desolation in this part of the building. The Rhefeart, or the Sepulchre of Kings, is rendered famous for having seven kings interred within its walls.* The Ivy Church stands to the westward, with its unroofed walls overgrown with ivy. The Priory of St. Saviour is a complete ruin. Teampull-na-Skeilig, in the recess of the mountain, was formerly called the Temple of the Desert, and whither the austere fathers of the abbey were wont to retire on vigils, and days of particular mortification. The celebrated bed of St. Kevin, on the south side of the lough, and hanging perpendicularly at a frightful height over the surface of the waters, is another object in which the mind of the antiquary would be much gratified; and on the same side of the mountain are to be seen the remains of a small stone building, called St. Kevin's Cell. These hallowed ruins stand in the heart of a picturesque and beautiful country. The romantic mountains by which they are encompassed—the long-extended valley beneath, with its intermixture of rivulets, flowers, and ruins, and the solemn and dead silence of Nature throughout the scene, must render Glendaloch a book of meditation for the stranger, of instruction for the Irishman, and of dread and terror for the despoiler and the plunderer.

These few monasteries, selected from the long catalogue which our monasticons present, may enable us to form some idea of the literary and religious spirit of our forefathers. The limits of this analysis will allow us to give merely a list of the remainder, together with the names of their respective founders.

The monastery of Clones, in the county of Monaghan, had St. Tigernach for its founder: Thomas Biudhe was the last abbot, when its possessions were granted by Elizabeth to Sir Henry Duke† and afterwards became [illegible] Lord Thomas Dacre. Muckamore, county of Antrim, founded

* The tomb of M'Thuill, or O'Toole, the ancient chieftain of this territory, is placed in this church, with the following inscription:

Jesus Christ.

Mile deach feuch corpre mac mthuil

See here the resting-place of the body of king M'Thuill, who died in Christ 1010.

† Davis' Collect.

by St. Colman Elo; the possessions were granted to Sir R. Langford.* Roscommon, founded by St. Coeman; the possessions were granted to Sir Nicholas Malbye.† Annatrim, in the Queen's County, founded by St. Coeman. Inchmacnerin, an island in Lough Kee, county of Roscommon, founded by St. Columba; the property was given by Elizabeth to William Taaffe.‡ Kilmore, in the county of Armagh, founded by St. Moctoe. Rosture, near Slieu-Bloom, Queen's County, founded by St. Brendan.§ Roscairbre, in the county of Cork, founded by St. Fachnan. Edardruin, in the county of Roscommon, founded by St. Diradius. Camross, in the county of Wexford, founded by St. Abban. Fionmagh (Lady's Island), in Fothart, county of Wexford, founded by St. Abban. Cluain-Finglass, in the county of Cork, founded by St. Sedna. Kill-na-Marbham, or the Church of the Dead, in the county of Cork, founded by St. Abban. Inis-Kealtre, in Lough Dergh, founded by St. Camin. Tirdaglass, in the county of Tipperary, founded by St. Columba. Clonfert-Molua, in the King's County, founded by St. Molua. Devenish, in Lough Erne, county of Fermanagh, founded by St. Molaisse. Killabsin, in the county of Meath, founded by St. Abban. Aughna, in Lough Ree, county of Longford, founded by St. Kieran. Clinish, an island in Lough Erne, founded by St. Senell. Cluain-Conbruin, in the Golden Vale, county of Tipperary, founded by St. Abban. Ardfinnan, in the county of Tipperary, founded by St. Finian. Killmoydoc, in the county of Longford, founded by St. Modan. Killerea, in the county of Cork, founded by St. Chera. Cluaindaibhi, in the county of Down, founded by St. Mochommoc. Enach-Dain, in the county of Galway, founded by St. Bredan. Killaraght, in the county of Sligo, founded by St. Coeman. Killchairpre, in the county of Sligo, founded by St. Carpreus. Seanboth, in the county of Wexford, founded by St. Colman. Lorrah, in the county of Tipperary, founded by St. Ruadan. Clonfert-Kerpan, in the county of Kilkenny, founded by St. Abban. Fiddown, in the county of Kilkenny, [illegible] Maidoc. Ireland's-eye, a small island lying to the north of the Hill of Howth. An abbey was founded here by St. Nessan, and in it was preserved the book of the Four Gospels commonly called the Garland of Howth.

* Harris' Tab. † Aud.-Gen. ‡ Id. § Archdall. Monas.

CHAPTER III.

Religious and Literary Characters of the Sixth Century—General Observations.

In addition to the eminent men whose biography may be found in the foregoing chapters, there yet remains a host of others, whose learning, virtues, and literary labours have contributed in this century to shed lustre on the Church of Ireland.

St. Senan, a native of Corco-Baskind, in Thomond, and of royal descent, has been ranked among the fathers of the Irish Church in the sixth century. His birth was foretold by St. Patrick, when our apostle had been preaching to the inhabitants of that territory, A.D. 448. Senan, when a young man, retired from the world, and received the religious habit from the hands of the holy abbot Cassidus. Some time after he repaired to the school of Natalis,* where he soon distinguished himself; and his superior talents and sanctity became the subject of universal admiration. About the year 520, and at the age of fifty, he founded the great monastery of Inniscatthy.† Here Senan gave constant and public lectures on the Scriptures, Fathers, and doctrines of the Church; while the number of learned priests and bishops whom this establishment sent forth, have justly elicited the eulogy of our ancient writers. His death occurred on the 8th of March, A.D. 546, and so great was the reverence in which he had been held, that the prelates, clergy, and principel persons of the country assembled in his church, and his obsequies were celebrated for eight days. The fame of St. Senan has not been confined to Ireland; it was spread over the continent, and his acts have been published among those of the saints of Brittany, and other countries.‡

St. Columba, son of Crimthan, was of the royal race of Hy Kinsella, in Leinster, and a disciple of St. Finian of Clonard.§

* In the metrical life of St. Senan, by St. Colman of Cloyne, we read: "In visione igitur hoc Abbati præcipitur Abbati, inquam, Cassido hoc jubetur a Domino ut Senanum novitium et Abbatem eximium mittat ad Natalem ut sub ejus regimine disciplinis et artibus instrueretur plenius. Fuit enim tunc temporis fama Natali celebris cum ingens congregatio in ejus contubernio quinquaginta videlicet et centum fratrum degeret."

† See c. ii. ‡ Lobineau Hist. de Bretagne. § Tr. Th. p. 457.

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Having completed his studies, he selected three disciples, Fintan, Macumen, and Coeman. Viewing Clonenagh from an adjacent mountain, and interested for the happiness of its people, he recommended Fintan to settle there. He himself, shortly after, laid the foundation of the great monastery and seminary of Tirdaglass, in the barony of Lower Ormond, county of Tipperary, about the year 548. St. Columba is said to have written several tracts abounding with much biblical research and illustration. He had a peculiar taste for the sciences, the leading demonstrations of which he was wont to convert to the most noble and sublime purposes, and frequently rendered them elucidatory of many of the fundamental and mysterious dogmas of the Christian religion. St. Columba died on the 13th of December, A.D. 552.

St. Molaisse of Devenish, sometimes called Lasrean, was a native of Carbury, county of Sligo. Having departed from the school of Clonard, to which he had for several years been attached, he retired to the island of Devenish, in Lough Erne, about the year 560.* Here he erected a splendid abbey, which for lessons in morality and science, ranked next to Bangor, in the north. While the rule which St. Molaisse had drawn up for the government of his community evinced his practical knowledge of the human heart and of the Gospel counsels, his public discourses on both philosophical and sacred subjects formed the theme of universal admiration, and attracted multitudes of strangers to the romantic and literary shores of Lough Erne. We who live in those days of oppression on the one hand, and of beggary on the other, can form a very faint idea, indeed, of the happiness which at this period reigned along the winding and picturesque shores of this lovely lake. The very strangers who came here for education, were unwilling to remove from it, while those who did return to their native country were enabled to become the teachers of their own people; and both in their discourses and writings never failed to eulogize the sanctity, the learning, and disinterested hospitality of Ireland. The name of Molaisse of Devenish, has been noticed with great respect by foreign writers, while the scenes of his labours, now in ruins and washed by the waters of Lough Erne, furnish the mind with an abundance of serious and awful lessons of meditation. St. Molaisse died on the 12th of September, A.D. 570.

St. Brendan of Birr, was of a noble family, having been descended from Corb, prince of the Decies, in Munster.†

* Vit. S. Maid. † Tr. Th. p. 544.

Among the disciples of Finian of Clonard, Brendan holds a distinguished rank; and in the acts of that saint, he is characterized as a "prophet and one of the leading men in the schools of Ireland." This saint was a great favourite with Brendan of Clonfert, with the two Kierans, and particularly with Columbkill, on whose virtues he composed several poems, both in Irish and Latin.* About the year 550, he founded the abbey of Birr, in the present barony of Fercall, King's County. Brendan is represented by the Irish annalists as a man of great natural endowments; but sacred poetry was that in which he principally excelled. Being a profound theologian, and having made the writings of the psalmists and of the prophets his constant study, he is said to have written a variety of sacred pieces, which were at that time used in the churches of Ireland, and were held in extraordinary veneration. Colgan intended to have published his acts; but this desideratum has not, it seems, appeared. St. Brendan died on the 29th of November, A.D. 571, and is justly numbered among the Fathers of the Church of Ireland.†

St. Finnian of Maghbile, or Moville, in the county of Down, was descended from a branch of the princely house of Dalfiatach. When very young, he was placed under the care of Colman of Dromore, and from thence he repaired to the great school of Nennius in Britain, and, finally, to Rome, where he was raised to the priesthood. About the year 530, he founded the great monastery of Moville, in the seminary attached to which St. Columbkill received his education. St. Finnian was raised to the episcopal dignity;† and in the acts of Comgall of Bangor, he is thus spoken of: "Vir venerabilis Finnianus episcopus, qui jacet in multis miraculis in sua civitate Maghbile." St. Finnian died in the year 576, and his memory was held in great veneration through the whole territory of Ulidia. The learning of this saint, together with his great virtues, entitled him to be ranked with St. Finnian of Clonard. He is said to have been the author of several works on sacred and scientific subjects, all of which are now lost in the waves of time, and most likely amid the storms which blew over the church of Ireland during the sixteenth and succeeding centuries.

St. Fintan of Clonenagh, was a native of Leinster, having been born near Ross, in the county of Wexford, about the year 520.§ Fintan studied under St. Columba, the son of

* Ware, Writers.
† A.A. SS. p. 643.
† Ussher's Ind. Chron.
§ Colgan, Life, etc.

Crimthan; and by his advice, formed the great establishment of Clonenagh, about the year 548.* The discipline of St. Fintan's rule was the most rigorous of any in Ireland: several holy men, who had for years been inured to great mortification, having entered Clonenagh, were unable to comply with the observance of its rules. On some occasions, the saint allowed them a trifling relaxation, while he himself observed, to the letter, the austerities of the institute. Clonenagh was rather a nursery of saints, than of learned men: it was less distinguished for human literature, than many others; but as a retreat of penance—as a school of sanctity and of religious knowledge, it stood in those days unrivalled. While theological instructions were delivered theoretically in its halls, the most sublime counsels of the Gospel, and the most interesting truths of divinity, were observed in the cloister, and practically exemplified by its holy and mortified inmates. St. Fintan died on the 17th of February, A.D. 597.

St. Canice, or Kenny (Cainech), from whom the city of Kilkenny derives its name,† was born in the territory of Kiennacta,‡ in Ulster, A.D. 516. His father was a laidec, a celebrated poet, and the name of his mother was Melda. Canice, at an early age, repaired to Britain, and placed himself under the care of the venerable abbot Cadoc. He afterwards attended for several years at the school of St. Finnian of Clonard, and being duly qualified for the mission, Canice went forth and preached the Gospel in various districts of the north of Ireland. This saint next proceeded to the south, and having entered the territory now called Upper Ossory, and meeting with great encouragement, he founded the celebrated monastery of Aghaboe, about the year 577.§

The seminary attached to Aghaboe was famous for lectures on the Scriptures and sacred poetry. St. Canice has written a copy of the four Gospels, with a valuable commentary, which was preserved for a long time, and called Glass-Cainech, or the Chain of Canice.‖ He was endowed with supernatural gifts, and greatly esteemed as a biographer and a poet. St. Canice has written, likewise, a life of St. Columbkill, and a collection of hymns, which in those days were exceedingly admired and generally used in the churches of Ireland. The

* See c. ii.

† A church had been dedicated there to St. Cainech, or Kenny.

‡ The present barony of Kenaght, in the county of Derry, forms a portion of this territory.

§ See c. ii.

‖ Ussher, p. 1065.

saint died on the 11th of October, A.D. 599, and in the 83rd year of his age.

St. Molua, of Clonfert-Molua, was descended of a noble family in the territory of Hy-Figinti, in Munster. Clonard and Bangor were the establishments in which he had been educated. By the advice of St. Comgall, Molua returned with a few disciples to Munster, and formed a religious settlement near Mount Luachra, in the county of Limerick. From thence he directed his course towards Slieve Bloom, and erected the celebrated monastery of Clonfert-Molua, in the King's County. St. Molua drew up a particular rule for his monks, which was highly approved of by St. Gregory the Great; and he is said to have laid the foundation of one hundred* religious houses. Clonfert-Molua was not only the seat of learning, but likewise a house of rigid discipline and superior sanctity. The founder is ranked among the Fathers of the Irish Church, and his death occurred on the 4th of August, A.D. 608.

St. Colmgen, or Kevin of Glendaloch, was of a distinguished family in the territory of Tirtuathal, the country of the O'Tooles, in the county of Wicklow. In his seventh year he was committed to the care of the venerable Petrocus, and afterwards spent several years under the direction of the holy anchorites Eogan, Lechan, and Emin. About the year 549, he founded the celebrated abbey of Glendaloch, at which period, also, he attended the Assembly at Usneach, together with SS. Columba, Comgall, and Canice. Shortly after the foundation of Glendaloch, St. Kevin retired into a wild and lonely part of the mountains of Wicklow, where, separated from man, and conversing with God alone, he spent four years in prayer and the contemplation of the holy Scriptures† Here he practised the greatest austerities, but was at length prevailed on by his monks to return to Glendaloch, and superintend its discipline. Some writers mention him as bishop of that place; this, however, is uncertain, and amounts to a mere opinion. St. Libba, his nephew, who flourished in the seventh century, was certainly bishop of Glendaloch, and most probably the first prelate in that see. St. Kevin preached for several years and instructed multitudes, not only through the medium of human knowledge, but much more by the wonderful and superior sanctity of his life. This saint died on the 3rd of June, A.D. 618.

To present a regular biography of all the eminent men

*St. Bernard's Life of Molu. †Harris, Writers.

whose virtues and learning shed lustre on the Irish Church of the sixth century, would be a task which the limits of this analysis will not allow us to encounter. The other leading characters among them were St. Nessan, abbot and founder of Mungret, near Limerick; St. Ruadan, abbot of Lorrah, county of Tipperary; St. Illand, descended from Leogaire, and superior of Rathlibhten, in the King's County; St. Dermit, of the princely house of Hy-fiachre, and abbot of Inisclothran, in the county of Longford; St. Aidus, descended from Nial of the Nine Hostages; St. Rioch, of Inisbofinde, in Lough Rie; St. Carthagh, bishop in Kerry; St. Molua-Lobhur, from whom the see of Killaloe has been named; St. Cormac, surnamed Nepos Liathani, and disciple of St. Columba; St. Coeman, abbot of Airdne-cemhain, near Wexford; St. Endeus, abbot of Emlaghfad, in the county of Sligo; St. Conan, of the Tyrconnel line of the Nials, and abbot of Cnodain, county of Donegal; St. Sinell, disciple of St. Finnian of Clonard, and abbot of Cluaininis, in Lough Erne;* St. Evin, founder of the monastery of Ros-mic-treoin, now Old Ross, in the county of Wexford; with a countless catalogue of others, all men of superior talent, learning, and sanctity. This chapter shall close with a brief account of the holy virgin Ita, to which shall be subjoined some appropriate observations.

St. Ita, whom our annalists style the Brigid of Munster, was descended from a branch of the princely house of the Desii, in the county of Waterford, and was born about the year 480. Having arrived at a proper age, she signified her intention of consecrating herself to God; but her parents being of a worldly disposition, were averse to her wishes, and refused to grant their assent. Their reluctance, however, having been removed, Ita proceeded to the church of St. Declan, from whom she received the white veil, and was enrolled in the list of consecrated virgins.† Some time after she repaired to the territory of Hy-Conaill, in the county of Limerick, and at the foot of the mountain Luachra, in a retired spot called Cluain-Credhuil, she fixed her residence; and was soon joined by numbers of pious maidens, who came from all parts of Ireland to place themselves under her direction. The austerity which this holy virgin had practised was extraordinary; she performed many miracles, and was favoured with the gift of prophecy. Several holy abbots and high dignitaries of the Church deemed it an honour to visit St. Ita; and the learned Brendan, with many others, frequently consulted her on spiritual subjects, and were

* Tr. Th. p. 160; AA. SS. 463. † Vit. c. v.

guided by the wisdom which her answers conveyed.* Having reached a great age; and calling her community around her, she signified to them that her hour was approaching, and soon after departed to her Lord and Spouse, on the 15th of January, A.D. 570.† St. Ita is considered the patron saint of Hy-Conaill, together with St. Senan of Inniscatthy. Alcuin, in one of his poems, places her after St. Brigid, and Colgan, in the appendix to her life, has collected various eulogiums to the same purpose. The effects of St. Ita's labours continued for ages after, and contributed in no small degree to exalt the rising edifice of the Church of Ireland.

Among the many virtues which had shed such a lustre on the character of the Irish saints of the sixth century, their truly apostolical zeal is not the least conspicuous, and may justly challenge our admiration. No sooner had these men been enlightened by the Gospel, than they seemed, like the fathers of the apostolic age, filled with an ardent desire of communicating its blessings to the rest of mankind; for this purpose many of them retired from the land of their birth, and while in the progress of their mission they had brought multitudes into the fold of Christ, they at the same time procured for their country a reputation which induced foreigners to visit its shores, and become afterwards its warmest panegyrists. On the other hand, the sanctity of the ecclesiastics to whose care the government of the Church of Ireland had been entrusted, contributed, in the meantime, to complete this national character; the virtues which they inculcated they strictly practised, while their good example necessarily produced its proper effects; the country became a land of saints, and the distant stranger returned home filled with admiration at the many and exalted instances of Christian heroism by which he had been edified. From the historical facts of the sixth century, we are thus enabled to form some estimate of the high position which our national Church had attained at this early period; while from the events which occurred, and the characters who flourished during some of the succeeding ages, it will be seen that its name had become even still more celebrated.

This portion of our history may likewise be employed in illustrating a truth which has been already advanced in the foregoing pages, namely, that public gratuitous education, aided by a priesthood perfectly disengaged from the pleasures, wealth, and pomp of this world, is, under Providence,

* Vit. c. vii. † AA. SS. p. 73.

the great ordinary instrument by which the moral regeneration of a people can be effected. The rule by which such a priesthood is regulated, takes its source from the Gospel itself; it was observed by all the ancient Fathers of the Church, and without it the cross of Christ would most probably have never made such a rapid and triumphant progress. Under such a priesthood in the sixth century, Ireland was a land of religion: these men sojourned on the earth, but their thoughts were in heaven; strangers to luxury, unacquainted with the pomp and rioting of the palace, they never thought to maintain that wealth and grandeur were essential to their station. Many of them had been of noble extraction, and before their entrance into the sanctuary had great worldly prospects placed before them; yet all these prospects were sacrificed, and the humble counsels of the Gospel were preferably embraced and rigorously practised. Hence it was that their religious retreats became schools of science and of morality; while the monastery was a home for the wayfaring man, and it was an asylum of comfort for the afflicted and the destitute of the surrounding country. Happy Ireland in the olden Catholic times of our forefathers! nor shall the picture be at present reversed or the melancholy counterpart exhibited. It is hoped, however, that brighter days are beginning to open upon us: the darkened cloud cannot always rest on the splendid surface of the light of heaven; and although an epoch like that of the sixth century may, in all probability, never again revolve, yet one thing is certain, the faith of that celebrated age and the Church, which is its guardian, are moving along with a rapid and an irresistible velocity; and neither the disguised malice of man, nor the open undisguised efforts of human power, have been able to put a sufficient obex to its progress, or divert it, even for an instant, from the regular and straight-lined direction in which it has for eighteen hundred years, steadily and triumphantly proceeded in its course.

SEVENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

State of the Church of Ireland at the commencement of the seventh century—Its literature—Schools of Cork—Of Old Leighlin—Of Taghmon, and of Lismore—History of the Paschal Controversy in Ireland—Its adjustment in the southern dioceses—The ancient Cycle supported by the Columbian Order—Mission and See of Lindisfarne established by Irishmen—SS. Aidan, Finan, and Cormac—Effects produced by Irish literary ecclesiastical establishments both at home and in foreign nations—History of St. Gallus, of St. Fursey, and of St. Kilian—Acts of the National Synod under the Primate Flan Febhla.

The Church of Ireland, at the close of the sixth century, was unquestionably one of the first national churches in the Christian world. Its progress during the seventh century was still more rapid and successful. New and extensive seats of literature were founded, several ecclesiastical sees were established, retreats of piety and hospitality were to be seen swelling the long list of antecedent institutions, while the number of our exalted ecclesiastics became so great, that multitudes, not finding sufficient scope for their exertions at home, and fired with burning zeal, repaired to the plains and mountains, to the cities and deserts of the continent, where, by labours unparalleled and perseverance almost incredible, they ultimately succeeded in establishing the kingdom of Christ, and are to this day looked up to as the apostles and patrons of these remote and long since illustrious districts. The ecclesiastical affairs of this century presenting, in the general outline, a similar character with that of the preceding one, the same order shall be observed in our narrative of the leading facts; and therefore, the principal schools or colleges which had been founded at this period must, in the first place, be briefly yet distinctly noticed. Among the literary establishments [illegible] selected, namely, that of Cork, under St. Finbarr, of Old Leighlin, under St. Laserian, of Taghmon, under St. [illegible] Mumnu, and of Lismore, which was founded by the [illegible] St. Carthagh.

The most ancient literary establishment of the seventh century is that of Cork, founded by St. Barr or Finbarr, about

the year 606. Finbarr was a native of Connaught, of the sept of Hy-Bruin-ratha, a district lying to the north-east of the present town of Galway, and in the barony of Athenry.* His family name was Lochan, so that Finbarr (white haired) was merely his surname. This eminent man had been educated under the learned Mac-Corb, a disciple of Gregory the Great.† After having travelled through Britain, Gaul, Italy and several countries in quest of knowledge, Finbarr returned to Ireland, and erected his monastery and school near Loch-eire, at the south side of the river Lee, and on a site granted him by a chieftain named Edo.‡

The high name which St. Finbarr had held for sanctity and knowledge, soon spread through Ireland, and made its way to distant parts of the continent. Multitudes of scholars, both natives and foreigners, repaired to Cork, and in a few years this establishment contained within its walls several hundred monks, many of whom had been afterwards professors in various schools, both in this nation and in foreign countries.§ St. Finbarr had several eminent disciples, among whom are reckoned the celebrated Garvan, from whom the present town of Dungarvan is named; and the learned Nessan, whose character as a professor of sacred literature had afterwards brought still greater numbers of students from all parts to the schools of Cork. The Nessan of whom mention has been now made, and upon whom, next to Finbarr, the reputation of the seminary of Cork depended, is by no means to be confounded with Nessan of Mungret, a mistake into which Smith, in his History of Cork, has most unaccountably fallen. This would end in an utter confusion both of facts and of chronology; the latter having died in 552, and the former in the seventh century. The same writer was equally incorrect in ascribing the foundation of Cork to the Danes. Cork had been a populous city long before these Northerns had ever set foot on Irish ground. The fact is, the schools of Finbarr and of his disciple Nessan having been so distinguished, and vast multitudes of scholars pouring in from all parts of Ireland, and from distant regions of the continent, to this seat of morality and learning, Cork, in a very few years, became an extensive city; nor will it be denied that it might have been, in after times, enlarged and considerably improved by these barbarous yet enterprizing invaders. Philosophy and the study of the sacred Scriptures were strictly attended to in its schools.

* Harris Antiq. c. 7; Ogygia.
† Vit. Finbarri. c. 15.
‡ Hanmer Chron.
§ Vit. Finb.

While the truths of heavenly wisdom had been inculcated, the most sublime virtues were practised, and the sanctity of its members became so great, that their names obtained insertion in the litanies and other public prayers of those religious and happy times.

The abbey was re-founded in 1134, by Cormac, king of Desmond, at which time the constitutions of the Canons Regular of St. Augustin were introduced, and its church was solemnly consecrated under the invocation of St. John the Baptist.* The succession of its abbots was preserved unbroken until the sixteenth century. In the thirty-third of Elizabeth, its possessions were confiscated, while the venerable abbey, which was still hallowed by the virtues of Finbarr, was soon afterwards demolished, and became numbered among the melancholy ruins of the country.†

The schools of Old Leighlin, in the county of Carlow, deserve a high rank among the literary foundations of Ireland in the seventh century. St. Laserian,‡ so distinguished in the Paschal controversy, having returned to his native country, was invited by St. Gobban to undertake the government of the monastery which that saint had some time before erected in the district of Old Leighlin.§

This establishment was considerably enlarged by Laserian, and in the lapse of a few years contained within its cloisters fifteen hundred monks‖ These men supported themselves by manual labour; and in consequence of their numbers and the fertile district in which they had been situated, they were enabled to receive a greater complement of students than many of the other institutions. If we may except Lismore, the seminary of Old Leighlin was, undoubtedly, the most distinguished of those which owe their origin to the period of which we are now treating. Its lectures embraced the general literature of those times, and the fame which it had acquired in Ireland and in foreign countries, attracted such multitudes of students and of religious persons to its halls, that Old Leighlin soon became a town of great note, and it is said that the country for miles around was usually denominated the territory of saints and scholars. This abbey continued until

* Ware Mon.

† By an inquisition taken in the thirty-third of Elizabeth, this abbey, together with 60 acres of land in Ballygagin, 260 acres in Killnoony, in the county of Kerry, 80 acres north-east of Cork, and the island of Inisquiny, parcel of its possessions, were granted to Sir Richard Grenville, at the annual rent of £15 3s. 6d. Irish money.—Auditor Gen. office.

‡ For Laserian, see chap. second, Old Leighlin. § AA. SS. p. 750.

‖ Vit. apud Bollaud.

about the middle of the eleventh century, when it was totally destroyed by fire.*

The third seat of literature which shall be noticed is that of Taghmon, in the county of Wexford. This establishment was founded by St. Fintan Munnu, in the commencement of the seventh century, and its celebrity was distinctly foretold by St. Columbkill long before St. Fintan presented himself as a postulant at the great monastery of Hy.† According to the directions of Baithen, the successor of Columbkill, Fintan repaired to the province of Leinster, and in that part of it called the territory of Hy-Kinsellagh, he erected a monastery, to which the celebrated school we are now treating of was annexed.‡ St. Fintan Munnu, in addition to his extraordinary piety, was one of the most enlightened men of his day. He spent several years in the schools of Kilmore and of Bangor, after which he continued for eighteen years under the instructions of the learned Sinell, at Cluain-inis, in Lough Erne. The schools of Taghmon were attended by a great supply of teachers, and the sciences, with the doctrine of the Scriptures and the Fathers, were the principal studies for which it was remarkable. The saint himself was deeply versed in scientific knowledge, of which he frequently availed himself in his public lectures, converting the sublime researches of mathematics into moral instruments, and by means of which he shed new radiance around the sacred truths and impenetrable mysteries of the Christian revelation. He was the great opponent of Laserian, in the famous controversy about the adoption of the Alexandrine cycle. Meanwhile his schools were frequented by multitudes, and a large town was soon seen rising up on the borders of an extensive forest and in the heart of a lovely country, which, from the saint, was called Teach-Munnu or the habitation of Munnu, now Taghmon.§ It is unnecessary to dwell on the many and great advantages which religion and the character of the nation had derived from this learned and hospitable establishment. While it stood distinguished for the talents and exalted sanctity of its masters, it was equally so for the number of its eminent scholars, many of whom became afterwards the founders of literary institutions and the teachers of distant and unconverted regions. About the commencement of the eleventh century it was suffered to decline, and by a charter‖ of Diermot king of Leinster, was granted as a cell to the abbey of [illegible]

* Tr. Th. p. 633. † For St. Munnu, see chap. iii. ‡ Adamnan, lib. i.
§ Vit. Fint. c. 32. ‖ Archdall Mon.

The celebrated schools of Lismore must now challenge our attention.

Lismore is situated in the county of Waterford, in the barony of Coshmore, and on the south side of the river Blackwater. Its natural situation is highly calculated even to assist the mind of the student in its most lofty and contemplative excursions, being seated almost in the centre of a rich and romantic valley, with the expansive bay of Dungarvan on the one side, and a chain of mountains on the other. Here St. Carthagh* founded his celebrated monastery and school, about the year 633.† He had been, before this period, consecrated bishop, and became the founder of that see, to which he gave the name of *Lios-more*, that is great habitation or town. In a short time this literary establishment was greatly enlarged; from a wild and solitary spot, Lismore became a considerable city, and the fame of its schools soon spread not only over Ireland and Britain, but also to the most distant parts of the continent. Besides the lectures which were read on theological subjects, philosophy, the sciences, and the general literature of the day had been studied in its halls. Irishmen were not the only persons who comprised the list of its students; numbers came from Albania and Britain, while multitudes flocked from Gaul, Germany, Italy, the regions of the Danube, and from the most distant quarters of Europe.‡

The schools of Lismore became still more celebrated after the death of St. Carthagh, and particularly under the learned Cataldus, about the middle of the seventh century.§ Then, indeed, Lismore had reached its apex of glory; and while crowds of foreigners repaired thither for instruction, numbers returned to their respective countries, filled with gratitude for the hospitable reception which they had experienced. But the national and physical condition of this picturesque part of Ireland has, for the last three hundred years, undergone a

* For St. Carthagh, see c. ii. † Ussher, Ind. Chron.

‡ The learned Bonaventure Moroni thus describes this great conflux of foreigners who, in those days of Ireland's splendour, landed on our shores, and repaired in quest of knowledge to the literary and hospitable halls of Lismore:

"Undique conveniunt proceres, quos dulce trahebat
Discendi studium, major num cognita virtus,
An laudata foret. Celeres vastissimâ Rheni
Jam vada Teutonici, jam deseruere Sicambri.
Non omnes prospectat Arar Rhodaniique fluenta
Helvetios; multos desiderat ultima Thule.
Certatim hi properant diverso tramite ad urbem
Lismoriam, juvenis primos ubi transigit annos."—Ussher, p. 755

§ This saint became afterwards bishop of Tarentum.

dismal revolution: the schools of Lismore are levelled to the ground; tradition alone marks the spot where the genius of literature had once resided; and instead of the Lismore of the seventh century, crowded with strangers and men of science from all nations, the passing traveller may now behold in the heart of a lovely country, a mere village, without anything to recommend it save the recollections of the days that are past, and the mouldering remains of its ancient grandeur!

While literature and morality had been thus advancing, and the brightest epoch of the Irish Church rolling on in majestic order, a question arose relative to the celebration of Easter, which, although in itself a mere matter of discipline, seemed, at least for a time, to disturb the harmony which had hitherto prevailed. According to a rule universally received by the Christian Church, the feast of Easter could not be celebrated before the 14th day of the first lunar month of the year; that being the month in which our Saviour had risen from the dead. The churches of Asia Minor observed this festival, as the Jews did their Pasch, on the 14th day itself, without regarding the day of the week on which it fell. On the other hand, the Church of Rome and the churches of the west, together with those of Egypt, Palestine, Pontus, and others, did not celebrate it until the Sunday following the 14th day, in consequence of the resurrection of the Redeemer having taken place on the first day of the week, now called Sunday. To establish uniformity in the observance of this great feast, it was decreed by the Council of Nice, that it should be kept on the Sunday immediately following the 14th day of the first lunar month; and that it should not be held before the vernal equinox, lest the Church might seem to agree with the Jews, whose Pasch in some years fell before that period. This decree was accordingly received by the universal Church; some few, however, adhered to the former system, and by thus resisting the authority of the council, were cut off from the body of the faithful, and designated by the name of *Quartodecimans*. Matters having been thus adjusted, another difficulty arose as to the mode of calculating when the first day of the lunar month commenced, and this was the part of the question which gave rise to such disputation among our Irish ecclesiastics. The Jewish cycle of 84 years was that which was adopted by the [illegible] Christians; it was observed by the Romans, and, in short, by the whole western church, in the time of St. Patrick. Some few years after the Council of Nice, the Church of Alexandria substituted in its place the cycle of 19 years, invented by Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea, and afterwards reformed by

Eusebius of Cæsarea;* while the churches of the west still adhered to the old Jewish method of calculation. This cycle of 84 years was subject to many inaccuracies, and among other data, it supposed each lunation to be shorter than it really is by two minutes and some seconds.† Hence in the year 387, the festival of Easter was celebrated at Rome on the 18th of April, and at Alexandria on the 25th; and in 417 the same feast occurred at Rome on the 25th of March, and at Alexandria on the 22nd of April. To obviate these discrepancies, it was deemed advisable to form a new cycle. About the year 457 that of Victorius of Aquitain was published; and although it approached very near to the Alexandrine computation, yet in many respects a very material difference existed.‡ At length, about the middle of the sixth century, Dionysius Exiguus framed a new cycle, which, in every respect, corresponded with that of Alexandria; it was accordingly adopted by the Romans, and afterwards by the whole western world. The Church of Ireland received the old cycle of 84 years from St. Patrick, and it was in fact the computation which our apostle found practised in Gaul, and in Rome also, when he had been in that city. This cycle was observed in Ireland with that veneration which our forefathers paid to every thing handed down to them by their beloved apostle, and it continued until the year 610, when St. Dogan, having been in Britain, and meeting with Laurentius Mellitus, and other Roman prelates, a serious controversy took place on this question of the Paschal computation. Shortly after, a letter was addressed by these prelates to the Irish clergy on the same subject,§ and this it was which gave rise to various inquiries as to the right method of calculating the time of Easter. It being a matter of discipline, or rather an astronomical question connected with the leading festivals of the year, some were of opinion that for the sake of uniformity the Roman method should be adopted; others were for correcting the Irish system, by allowing the earliest Paschal Sunday on the 16th of the moon, according to the old Roman custom, instead of the 14th, while the great body of the clergy held out, and were determined not to give up the calculation which they had received from their predecessors. Matters thus stood until the year 630, when an admonitory epistle was received from pope Honorius I.,‖ and in consequence a synod was held at Old Leighlin. At this synod, according to Cummian, the bishop of Emly presided; and it was attended by

* Smith's Append. to Bede.
† Ussher, p. 927.
‡ Smith's Dissertat.
§ Bede, l. 2, c. 4.
‖ Bede, l. 2, c. 19.

the successors of Kieran of Clonmacnois, of Brendan of Birr, of Nessan of Mungret, of Molua of Clonfert-Molua, Laserian of Old Leighlin, Fintan-Munnu of Taghmon, and the other heads of the leading religious establishments of Ireland. Laserian was the principal supporter of the Roman system. Arguing on the ground of unanimity, he maintained that the former cycle of 84 years should be relinquished, and that the one which had now been received by the other churches of the western world should be substituted in its place.* His greatest opponent was Fintan-Munnu; and so profound was the reverence in which this great man held every—even the smallest particle of that which was delivered by St. Patrick, that he could not, even in a matter of mere numerical calculation, be prevailed upon to adopt the opinion of Laserian and others. He insisted that the cycle of 84 years was that which the great apostle of Ireland and the sainted fathers of the fifth and sixth centuries had practised and bequeathed to him; that church-discipline did not in itself essentially require uniformity of time or place; that as to locality and time, discipline does and often must vary, and that if other nations thought proper to alter the former cycle, that was no reason why the church of Ireland should give up the old Paschal computation, consecrated as it had been by their sainted predecessors—by men who were distinguished for their zeal and labours in foreign countries as well as at home, and who justly ranked among some of the brightest ornaments of the Christian world. The majority of the prelates and the heads of the old establishments were, however, for adopting the computation then practised by the universal Church, declaring that they had been directed by their predecessors to follow that invariably which was held by the successors of the Apostles.† To set the matter at rest, one of the canons drawn up by St. Patrick was cited: this canon states, "if any questions (difficulties) should arise in this island, let them be referred to the Apostolic See."‡ Accordingly it was resolved that deputies should proceed to Rome, and refer the issue of the question to the ultimate decision of the Pontiff himself. When these deputies had arrived at Rome, they saw that Easter was celebrated at one and the same time by people from various nations, and on their return declared to the fathers of the

* Ussher, p. 936. † Cumian Paseh. Ep.

‡ "Si quæ quæstiones in hac insula oriantur, ad Sedem Apostolicam referantur." This canon affords another convincing proof that the Irish Church did, from its very origin, acknowledge the supremacy of the see of Rome.—See Appendix No. I.

Irish Church that the Roman computation was the one embraced by the churches of Gaul, Italy, and of the whole world. After this period (633) the Roman cycle was universally received all over Munster; it was adopted likewise in the greatest part of Leinster, and over a considerable portion of Connaught.*

Although the question of the Paschal computation was thus disposed of in the south, it was opposed, and gave rise to various discussions, in the northern dioceses of Ireland. Great numbers of the clergy in these districts were satisfied to receive the Roman computation, yet the great majority were strongly prejudiced in favour of the ancient cycle adopted by their forefathers. The influence which the Columbian Order possessed in the north of Ireland, was the principal cause to which this discrepancy of opinion should be attributed. Deriving its origin from St. Columbkill, whose name was in itself a sanction, this distinguished body could command, in support of its system, the advocacy of men whose learning and acknowledged sanctity would be sufficient to establish the merits of any cause. Owing to these and other reasons, the ecclesiastics of this order had powerful influence, both in Ulster and in other parts of Ireland; and having been strenuous advocates of the ancient cycle, their opinion in this respect gained an overwhelming preponderance in the northern districts of the country. Thomian was then archbishop of Armagh. This prelate, witnessing the conflict of opinion which the Paschal question had created, and anxious, likewise, to put a termination to its discussion, caused a letter to be directed to Rome, in which the arguments on each side were fairly stated.† Although the letter of Thomian had not been received at Rome until after the death of pope Severinus, the Irish prelates and clergy had, nevertheless, an epistle addressed them soon after (in 640) by John, the pope elect, and the other heads of the Roman Church.‡ This epistle was directed "To the most beloved and holy Thomian, archbishop of Armagh; Columbian, bishop of Clonard; Cronan,

* Bede, l. 2, c. 3. † Bede, l. 2, c. ii. 19.

‡ In this letter (of which we have only a fragment), there are two passages which must be noticed. From the first of these it appears that some of the Irish clergy were considered by the writers of the letter as *Quartadecimans*: "Reperimus quosdam provincæ vestræ, quartadecima luna cum Hebræis celebrare nitentes." This opinion, however, originated in a mistake: the Irish, no doubt, celebrated the festival of Easter on the 14th day of the moon, if it happened to fall on a Sunday, but not otherwise; they could not, therefore, be called *Quartadecimans*. Again, this letter contains the following passage: "Et hoc quoque cognovimus, quod virus Pelagianæ hæreseos apud vos denuo revi-

bishop of Antrim; Dima, bishop of Connor, and Baithan, bishop of Elphin; Cronan, abbot of Moville; Ernian, abbot of Torey Island; Laistran, abbot of Ardmacnasca, near Down; Scellan, abbot of Armagh, and Segenus, abbot of Bangor; together with Saran, master and teacher of theology, and the other Scot doctors and abbots."* Notwithstanding the tenor of this admonitory document, the Irish Paschal computation was generally adhered to in the province of Ulster, until about the year 704, at which time the celebrated Adamnan of Hy acknowledged the Roman cycle, and by his influence had it afterwards received in every diocese throughout the northern districts of Ireland.†

So steadfast were the members of the Columbian Order in the observance of everything delivered to them by their founder, and received by him from St. Patrick, that these men, even in foreign countries, would never consent to relinquish a single particle of the mere discipline which had been bequeathed to them by their ancestors. About the year 635, this learned body became highly distinguished, and, by their mortified life in the cloister as well as by their labours on the mission, were soon recognised as so many moral luminaries of the Christian Church. When Oswald, king of Northumberland, had been compelled to abandon his dominions and consult his safety by flight, he took refuge in Ireland, and was soon after converted to the Christian faith. Owing to a variety of circumstances, his affairs began shortly after to assume a more favourable appearance, and Oswald, being no longer an exile, was determined on having the Gospel of Christ established throughout his dominions. The prelates of the Irish Church were the persons to whom this pious prince communicated his intentions, while his application was accompanied with a request, that a bishop should be appointed, through whose ministry that part of the British nation might be brought to a knowledge of the Christian religion.‡ Aidan, a monk of Hy, a man of great meekness, was the person selected.§ He was consecrated in Ireland, his native country, and on his arrival in Northumberland, he received from Oswald

visit" "And this we also know, that the poison of the Pelagian heresy is again revived amongst you." Hence it is inferred that this heresy had [illegible] in the first place, the Roman clergy might have been misinformed; and, secondly, it does not appear from any one of our ancient records that the Pelagian sect had ever existed in this country. Had such been the fact, most certainly our annalists would not have passed it over in silence. See the Epistle of St. Columbanus to pope Boniface IV., Appendix I.

* AA. SS. 6th Jan. † Bede, l. 5, c. 15. ‡ AA. SS. p. 45. § Bede, l. 3, c. 5.

the Island of Lindisfarne, since called "the Holy Island," as a place in which his see might be erected. In a very short time Aidan, assisted by a number of missionaries whom he brought from Ireland, had the happiness of seeing the whole of that wild and extensive district converted to the faith of Christ. He formed congregations, erected churches, and ultimately succeeded in establishing a celebrated monastery in the island of Lindisfarne. Paulinus, who had been archbishop of York, had, some time previously, retired from his see and fixed his residence in Kent: for which reason the mission of Aidan took in a great scope of the northern district of Britain, comprehending also the extensive diocese of York.* It is a remarkable fact that, for thirty years, this diocese, so celebrated in ecclesiastical history, was governed by Irishmen;† while the sees of their own country, instead of wanting the aid of a foreigner, poured out missionaries in numbers, besides many prelates, whose learning, labours, and sufferings, reflect honour on the land of their birth and justly merit insertion on the pages of our martyrology. Aidan continued to govern this district until 651. Several writers have passed very high and well-merited encomiums on the virtues of this apostolic man. Among these the following testimony, from the pen of Bede, may be selected: "His instructions were well received by every one, because he did not teach otherwise than as he lived with his companions. He neither sought the things of this world nor cared for them; whatever he got from kings or wealthy persons, he distributed among the poor that came in his way. In his journeys he travelled not on horseback, but on foot, except in some case of great necessity, so that, as he went along, he might address those whom he happened to meet, whether rich or poor, and if infidels, exhort them to embrace the Christian faith; if already believers, confirm them in it. He made it a rule that all those who accompanied him, whether of the clerical order or not, should be engaged in reading the Scriptures or in getting the psalms by heart. From his example, religious persons of both sexes, adopted the practice of fasting until none [three in the afternoon] on every Wednesday and Friday in the year [illegible] Whitsuntide. He never overlooked, either through [illegible] or fear, the transgressions of the rich, and severely reprimanded them if guilty. He made no presents to the powerful, although he used to treat them with ecclesiastical hospitality; but on the contrary, he either gave to the poor whatever

* Bede l. 2, c. 14. † Simon of Durham, Epist.

money he obtained from the wealthy, or laid it out on the redemption of slaves, several of whom he afterwards instructed and even raised to the priesthood."* The reverence which this great man paid to everything delivered down by his ancestors was such, that no arguments could dissuade him from following the computation which he had received in his own country; hence Bede says: "that as every one knew he could not celebrate Easter contrary to the practice of those who sent him, he diligently fulfilled every Christian duty like all other saints, and accordingly was beloved by all, even by those who differed from him on that point, and was held in veneration not only by the people at large, but likewise by the bishops Honorius of Canterbury and Felix of the East Angles."† According to Harris, Aidan was the author of several learned commentaries on the Scriptures, Homilies, and other tracts. He died A.D. 651, and on the 31st of August. Aidan was succeeded in the see of Lindisfarne by Finan, an Irishman and a member, likewise, of the Columbian Order.‡ In the commencement of his episcopacy, Finan converted to the faith Peada, prince of the Middle Angles, and son of Penda, the pagan king of the Mercians. This event having prepared the way for the still further progress of the Gospel, he ordained four priests, Cedd, Add, Betti, and Diuma, for the mission of that country. These he committed to the care of the prince, and after having, with great perseverance, surmounted many difficulties, they at length succeeded in bringing over the great body of the Mercians to the Christian faith. About the same time this holy prelate converted also Sigberet, king of the East Saxons, and consecrated Cedd bishop of that nation. Finan, after a most laborious mission, in which he rendered inestimable service to the British nation, died A.D. 660.§ Colman, a native of the county of Mayo, and a member of the Columbian Order, succeeded Finan in the government of Lindisfarne. This prelate had scarcely arrived in Northumberland, when the controversy relative to the celebration of Easter, was renewed and carried on with greater warmth than it had been during the incumbency of his predecessors. The question was discussed in a synod held in the nunnery of Strenaeshalch (Whitby) and at which the two kings, Oswin and Alchfrid attended. Colman and the Irish clergy, with others, argued strongly in favour of the ancient system; while Agilbert, bishop of the West Saxons,

* Bede, l. 3, c. 5.
Bede, l. 3, c. 17.

† Id. c. 25.
§ Acta Fin. at 9th Jan.

with the priests Agathon and Wilfrid contended for the new computation. After many principles had been advanced on both sides, the king declared in favour of the Roman practice, in which he was joined by the great majority of the assembly; Colman, however, would not consent to abandon the Irish system, and soon after resigned the see of Lindisfarne (A. D. 664), after it had been governed by Irish prelates for upwards of thirty years.* On his departure from Lindisfarne, Colman took with him all the Irish and about thirty of the English monks, and soon after erected a monastery at Innisboffin, a small island in the ocean, off the barony of Morisk, in the county of Mayo.† His next foundation was at MAGH-EO, now Mayo, whither he removed the English monks, leaving the Irish members in the monastery of the island. The establishment of Mayo was, in the time of Bede, possessed by English monks; and Ussher observes, from the book of Ballymote, that in Adamnan's time, about the end of the seventh century, there were one hundred Saxon or English saints in this monastery. From the English settlement in that place, this town had been called *Maigh-na-Sasson*, or Mayo of the English; and in course of time it became very considerable, and the see of a bishop. Archdall, Colgan, and others most strangely assert, that these English monks, and even Colman himself, had been of the Benedictine Order, and that they were the first of that body who had settled in Ireland. Had this been the fact, these men instead of being opponents, would have been most strenuous advocates for the Roman Paschal computation; nor would they have adopted a discipline different from that of their brethren in Italy, France, Britain, and other countries. The truth is, wherever the Irish Paschal system had prevailed, there were no Benedictines; and, in short, Wilfrid, the Saxon priest, Colman's principal antagonist in Northumberland, assures us, that he was the person who first introduced the order of St. Benedict into that part of Britain.‡ Viewing this subject on historical grounds, it is certain, that the monks of Mayo were not Benedictines; they and their patron Colman belonged to the institute of St. Columbkill, which at that period was the most learned as well as the most rigorous order in either Britain or Ireland. Colman died on the 8th of August, and in the year 676.§

All our ancient writers and many foreign contemporaries bear testimony to the high character which the Church of

* Bede, l. 3, c. 26.
† Ussher, Ind. Chron.
‡ William of Malmesbury, l. 3.
§ Ulster Annals.

Ireland had, at this period, maintained throughout the Christian world. Such was the reputation in which our Irish establishments had been held, not only for sanctity and learning but, moreover, for hospitality and attention to strangers, that Bede assures us, "Many nobles and others *of the English nation* were living in Ireland, whither they had repaired, either to cultivate the sacred studies, or to lead a life of greater strictness. Some of them soon became monks, others were better pleased to apply to reading and study, going about from school to school through the cells of the masters; and all of them were most cheerfully received by the Irish, who supplied them *gratis* with good books and instruction."*

Several episcopal sees had been established at this period;† diocesan regulations were formed for the advancement of discipline; the labours of the clergy, living, as they were, on the gratuitous bounty of the people, excited general admiration; while the morality of their flocks called forth the eulogy of foreign writers, and our forefathers of the seventh century were held up by continental teachers as the models of Christian perfection. The religious retreats of the kingdom supplied the Irish Church with an abundance of valuable pastors, and sent forth a host of missionaries to the most remote quarters of Europe; among these, St. Gall, St. Fursey, and St. Kilian may be selected—men of apostolical sanctity, whose memory is to this day annually venerated in foreign countries, and stands recorded with distinguished marks of veneration on the pages of church martyrology.

St. Gall, or Gallus, was one of the principal disciples who had accompanied St. Columbanus on his mission from Ireland. It will be recollected that Columbanus had removed from Bregentz to Milan, in 612, after having entrusted his favourite companion, Gallus, with the care of the infant congregations which had been formed in that hitherto benighted district. Animated with zeal for the conversion of this country, Gallus soon after penetrated through the deserts with which it abounded, and having reached the banks of the river Stinace, he erected a monastery, on the site where now stands the town and abbey of Gall‡. The fame of his sanctity soon spread through the surrounding country, while the Almighty was pleased to confirm the doctrine of his servant by numberless miracles. At that time the see of Constance happened

* L. 3, c. 27. Hence Aldhelm, in his letter to Eadfrid, bishop of Lindisfarne, writes: "Hiberuia quo catervatim isthinc lectores classibus advecti confluunt."—Ep. Hib. Syll.

† See c. ii. ‡ Walafrid, Strab. l. 1.

to be vacant, and the prelates and clergy having assembled to elect a bishop, Gallus was invited by the Duke Gunzo to attend the meeting. As soon as the saint had entered the assembly, the clergy arose, and casting their eyes on the missioner, declared with one voice that he was the person best fitted for that exalted situation.* The duke himself, in the meantime, thus addressed Gallus: "Do you hear what they say of you?" "I wish," replied the saint, "that what they have said had been the fact; but they do not know that the canons will not, unless in some very urgent case, allow persons to be ordained bishops of districts of which they are not natives. I have a deacon named John, a native of this country, to whom everything that has been stated of me may be justly applied; and as I think him elected by the Divine judgment, I propose him to you as your bishop." John, who was both a learned and a holy man, having been made acquainted with the proceedings of the assembly, concealed himself in the church of St. Stephen, without the town. He was soon discovered, and being brought into the presence of the clergy, was, on the recommendation of Gallus, elected and consecrated bishop of Constance. On this occasion Gallus, in compliance with the wishes of the meeting, delivered a discourse, which has been published by Canisius, and afterwards by Messingham. It treated particularly on church government; containing an abridged history of religion from the fall of Adam down to the days of the Apostles, intermixed with moral and doctrinal observations.

The abbey of Luxieu, of which St. Columbanus was the founder, had at this time acquired a very distinguished rank in the religious world. Its abbot, the learned Eustasius, was dead, while the members of the community determined on electing Gallus as his successor. A deputation, accordingly, waited on the saint, but his answer was: "That having abandoned his relatives and his native country, and chosen a solitude for his dwelling place, he could not think of being raised to any rank which might involve him in the cares of this world."† St. Gallus was an assiduous preacher of the Gospel, and has left behind him some sermons and various tracts on the Scriptures and on mystical theology. His Psalter has been much esteemed, and was translated into German by Notker Balbulus, in the reign of Arnulph. The labours and miracles of this saint were such, that he is to this day styled the apostle of the Alemanni, or Suevi. St. Gallus died in the

* Canisius. t. 5 † Mabillon Annal. Bened. ad 625.

95th year of his age, and on the 16th of October, A.D. 645.*

About this period St. Fursey was employed in forming a new and extensive mission at Lagny, and along the north-western coast of Gaul. Fursey was descended from the kings of south Munster, and received his education in the island of Inisquin, in the county of Galway. Rathmat, near Lough Corrib, in the now deanery of Annadown, was his first establishment. Conscious that his labours might be more necessary elsewhere, he withdrew to Britain, bringing with him some religious men, among whom were his brothers Foillan and Ultan. The saint having been kindly received by Sigberet, king of the East Angles, erected a monastery near Burgh Castle, in Suffolk, in the heart of a forest, and adjoining the ocean.† He looked upon this retreat as the most fitted for a contemplative life; and having been surrounded, at the time, with a population grossly ignorant, and partly unconverted, his labours, it is said, were extraordinary and most successful. By his counsel, Sigberet, after having resigned the sceptre to his kinsman Eyric, retired from the world, and embraced the monastic state. Penda, king of the Mercians, conceiving this a convenient opportunity for enlarging his dominions, took the field, and appeared at the head of a considerable army. While the affairs of Eyric were placed in this critical posture, Sigberet was prevailed upon by his former subjects to come forth from his favourite solitude and animate them in the conflict. The pious king complied with their wishes: he appeared in the midst of the engagement with only a wand in his hand, when victory declared in favour of the Mercians, and Sigberet, with his relative, remained amongst the number of the slain. Soon after this unfavourable event, Fursey, wishing to lead a more retired life, gave up the care of the monastery to his brother Foillan, and withdrew to France. On his way through Ponthieu, and at a place called Mazeroeles, he raised the son of the duke of Haymon to life; and pursuing his journey, was well received by Clovis II, king of Neustria and Burgundy.‡ This prince, admiring the sanctity of our missionaries, and desirous that Fursey should settle in his dominions, assigned him some land at Latiniacum (Lagny, near the Marne), six leagues from Paris, where he erected a monastery, in the year 644. Here the labours of this great man were required and appreciated; while his establishment at Lagny continued for centuries an asylum for the oppressed, and the fruitful

* Ware, Writers. † Bede l. 3, c. 19. ‡ Acts l. 2, c. 1

nursery of scholars and saints. St. Fursey died at Macerias, on the 16th of January, A.D. 650; but his remains were afterwards translated to Peronne, in Picardy, and interred on the east side of the high altar. The Ulster Annals, Mabillon, Desmay, and other authorities state, that St. Fursey was a bishop, although neither Bede nor the Acts give him this title. Among those of his disciples who were natives of Ireland, and whose services are to this day recorded in various parts of the continent, may be mentioned Eloquius, Adalgisus, Mulguil, Lactan, Mombulus, Fredegand, abbots; Bertuin, bishop of Maconia, in the territory of Liege, and Etto, bishop and apostle of the Avernes.*

The name of St. KYLIAN, the illustrious apostle of Franconia, stands high in the martyrologies of those times. This saint having been raised to the episcopacy of Ireland, his native country, withdrew about the year 686 to the continent, accompanied by a number of missionaries, among whom were Coloman, a priest, and Totnan, a deacon.† Among the inhabitants of Wurtzburg, in Franconia, paganism had still prevailed; thither, therefore, Kilian proceeded, having first obtained the sanction of Conon, who then presided in the Apostolic See. By the preaching and powerful example of this great man, the truths of the Gospel made an amazing progress throughout the extensive territory of Franconia. Gozbert, the ruling prince, embraced the Christian faith; while the labours of our missionaries became every day more successful. The marriage of this prince with Geilana, the wife of his brother, had, after some time, called forth the admonitions of Kilian; he had represented to the prince the impropriety of such a connexion, and the removal of Geilana was accordingly agreed to by Gozbert. This circumstance, however, terminated in the martyrdom of Kilian. Geilana having been made acquainted with the intentions of the prince, procured two assassins, who entered the church at night, while Kilian, with his companions Coloman and Totnan, had been singing the divine office.‡ They cheerfully submitted to the will of Heaven, and suffered on the 8th of July, A.D. 689. Their remains were interred in the church of Wurtzburg, where St. Kilian is revered as its apostle and patron.

The catalogue of our Irish saints who, in the seventh century, became the lights and apostles of distant countries is such, that volumes would be required to comprise their biography. St. Fiachre, after having fixed his residence in

* AA. SS. p. 96. † Messingham Floril. p. 321. ‡ Messingham Floril. p. 324.

the wilds of Breuil, in Gaul, preached the Gospel to the uncultivated tribes of that vast territory, and converted multitudes; St. Mailduf, from whom Malmesbury, in England, has been named, introduced literature into that place; St. Livin converted the pagan inhabitants of Flanders and Brabant; St. Vulgarius preached to the Morini. Sts. Caidoc and Fricon, to the people of Ponthieu; St. Tressan, with his companions Gibriam, Helam, and Petram, announced the Gospel at Rheims, and along the district of Chalons-sur-Marne; St. Cataldus was venerated at Tarentum; St. Donatus at Naples;* whilst the successors of St. Columbanus, and a host of others, spread the Gospel through the trackless recesses of the Alps, and penetrating to the north, made the mountains and forests of Germany and Scandinavia resound with the glad tidings of redemption.

Meanwhile the church of Ireland shone forth with new and increased lustre; and the sanctity of her ecclesiastics, both on the mission and in the cloister, fully illustrated the excellence of those institutions, which from the days of her apostle she had so ardently cherished. At the close of the seventh century, and during the incumbency of the primate Flan Febhla, a national synod was convened, for the purpose of effecting the final settlement of the Paschal question, and of making other ecclesiastical arrangements.† Among the fathers who composed this synod, we find St. Aidus or Aedh, bishop of Sletty; Colga, abbot of Lusk; Killen, abbot of Saigar; St. Massacra, founder and abbot of Tegh-Sacra, now Saggard, in the county of Dublin, and St. Mochonna, who subscribed the acts of the synod under the title of *Antistes Dorensis*.

The acts of this synod have partly perished amid the storms of succeeding ages; however, many of its canons are extant, and may serve to illustrate the usages as well as the religious spirit which had so generally prevailed in those ancient times.‡ Of these canons there are some which refer immediately to the priesthood; others have a reference to the sanctuary, and to the respect which, by every right, must belong to the material temple of the Most High. The manner in which the episcopal election had been conducted in the ancient church of Ireland is thus described: "The bishop is to be ordained with the consent of the clergy, and of the laity, and of the bishops of the whole province, but especially of the metropolitan, either by his epistle, or by his authority, or his

* Acta Bolland. etc. † Tr. Th. p. 218.
‡ Juxta M.S. Vardei in Archiv. Isidor. et d'Achery. Specil. tom. ix.

presence."* The next canon prescribes the age required in Ireland, at this early period, for the reception of the different orders: "A person attached to the sacred ministry from his youth, must remain a lector or an exorcist until the twentieth year of his age; a subdeacon, four years; a deacon, five; at thirty he may be ordained a priest, that being the age at which Christ began to preach; and at thirty, forty, or fifty, a bishop."† Again, "Should it be deemed necessary, at any time, to promote a layman considerably advanced in years to the episcopacy, he must be two years a lector, five years a subdeacon, and after twelve years a priest, he may receive episcopal ordination."‡ According to the tenth canon, it became unlawful for a bishop to appoint his successor: "No bishop shall, during his life, constitute his successor; but after his death, let a deserving man be elected by the proper persons."§ Before entering on the canons which refer to simple priests, the synod, by way of preface, decreed: "The Church now offers the sacrifice in many manners (for many reasons), first, for herself; secondly, for a commemoration of Jesus Christ, who said, 'Do this for a commemoration of me;' thirdly, for the souls of the faithful departed."‖ To secure the constant residence of the clergy, the synod in the next canon decreed: "That a priest may be absent but one day from his church; but should he be absent for two days, he must do penance for seven, on bread and water. In like manner, should he be absent one Sunday from the church, he must do penance for twenty days on bread and water; but if absent for two Sundays, he is to be removed from the dignity of his station."¶ By the next canon, "priests are not

* Synodus decrevit, cum consensu Clericorum, et Laicorum, et totius provinciæ Episcoporum, maximeque Metropolitani, vel epistola, vel auctoritate, vel præsentia ordinetur Episcopus.

† "Puer vero ab infantia Ecclesiasticeis Ministeriis deditus usque ad vigesimum ætatis suæ annum, Lector, sive Exorcista stet: Subdiaconus quatuor annis: Diaconus quinque: Presbyter trigesimo efficiatur quia in ea ætate Christus prædicare orsus est: Episcopus vel trigesimo, vel quadragesimo, vel quinquagesimo."

‡ "Si vero grandis ætatis sit Laicus et necesse sit ut Episcopus fiat: biennio sit Lector: quinque Subdiaconus: post duodecim annos Presbyter, Episcopus subrogetur."

§ "Nullus Episcopus successorem in vita sua faciat, sed post obitum ejus boni bonum eligant."

‖ "Nunc Ecclesia multis modis offert Domino: primo, pro seipsa: secundo, pro commemoratione Jesu Christi, qui dixit: Hoc facite in meam commemorationem; tertio, pro animabus defunctorum."

¶ Sacerdos una tantum die ab Ecclesia defuerit: si duabus, poeniteat septem diebus cum pane et aqua. Item, si una Dominica ab ecclesia defuerit, agat pœnitentiam xx dierum cum pane et aqua: si vero duabus, submoveatur honore gradus sui.

allowed to consider donations which are offered either with the church or separately, as their own property, but rather as grants appertaining to the Church."* By another, "The priest cannot receive the oblations of a public sinner;" and again, the Synod decrees: "That the priest shall give to the Church whatever superfluities he may possess."† According to a subsequent canon, "Any ecclesiastic who should be present at the public games, was liable to degradation; and should an ecclesiastic be killed in battle or in any quarrelsome engagement, he is not to receive the benefit of the sacrifice, or the prayers of the Church."‡ In conclusion: "Ecclesiastics are to be reverenced, they being the pastors of the faithful, and the servants of the great Judge." That due reverence be, in like manner, shown to consecrated places, the Synod has declared: "Wherever you shall find the sign of the Cross of Christ, do no injury there."§ And by an express canon, "All thieves and robbers are to be cast out of the Church."‖ The consecrated area is finally declared to have been marked by three distinct boundaries: the first boundary was that by which laymen entered; the second was allotted for females; the third for ecclesiastics. The first was called sacred, the second more sacred, and the third most sacred.

Soon after the Synod of Flan Febhla, the learned Adamnan, abbot of Hy, arrived in Ireland, on a visitation of the monasteries subject to his jurisdiction.¶ During this visitation, Adamnan became acquainted with the nature of the Paschal system, which had been already observed in the south, and having decided in its favour and given it his sanction, it became, in the eighth century, the rule universally received and invariably practised in the several districts of the north and west, and ultimately throughout all Ireland.

* Sacerdotes quibus ab aliis aliquid sive cum Ecclesia sive sequestratim donatur, non quasi suum proprium, sed quasi dimissum Ecclesiæ computabunt.

† Sacerdos, omne quod superfluum habet, det in Ecclesia.

‡ Quicumque clericus in bello aut in rixa mortuus fuerit, neque oblatione, neque oratione postuletur pro eo, sed in manus incidat Judicis: sepultura non privetur.

§ Ubicumque inveneritis signum Crucis Christi, ne laseritis.

‖ Fures et latrones et raptores de Ecclesia ejiciendi sunt

¶ Ussher. Ind. Chron. See cent. viii chap. i.

CHAPTER II.

Successors of St. Patrick—Episcopal Sees—Religious Foundations of the Seventh Century.

Senach, archbishop of Armagh, was succeeded, in 610, by Mac Laisre. According to Colgan, this prelate was more properly named Terennan, and he is said to have held a correspondence with Laurence of Canterbury on the Paschal question: his successor was Thomian, A.D. 623. Thomian was of noble birth, distinguished for discipline and zeal, and a great encourager of learning. The active part which he had taken in the Paschal controversy has been already noticed; and in the letter written by the Roman clergy on that subject, in 640, and addressed to the Irish prelates, priests, and abbots, the name of Thomian stands first on the list. He died A.D. 661, and was succeeded by Segen. Of this prelate we find very little recorded: his incumbency continued until 688, in which year he died at Armagh; and had for his successor Flan Febhla. Under this primate the synod already mentioned took place; and after having governed the metropolitan see for twenty-seven years, with great advantage to religion, he died on the 24th of April, A.D. 715.*

We now proceed to give a brief historical outline of the episcopal sees established during the seventh century.

The see of Ferns was founded by St. Aidan, or Maidoc, about the year 600. Aidan was of an illustrious family in Connaught, his father, Letna, having been descended from Brian, prince of the Hy-Bruin sept in Breffny, and his mother, from the high and ancient race of Auli.† When a youth, Aidan was one of the hostages whom the people of Breffny had been obliged to give to Anmiracus, king of Ireland; and some time after his liberation, he withdrew from his native country, and retired to the establishment of St. David, at Menevia, in Wales. Here his extraordinary sanctity soon rendered him celebrated. About the year 589 Aidan departed from Menevia, and having landed in the new county of Wexford, he erected a church, at a place called Ardkathran, in the southern part of that county. His next establishment was at Clonemore, in the barony of Bantry; and having been held in great reverence by Brandubh, king of Leinster, that

* Ware, Bishops. † AA. SS. p. 216

prince assigned him a site, on which he erected his celebrated monastery of Ferns, about the year 600. At the request of Brandubh, a numerous synod was soon after convened, in which it was decreed that Ferns should become an episcopal see, and be, moreover, raised to the dignity of archbishopric of Leinster. On this occasion Aidan was consecrated its first bishop.* Ussher remarks that by this decree the archiepiscopate of Leinster had been removed from Sletty, but was afterwards transferred from Ferns to Kildare.† It is, at all events, most certain that these so-called archbishops, whether of Sletty or of Ferns, were not, strictly speaking, metropolitans; nor were they invested with archiepiscopal power, or that jurisdiction provided by the canon law. They enjoyed by courtesy, and very often through the favour of princes, a degree of honorary pre-eminence; and for this reason, we find the title passing in those days from one see to another. The reputation of St. Aidan was not confined to Ireland; his memory has been highly revered both in Wales and in other countries, and several miracles have been attributed to him. He died on the 31st of January, A.D. 632, and was buried at Ferns.‡ St. Aidan was succeeded in the see of Ferns by St. Moling, a native of the territory of Hy-Kinsellagh. Between the death of this prelate and the incumbency of the learned Alban O'Mulloy, in the twelfth century, the names of fifteen bishops have been recorded, while their acts, like most of our other national documents, have perished beneath the fury of the Danes, or the still more unsparing rapacity of the English invaders.

The see of Cork derived its foundation from St. Barr or Finbarr, about the year 606. This saint, as has been already noticed, was a native of Connaught,§ he was a great favourite with St. Aidan of Ferns, and accompanied him on his journey to Britain, and from thence to Rome. Finbarr on his return to Ireland, and being then a bishop, founded a monastery near Lough-eire, now the south side of the city of Cork, and here also he established his see. It has been asserted by some writers, that St. Finbarr had erected a cathedral in Cork, totally distinct from the church attached to the monastery; but this is an opinion altogether unsupported by any authority. During this period of our history, several abbots were bishops, and lived in their monasteries; hence it is that the catalogue of St. Finbarr's successors is, for a long time after his death, very

* Vita, c. 28.
† Ussher, p. 965.
‡ Ussher, p. 966.
§ See c. 1.

confused. Nessan, his favorite disciple, is mentioned by Ware as a successor of St. Barr in the see of Cork; however, according to Colgan, Nessan was only a simple priest * It must also be noticed that, in the most of our annals, the epithet *Comorban* has been affixed to names of many of the successors of St. Finbarr, and this term, being with equal propriety applicable to bishops and abbots, creates an uncertainty, and in several cases leaves the rank of the individual undetermined. Of all the ancient cities in the kingdom, that of Cork suffered most severely from the fury of the Danes, having been eleven times plundered during the lapse of a single century. In 970, the cathedral and the great abbey of St. Finbarr were pillaged and almost levelled to the ground by these invaders, while the records of the see, with other valuable monuments of those ancient times, were swept away and perished amidst the general wreck that surrounded them.† For this reason the succession of prelates is very imperfect until 1152, when the learned Gilla-Æda-O'Mugin was bishop of Cork, and attended with most of the other dignitaries of Ireland at the Council of Kells. From that period the chain of succession is unbroken, while the transactions of this see form an interesting portion of the history of the twelfth and succeeding centuries. St Finbarr died at Cloyne, on the 25th of September, A.D. 623, and was interred in Cork.

The see of Kilmacduagh had for its founder St. Colman, about the year 620. This saint was of the high and princely family of Hua Fiachra of Connaught, and was nearly related to Guaire, king of that province. His father's name being Duach, the saint has hence been surnamed Mac Duach; by this appellation he is more generally known than by that of Colman. In the early part of his life, Colman lived as a hermit in the forest of Burren, county of Clare; his only food being wild herbs and water cresses, while deer-skins served him for clothes. Guaire having been made acquainted with the sanctity of this great man, offered him a large tract of ground for the establishment of a religious community; the saint, however, accepted of only a small site, on which he erected his monastery, and shortly after became bishop.‡ St. Colman's labours in this part of Ireland contributed greatly to the splendour of the Gospel. The year of his death has not been ascertained, but his natalis is marked in the calendars on the 3rd of February. Of his successors in the see, we find very little recorded until the time of the Council of Kells, in 1152.

* Colgan, at 17th March. † M'Curtin, p. 207. ‡ AA. SS. p. 219.

The see of Leighlin had the learned Laserian for its founder. This saint was the son of Cairel, a nobleman of Ulster, and of Gemma, daughter of Aiden, king of the British Scots. Laserian studied under the abbot Murin, and afterwards spent fourteen years at Rome, where he was ordained priest by pope Gregory the Great. About the year 630, and during the period of the Paschal controversy, Laserian made a second journey to Rome, most probably as head of the deputation sent by the southern clergy after the synod of Old Leighlin. At this time he was consecrated bishop by pope Honorius I.* On his return to Ireland, in 633, he established the see of Leighlin, and contributed much towards the settlement of the Paschal computation in the south. St. Laserian, whose name was greatly revered throughout Ireland, died on the 18th of April, A.D. 639, and was buried in his own cathedral at Old Leighlin.†

This see continued to be governed by a succession of prelates until the eighteenth century, when it became united to Kildare.

The see of Lismore was established by the venerable St. Carthagh, in the year 633. This saint, who is sometimes called Mochuda, was born in Kerry about the middle of the sixth century.‡ Having studied for several years under St. Comgall of Bangor, Carthagh removed to Clonfert-Molua, for the purpose of practising greater austerity, and of becoming acquainted with the nature of monastic discipline. His first establishment was at Rathen, in the now county of Westmeath. Here he drew up a rule for his monks, and continuing at Rathen for forty years, was consecrated bishop. Notwithstanding the great sanctity of Carthagh and his community, they were compelled to leave Rathen by the cruelty of Bathmac, prince of that country, but having been afterwards kindly received by Moclochtride, prince of Nandesi, and obtaining the tract of land in which Lismore is situated, they settled there, and Carthagh founded his celebrated monastery.§ It soon became an episcopal see, and continued to be governed by its prelates in succession until the year 1363, when it was united to the diocese of Waterford.‖ The founder, St. Carthagh having retired to a lonely valley at the east end of the town, spent the last years of his life in contemplation and prayer. He died on the 14th of May, A.D. 637, and was buried at Lismore.

The see of Glendaloch.—There appears a great diversity

* Ussher, p. 938. † Annals of Innisf. ‡ Keating, b. 2
§ Life, c. iv. ‖ See century XIV

of opinion among our annalists regarding the first bishop of this ancient see. Colgan and Harris assert that St. Kevin was a bishop, and of course the founder of the see of Glendaloch. However, on the authority of the best records, it is certain that St. Kevin was only an abbot. The first bishop we meet with in this diocese is St. Libba or Molibba. He was a nephew of St. Kevin, and flourished in the early part of the seventh century.* St. Libba died on the 8th of January, but the year has not been ascertained. The see of Glendaloch was united in the thirteenth century to that of Dublin.†

To these episcopal sees, founded in the seventh century, may be added, that of CLONMACNOIS, governed by St. Baitan, A.D. 633; TRIM, in the county of Meath, established by St. Loman: the memory of this saint is revered at Trim on the 17th of February. The see of ARDBRACCAN, in Meath, was founded by St. Ultan; he died on the 4th of September, A.D. 657. The see of LUSK, in the county of Dublin, had St. Petranus for its bishop. St. Murgeus presided at Gleanussen, in the Queen's County. St. Gobbin, at Inspict, in the county of Cork; St. Dagan, at Achad-Dagan, in the county of Waterford, and several others mentioned in the third class of Irish saints.

Thus, at the close of the seventh century, the episcopal sees established in Ireland, if arranged according to the order of the present day, were: in Ulster—the metropolitan see of Armagh; the sees of Ardagh, Clogher, Dromore, Connor, Down and Clonard (Meath). In Leinster—Kildare, Ossory, Ferns, Leighlin, and Glendaloch. In Munster—Emly, Cloyne, Ross, Cork, and Lismore. In Connaught—Tuam, Elphin, Killala, Clonfert, Achonry, and Kilmacduagh; besides the numerous minor sees already mentioned, and which in the seventh century were governed by their respective bishops, but have been since united either to the above-mentioned bishopries, or to others which shall be noticed in succeeding centuries.

The principal monasteries founded in the seventh century must now challenge our consideration. Our monasticons furnish us with a lengthened catalogue, out of which the following establishments shall be selected:—

THE MONASTERY OF CLONEMORE, in the barony of Bantry and county of Wexford, had St. Aidan for its founder, and it appears to have been erected about the same period with the see of Ferns. It was a place of great celebrity during this

* Colgan at 8th Jan. † See century xiii.

and the following age, and is hallowed by the remains of many eminent and saintly men, among whom may be numbered Dichulla, to whom the founder resigned its administration; St. Ternoc, who flourished about the same period: and the sainted Finian, surnamed the Leper, who died and was interred here, A.D. 680.* During the ninth century, when the fury of the Danes appeared to have been pointedly levelled against the religious establishments in this part of Ireland, the retreat of Clonemore exhibited on many occasions a frightful scene of desolation. The massacre which had taken place within its hallowed sanctuary in 833, is particularly noticed by most of our ancient annalists. On Christmas night during that year, while the community had been assisting at the divine mysteries, an armed multitude of these Ostmen forced their way into the church, and after having committed various acts of sacrilege, completed their barbarity by putting the abbot and his brethren indiscriminately to the sword.† At the close of the tenth century it began to decline, and became a complete ruin about the year 1041.‡

The abbey of Roscrea, in the county of Tipperary, was established by St. Cronan, about the year 606,§ and soon after its foundation, Roscrea became an extensive town. During the seventh and following centuries a celebrated school was attached to this abbey; it became particularly distinguished for the number of its learned professors, while its hospitality made it a home and a house of comfort for the poor and afflicted. In 1174, during the administration of Failan, its last superior, this abbey became a ruin.

The monastery of Cong, situated in the county of Mayo, between Lough Corrib and Lough Mask, was founded in the year 624, by Donald, a nephew of Amirach, king of Ireland. St. Fechin of Fore presided for some years over this establishment. The constitutions of this house were remarkably austere. It had been for many ages celebrated as a place of holy retirement and penance; hence we find, at different periods, several characters of exalted rank renouncing the world and taking shelter within its solitary and hallowed walls. Among the number of those may be noticed the monarch Roderic O'Connor, the last king of Ireland. This prince, after witnessing the overthrow of his kingdom, retired to the monastery of Cong, where he died with great resignation, A.D. 1198, and in the 82nd year of his age. He was however, interred at Clonmacnois.‖ It was governed by its abbots in regular

* AA. SS. p. 628. † Four Masters. ‡ Idem.
§ See c. iii. for Cronan. ‖ Ogygia, 411.

succession, until the sixteenth century. Æneas M'Donnell was the last abbot, when its possessions became merged in the general confiscation. According to an inquisition taken in the 35th of Elizabeth, the property, or rather parcels of it, consisted of fifteen townlands, situated in the counties of Mayo and Roscommon, together with various rectories and their tithes. A considerable part of the splendid possessions of this abbey were granted by Elizabeth, at an annual rent, to the provost and fellows of Trinity College, Dublin; while a lease in reversion of the abbey, for fifty years, was given to Sir John King, ancestor to the earl of Kingston.*

The abbey of Fore, in the county of Westmeath, was founded by St. Fechin, about the year 630.† Fore in a very short time became a celebrated town, and in this abbey the saint is said, at one time, to have governed three hundred monks;‡ according to some authors, three thousand. Its abbots continued in regular succession down to the sixteenth century. In 736, St. Surlach was abbot and bishop of Fore; and after his time, the episcopal dignity was likewise invested in several of its abbots. The abbey, together with the town of Fore, had been six times destroyed by fire, and in 1209 it was rebuilt by Walter De Lacy, under the invocation of St. Taurin and St. Fechin, for Benedictines whom he had brought from the monastery of St. Taurin in Evreux, Normandy. The last abbot was William Nugent, and in the 31st of Henry VIII. an inquisition was held; and the possessions, consisting of 1300 acres of pasture and arable land, with twenty-eight rectories, situated in the counties of Westmeath and Cavan, were confiscated. In 1588, a lease of the abbey and of its possessions was granted to Christopher baron of Delvin.§ Thus the great abbey of Fore, which had once been the seat of literature, the nursery of saints, and the asylum of the poor, became involved in the same common wreck with the other religious institutions of the country.

The monastery of Swords, in the county of Dublin, and barony of Coolock, had St. Finan, surnamed the Leper, for its founder. St. Finan was a member of the Columbian Order, and after having erected several monasteries in various parts of Ireland, died about 680. From the year 1069 until the

* Chief Remembrancer. † See c. iii. at Fechin.

‡ In a hymn for the office of St. Fechin, we read:—

"Dehinc fuit Monachorum
Dux et Pater trecentorum
Quos instruxit lege morum
Murus contra Vitia." Amen.

—Four Masters.

§ Aud.-Gen.

middle of the twelfth century, the town and abbey of Swords were almost one continued scene of desolation; having been, during that period, no less than eight times stormed and laid waste by fire and sword. At length, in 1166, Swords had been nearly depopulated, and the abbey became a ruin.*

The abbey of Innisfallen, in the Lake of Killarney, was founded by St. Finian Lobhar, about the year 640.† Finian was a native of Ely O'Carrol, King's County, and was lineally descended from the celebrated Oilill Olum, king of Munster. The annals of Innisfallen inform us that this abbey was esteemed a paradise, and had been for many centuries a secure sanctuary in which the wealth and most valuable effects of the whole country were deposited. Among its learned men should be mentioned the venerable Gilla Patrick O'Huihair: he was a celebrated poet, a philosopher, and the founder of several religious houses‡ The abbots of Innisfallen continued in regular succession until the sixteenth century, when the abbey was plundered, and its possessions granted, by Elizabeth, to a person named Robert Collan.§

The abbey of Fahan, on Lough Swilly, in Innishowen, county of Donegal, was founded by St. Mura, about the middle of the seventh century. This saint was of the Columbian Order, and his memory, which is revered on the 12th of March, has been held in great veneration. The abbey of Fahan was richly endowed and highly venerated, not only (says Archdall) "in consequence of the hallowed reverence paid to St. Mura, to whom the great church is dedicated, but also for the many monuments of antiquity which remained here till they had been destroyed in the sixteenth century. Among the few relics that had been preserved was the book of the Acts of St. Columbkill, written by St. Mura, in Irish verse, some fragments of which yet remain; also, a very large and ancient chronicle, held in great repute; and the pastoral staff of St. Mura, richly ornamented with jewels and gilding, and which is still retained by a family of the O'Neils."‖

Owing to the limits of this work, the following monasteries, selected out of the number, erected in the seventh century, shall be merely noticed.

The abbey of Mayo, founded by St. Colman, suppressed by Elizabeth, and granted, at an annual rent, to the burgesses

* Tr. Th. p. 643. † AA. SS. p. 628. ‡ Annal. Munst.

§ The inquisition taken in the 37th of Elizabeth presents us with a very exact account of the possessions of this abbey; viz.: 180 acres of arable land and the advowson of the churches of Kilbertoe, Terlocin, Kilmacrenan, and Kilmacrenan. Chief Remembrancer. ‖ AA. SS. p. 587.

and commonalty of the town of Galway.* CLASHMORE, in the county of Waterford, founded by St. Mochoemoc; the possessions were granted to Sir Walter Raleigh.† TRIM, in the county of Meath, founded by St. Loman. CAMROSS, in the county of Wexford, founded by St. Abban. CARNSORE, in the barony of Fort, county of Wexford, founded by St. Domangart. TIBRACH, in the county of Kilkenny, founded by St. Modomnoc. SAGGARD, in the county of Dublin, founded by St. Masacra. FRESHFORD, in the county of Kilkenny, founded by St. Lactan. KILLAMERY, in the county of Kilkenny, founded by St. Goblan. ACHAD-DAGAIN, in the county of Waterford, founded by St. Dagan. SEANBOTHA, in the county of Wexford, founded by St. Colman. TIMOHOE, in the barony of Cullinagh, Queen's County, founded by St. Mochoemoc. INNISKELTRA, an island in the Shannon, founded by St. Camin. St. MULLINS, in the county of Carlow, founded by St. Moling, bishop of Ferns. BALLYVOURNEY, in the county of Cork, founded by St. Abban. CLUAIN-FINGLAS, in the county of Cork, founded by St. Abban. DONAGHMORE, in the barony of Muskerry, county Cork, founded by Fingem. KILLEAGH, in the barony of Imokilly, county Cork, founded by St. Abban. CLONDALKIN, in the county of Dublin, founded by St. Cronan Mochua. KILLEEN, in the county of Meath, founded by St. Endeus. CAPE CLEAR ISLAND, founded by St. Comgall, a disciple of St. Finbarr. INBHERDAOILE, in the county of Wexford, founded by St. Dagan. CLONRANE, in the county of Westmeath, founded by St. Mochua. BALLYKINE, in the county of Wicklow, founded by St. Dagan. MUCKAMORE, in the county of Antrim, founded by St. Colman Elo. This abbey and its possessions were granted, in the seventh of Elizabeth, to Sir Roger Langford.‡

These foundations of the seventh century, together with those which had been established in preceding times, formed altogether a mass of literary and religious institutions, such as, perhaps, no other nation in that age could produce. The rules by which they had been governed were extremely rigorous; and while the monks themselves subsisted either by manual or mental labour, their schools were thrown open for the gratuitous instruction of all, both natives and foreigners. The pages of the next chapter shall be devoted to the biography of some of those distinguished men, who, at this period, shed lustre on the religion of their country, and whose names have been honourably recorded in the writings of all our ancient annalists.

* King, p. 93. † Smith, p. 75. ‡ Harris, Tab.

CHAPTER III.

Religious and Literary Characters of the Seventh Century—General Observations.

Among the eminent characters who, for learning and sanctity, stood distinguished during the seventh century, may be noticed:

St. Fintan Munnu, the celebrated abbot of Taghmon. This saint was the son of Tulcan and Feidelmia, both lineally descended from Nial of the Nine Hostages, and was born in the north of Ireland.* He commenced his studies under St. Comgall of Bangor, and afterwards devoted eighteen years to the practice of a contemplative life, at Cluaninis, then governed by the learned and saintly Sinell. At the termination of this period, Fintan repaired to the island of Hy, with an intention of becoming a member of the Columbian Order. The founder, St. Columbkill, had died some short time before, and was succeeded by Baithen, who received Fintan Munnu with great tenderness. "I thank my God," says he, "that you are come to this place, but this you must know, that you cannot become a monk of ours." Fintan, sadly afflicted at these words, observed: "Is it that I am unworthy of being one?" "No," answered Baithen; "but although I should be very glad to keep you with me, I must obey the orders of my predecessor, Columba; who, not long since, said to me in the spirit of prophecy: Baithen, remember these words of mine: immediately after my departure from this life, a brother who is now regulating his youthful age by good conduct, and well-versed in sacred studies, named Fintan of the race of Mocu-Moie, and son of Failchan, will come to you from Ireland, and will supplicate to be received among the monks; but it is predetermined by God, that he is to be an abbot, presiding over monks and a guide of souls. Do not, therefore, let him remain in these islands, but direct him to return in peace to Ireland; that he there establish a monastery in a part of Leinster not far from the sea, and labour for the good of souls.'" Fintan accordingly returned to Ireland, and proceeded to that part of Hy-Kinsellagh now called the county of Wexford.† The eastern limits of that territory were in those days enclosed by a dreary

* Adamnan, l. i. c. 2. † Adamnan, l. i. c. 2.

and desolate forest, on the borders of which the saint erected his monastery, and was soon accompanied by a considerable number of disciples. According to Colgan, he presided over 234 monks, while other writers of equal credit make the number considerably greater. Fintan having been well versed in the doctrine of astronomy, as taught in those days, took a distinguished part in the controversy which the Paschal computation had then created. He was the principal opponent of Laserian in the synod of Old Leighlin, as has been already stated; nevertheless, he soon after yielded to the general opinion, and followed the Dionysian cycle in the future celebration of Easter. Archdall, in his catalogue of the abbots of Clonenagh, in the Queen's County, has placed St. Fintan Munnu among their number, and ranks him as bishop. This, however, is but a mere assertion, and is directly opposed to the testimony of Tigernach, Adamnan, and other approved writers. St. Fintan, following the directions which he had received from Baithen, remained during his life in the monastery of Taghmon, and died on the 21st of October, A.D. 635. According to Hanmer, he was the author of a book on the Paschal controversy; and Dempster ascribes to him a treatise on the Acts of Columbkill, together with a collection of epistles to St. Baithen.*

St. Colman-Elo, of the race of the Nialls, and a native of Meath, flourished at the close of the sixth, and in the commencement of the seventh century. With an intention of leading a retired and penitential life, he penetrated into the most sequestered part of Dalaradia, where he erected the monastery of Muckamore, not far distant from Antrim. In this retreat Colman continued for some years, and having qualified himself, by the practice of continued austerity, he afterwards became a postulant, and embraced the institute of St. Columba. Aidus Flan, king of Ireland, held the virtues of this saint in great veneration, and assigned him a tract of land in the territory of Fercall, now part of the King's County, in which he was recommended to establish his future residence. Colman consented to sojourn in that district, but on condition that he himself should be allowed to choose the particular place of his abode. The forest of Fidh-Elo, which occupied a considerable part of that territory, was in those days the most dreary and extensive of any in the kingdom (from the neighbouring inhabitants it received the name of the Black Forest) while many of its gloomy

* Tr. Th. p. 470.

recesses had seldom or, perhaps, never been visited by the footsteps of man. This was the place which Colman had selected; and in the heart of this frightful wilderness he spent years, shut out from human society and devoted to prayer, contemplation, and the rigours of an eremitic life.* Wild fruit and herbs, with water from the rock, composed his repast; the cold earth of the forest was his couch, and a stone served him for a pillow. Nor was Colman without followers; the fame of his sanctity soon spread around; many, tired and disgusted with the world, repaired to this abode of solitude and of heavenly peace. Numbers embraced it as a sanctuary of penance, and thus, in lapse of time, the wilderness abounded with the habitations of holy anchorites, while a spacious monastery was erected, and received the name of Lann-Elo, or the Church of Elo, now Linally, in the King's County. According to some authors, St. Colman was afterwards consecrated bishop.† It is, however, certain that he continued in his monastery until the time of his death, which occurred in the year 610, and in the 56th year of his age.

St. Cronan of Roscrea, was a native of the territory of Ely O'Carrol, now the King's County.‡ Being determined on embracing the religious state, he withdrew to a district of Connaught called Puayd, and from thence to Clonmacnois, where he was soon joined by a number of disciples. From this place Cronan repaired to Lusmag, in the present barony of Garrycastle, King's County, where he founded a monastery, and resided for some time. His next establishment was Sean-ross, near the marsh called *Cree* (now Monela), and soon after he erected, on a more convenient site, the celebrated abbey of Roscrea, which, in his days and in after times, was the seat of literature, an asylum for the poor, and a nursery of saints. This saint was held in great veneration by the people of Ely, whom he often protected by his prayers, and among those that came to receive his instructions was Fingen, the martial king of Munster, and many of the dynasts of that territory. It is recorded in the acts of St. Cronan,§ that St. Molua having paid him a visit at the monastery of Sean-ross, requested that he would give him the sacrifice, or Holy Eucharist, with permission to take it with him. To this request Cronan consented, and Molua recommended his monastery to his prayers and protection.

* Life c. † Tr. Th. p. 374. ‡ Vit. Cron.

§ "Venit (Molua) ad S. Cronanum de Ruis-cree, *sedentem tunc in cella Senrui's*, et postulavit ab eo *Sacrificium*, quod secum portaret; et dedit ei Cronanus. Cui Lugidius (Molua) ait; tecum relinquo locum meum, ut eum a persecutoribus defendas."— Vit. S. Cron.

Nor was this a solitary instance of the manner in which the Blessed Eucharist was sometimes given to holy persons in those early times; numerous similar facts stand recorded in our ecclesiastical annals, and in the apostolical age it was not unusual with holy prelates to send the Blessed Sacrament to each other as a token of brotherly love, and as a mark of Catholic communion.* St. Cronan, after a life of labour and of great sanctity, died on the 28th of April, A.D. 620.

St. Abban was of the illustrious house of Hua-Cormac, in Leinster, and nephew of St. Kevin of Glendaloch. His first establishment was at Ros-mic-treoin,† or Old Ross, in the county of Wexford, where he presided as abbot about the close of the sixth century. His ardent zeal for the salvation of souls, and his anxiety to promote monastic discipline, soon called him from his favourite retreat; and he is said to have visited a considerable part of Ireland, preaching in the towns and villages, forming religious communities, and laying the foundations of new establishments. Among these religious institutions, the following are mentioned by the authors of his life; Camross, Fion-magh, Druim-chain-celpaigh, Maghar-Noidhe, and Disert-Cheanan, in Hy-Kinselagh, county of Wexford; Kill-Abban, in Meath; Kill-achaid-conchinn, in Kerry; Kill-cruimthir, in the county of Cork; Kill-na-marbham, near Michelstown, county Cork; Cluain-ard-Mobecoc, in Muskerry, county of Cork; Cluain-Finglass, in the same county; Cluain-con-bruin, in the plain of Femin, between Cashel and Clonmel; Kill-Abban, in the county of Louth; three monasteries in the plain of Magh-elle, in the county of Galway; and two nunneries, namely, Borneach, now Ballyvourney, near Macroomp, in the county of Cork; and Kill-ailbhe, in the county of Meath, which he committed to the care of St. Sencha.‡

This great saint, after years of difficulties almost insurmountable, returned to Hy-Kinselagh, his native country, and founded his last establishment at Magharnoidhe, (Maudlinton) near the site on which the town of Wexford stands.§ Here St. Abban spent the remainder of his days in prayer, contemplation, and retirement. He died on the 27th of October, and about the year 630.

St. Pulcherius or Mochoemoc, was of the Nandesii sept, his mother Nessa; the name of his father was [illegible] of Clonmacne, in Connaught. He was born in Hy-Conall-Gaura, in the county of Limerick, about the year 550, and

* See Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. l. 5.
† Abban's Life, c. 26; Vit. S. Molua.
‡ Life, c. 25; AA. SS. p. 622.
§ Archdall Addenda, etc.

when young was placed under the care of St. Comgall of Bangor. Being properly qualified, Mochoemoc repaired from this austere retreat to his own country, and was well received by the chieftain Ele (Ely O'Carrol), who offered him his own residence for the purpose of converting it into a monastery. This offer the saint declined, and being resolved to shut himself out from the intercourse of men, he fixed upon a lonesome spot in the heart of a forest named Laithmore, in the present King's County.* Here Mochoemoc spent years of rigorous discipline, and trained up a numerous body of disciples in the duties and observance of a spiritual life; many of these eminent men were afterwards the founders of other institutions, among whom was the celebrated St. Dagan. Several miracles are attributed to St. Mochoemoc, and by his sanctity and labours, that which was once an uninhabited and frightful forest, became, in the course of some years, populous and celebrated, and the far-famed residence of scholars and saints. St. Mochoemoc lived to a great age, and died on the 13th of March, A.D. 656.

St. Aileran, surnamed the *Wise*, was distinguished for his learning and various writings, and is generally supposed to be the priest Airendanus, mentioned in the third class of Irish saints. He presided for many years as chief professor over the school of Clonard, where he composed a life of St. Patrick; also the acts of St. Fechin of Fore; a treatise on the virtues of St. Brigid, and an allegorical exposition of the genealogy of Christ, which has been published among the *Collectanea Sacra* of Fleming.† Sedulius, in his notes on the Gospel of St. Matthew, has given insertion to this tract, to which he has prefixed the following complimentary scholium. "Here begins the typical and tropological knowledge of Christ, explained by St. Aileran, the wisest of the *Scottish* nation." When very old, he published his three books "*De mirabilibus Sacræ Scripturæ;*" forming a learned abridgment of the history of the Bible, intermixed with a variety of theological and philosophical disquisitions, tending to elucidate the difficulties that may occur.‡ The first book contains that part of sacred history recorded in the Pentateuch; the second comprises the remainder of the Bible, and in the third, the events of the New Testament are substantially epitomized. The time of St. Aileran's death is not recorded, but was, most probably, about the year 640.

St. Munchin or Manchin, surnamed the Wise, was a

* Life c. 16. † Bib. Pat. t. 12. ‡ A.A. SS. p. 140.

descendant of Cormac Cas, king of Munster, and for learning and sanctity was held in great veneration throughout the territory of Thomond.* It is, indeed, a difficult task, to reconcile the various opinions which have been advanced relative to the ecclesiastical rank of this eminent saint. According to Ware, he was the first bishop who presided over the see of Limerick; while others, with more probability, rank him among the abbots of Mene-drochit (now Mundrehid), in the present barony of Upper Ossory. The former opinion is grounded on a genealogical hagiology, in which five ecclesiastics of that name are mentioned. Nevertheless, in all our ancient calendars, the title of bishop cannot be found annexed to them. It may likewise be proper to remark, that the name of any one of his successsors has not been ascertained, nor is there mention made of any future bishop in the see of Limerick, until the time of Gilbert, at the commencement of the twelfth century.† St. Munchen was certainly the founder of several religious houses, and having been exceedingly venerated for his learning, as well as for his sanctity, it is highly probable that several churches had been dedicated to his memory in the district of Thomond; among which the church in Limerick was particularly distinguished. O'Halloran represents Munchen as bishop of Limerick, and actually officiating there soon after the arrival of St. Patrick in Ireland; and asserts, moreover, that he had been the founder and first abbot of the monastery of Muingharid (Mungret) near Limerick.‡ This, however, is a mere unauthorised assertion, repugnant to historical evidence, and involving a downright papable anachronism. In St. Patrick's time, there was neither a town nor a monastery in the place where the city of Limerick now stands; and as to the abbey of Mungret, all our ancient annals mention St. Nessan as its first abbot, about the middle of the sixth century. St. Munchen died on the 2nd of January, A.D. 652.§

Cummian, the author of the celebrated Paschal epistle to Segenius, abbot of Hy, was a native of Leath-Mogha, or southern half of Ireland, and received his education in the monastery of Durrogh. This learned writer was a member of the Columbian institute, and at the time in which that Paschal treatise was published, he appears to have been stationed in the monastery of Disart-chuimin, now Kilcummin, in the King's County.‖ The proceedings of the Synod of Leighlin, in which the Roman cycle had been received, met with a firm

* AA. SS. p. 332. † See cent. xii. c. ii. ‡ Hist. b. S. c. vii.
§ Annals of Ulster; Ussher, Ind. Chron. ‖ AA. SS. p. 408

supporter in the person of this eminent man. He prevailed on his brethren in Durrogh to enter into his views on the subject, and at length succeeded in making it the standing rule of all the Columbian establishments in that part of Ireland. This interference called forth various remonstrances from the abbot of Hy, and from the heads of other houses; on which occasion, Cummian composed a treatise replete with learning and deep research, which he addressed in the shape of an epistle to Segenius and the rest of his brethren, both in Ireland and the Hebrides. He commences this work by declaring that he had not given any decisive opinion on that subject, without having previously prepared himself by long and intense study. He then adduces a copious collection of passages from sacred writ, a variety of facts from ecclesiastical history, and a number of quotations from the Fathers, both Greek and Latin, and particularly from Origen, St. Cyprian, St. Augustin, St. Jerome, St. Cyril of Alexandria, and St. Gregory the Great. The inquiry which he has made into the various cycles of the Jews, Greeks, Latins, and Egyptians, and the precision with which he has analysed and reviewed the several systems of this intricate computation, prove him to have been a man of immense research and a profound scientific scholar. He sums up all by an appeal to the authority and unity of the Church, and thus concludes:* "Can anything be perceived more pernicious to the mother Church, more destructive to religion, or more unjustifiably absurd than to say, Rome errs, Jerusalem errs, Alexandria errs, Antioch errs, the whole world errs—the Scots and Britons alone are right?" Notwithstanding the solid erudition and powerful reasoning embodied in this work, the Columbian fathers still tenaciously adhered to the ancient Paschal system, nor was the Alexandrine or Dionysian rule allowed to be introduced into their establishments in Ulster until the visitation of the learned Adamnan, in the eighth century. Cummian was likewise the author of other valuable works, among which should be noticed his tract entitled, "*De Pœnitentiarum Mensura*," a learned epitome of the ancient penitential canons. This treatise was afterwards found in the monastery of St. Gall, with the name of the abbot Cummian of Scotia or Ireland prefixed. It was published by Sirin. re-published in the edition of the *Bibliotheca Patrum* at Lyons in 1677. To this day it remains a valuable [illegible] antiquity; proving beyond question, the divine institution of sacramental confession with the penances enjoined, the

sacrifice of the Mass, prayers for the dead, celibacy of the clergy, and many other points of faith and discipline which the Catholic Church always did and ever will continue to hold. Cummian died on the 2nd of December, A.D. 662.

St. Fechin of Fore was lineally descended from the celebrated Con of the Hundred Battles, and was born in the barony of Leney, in the county of Sligo.* Having completed his studies under St. Nathi of Achonry, and being raised to the priesthood, Fechin retired to a place called Fobhar, now Fore, in the county of Westmeath. Notwithstanding the progress which the Gospel had already made over Ireland, some remnants of pagan immorality had still been suffered to remain in this sequestered territory. An anxious desire to reform these people was the principal motive which induced the saint to proceed amongst them. Assisted by a few disciples, he soon founded a religious establishment, and by his preaching and example, the inhabitants were speedily reclaimed, while many of them became strict followers of his institute. The saint and his community met at first with much opposition, and were reduced to the greatest distress, but were relieved by the generosity of Guaire, king of Connaught, and other neighbouring benefactors. Fechin had great influence with the kings and princes of his time, of which he made frequent use, either in reconciling the disputes of contending parties, or in relieving the distressed. When Domnald II, king of Ireland, had marched at the head of a powerful army into the country of the Southern Nialls, for the purpose of marking the limits of their territory, the inhabitants, dreading the probable consequences, applied to the saint, and by his mediation, Domnald was prevailed upon to desist from his undertaking, and became reconciled to these southern tributary clans.† Solitude was that in which the saint felt particular delight, while his life was one continued series of the most rigorous penance. He was the founder of several other monasteries, among which were Cong, in the county of Mayo, and Inmagh, on the coast of Galway. St. Fechin died on the 20th of January, A.D. 665, of the pestilence which then raged all over Ireland. Fore was called Baile-Leabhair,‡ or the town of books, and its schools were held in the highest reputation. Some of its abbots were bishops; but it does not appear to have been at any period a regular episcopal see.§

Having now presented to the reader a general outline of the

* AA. SS. p. 143.
† Life, c. 34.
‡ Usher, p. 966.
§ See cent. viii. c. ii.

leading historical events of the seventh century, the first fact which must strike our attention is that of the Paschal controversy; and although it be in itself a mere question of discipline, yet, considered in its consequences, it becomes a matter of high importance, and pregnant with the most interesting results. In the infancy of the Church of Ireland, the time for celebrating the Paschal solemnity was determined by a method of calculation introduced by St. Patrick, and handed down by our forefathers with great reverence and care, from one generation to another. After the lapse of about two centuries, an attempt was made, for the first time, to alter this ancient disciplinary usage; a new rule or mode of solution was proposed; nothing more than discipline was contemplated; and yet on its very introduction, both clergy and laity rose up and declaimed against it; nor would they consent to receive even this Paschal system, until they had been convinced that no infringement on Catholic doctrine was intended, and that the unity of a public rite absolutely required their unanimous adhesion. But what, we may ask, would have been the consequence should any doctrinal innovation have been attempted? This, indeed, would be accompanied by a reclamation and a resistance too loud to be suppressed—too powerful to be subdued. Again, history has furnished us with an accurate and a complete detail of all the circumstances connected with this ancient controversy of the Paschal computation. We know that the new or Alexandrine cycle was introduced into Ireland in the seventh century; we know the persons by whom it was introduced; the causes of its introduction; the disputations which it occasioned; the meetings and the synods in which it was discussed; in short, we are acquainted with its whole history. Such being the undoubted fact, it is most certain that, had any attempt been made to introduce novel points of belief or to corrupt the ancient faith of Ireland, the same medium of history would have transmitted to us a full and faithful account of so public and momentous an event. Now, if this reasoning, this language of common sense holds good with respect to Ireland, most assuredly it acquires additional weight when applied to the Universal Church of Christ; and hence it is, that although it has often been asked, when, where, or by whom had any doctrinal error been introduced into the Church, the question, though repeated, has never yet been answered. But the discussion of the Paschal cycle has been attended with other beneficial effects. It has brought forth some able productions from the great men of those ancient times—from the founders of the Irish Church; and by means

of which, we become at once acquainted with the belief of our forefathers in those days An abundance of similar evidence could be produced in every age; while, we repeat it, the great argument of prescription—that test of truth and end of religious controversy—acquires additional force from the events and discussions of the Church of Ireland during the seventh century.

The high character which in those days our country maintained for learning, holiness, and hospitality, is another fact well worthy the attention of the reader. Bede and other ancient writers testify that the literature and religious spirit of the Irish people became in this age proverbial; and men from all nations visited our shores in quest of science and the knowledge of heavenly truth. Among this number we find crowds of Britons, who, being almost destitute of education at home, were glad to come and receive it *gratuitously* in Ireland. The acts of many of these eminent men have been honourably recorded in our annals; and while we appreciate the labours of Hewald in Saxony, and of Egbert, Willibrord, Vickberet, and others in Friesland, let it not be forgotten that Ireland was the nursery in which these distinguished Britons had been educated and qualified for the arduous duties of those interesting missions. In after times, when the sword was drawn, and Ireland had to pass through the crucible—when by despotic enactments and the terrors of the gibbet, the Irish student, shut out from the chance of education in his own country, was compelled to take refuge in a foreign land. France, the Netherlands, Spain, Italy—all embraced the exiled Irish ecclesiastic—felt for his wrongs, sheltered him from his oppressors, and gave him education, freely and munificently, as his forefathers had once done towards strangers from the most distant parts of Europe.

The inestimable labours of St. Aidan, the apostle of Northumberland, and the equally eventful missions of Finan and Colman, his successors, would supply matter for still more ample commentary; these missions, however, in conjunction with others, shall form the heads of a distinct subject, and shall in their proper place be again presented to the reader's consideration.

EIGHTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Termination of the Paschal Controversy—Question on the subject of the Tonsure decided—Religious Spirit of the Irish in this age—The monarch Flahertach-Turlough, prince of Thomond—The Inhabitants of Iceland and of the Orkneys converted by Irishmen—Progress of our Missionaries in various parts of Europe—History of St. Virgilius—of St. Rumold—of Clemens and Albinus—the Ostmen or Danes make their first appearance on the coast of Ireland.

From the historical events of the preceding centuries, the state of the Irish Church at this period may be readily collected. Its hierarchy had been organized—the episcopal sees of the present day were, with few exceptions, founded; while the ecclesiastical orders were composed of men, professionally learned, zealous, and above all, disengaged from the wealth and pleasures of this world. Meanwhile, the literary retreats of the sixth and seventh centuries were, as usual, frequented by foreigners, and were conducted on a scale more ample and splendid than ever. For this reason it is, that in the eighth century very few schools of an extensive description had been founded; the ancient establishments were considered sufficient, and hence the arrangement of this chapter shall, in this respect, vary from that of some of the preceding ones.

The controversy relative to the Paschal cycle gave rise to considerable discussion during the last century; principles had been advanced on both sides of the question, the result of which was, that in the south of Ireland the Roman Paschal computation had been adopted, while in the north, together with a great portion of Leinster and Connaught, the ancient Irish cycle was still retained. This discrepancy, although it could not affect Catholic faith, was, nevertheless, a floating speck upon the bright surface of the Church of Ireland. To remove it, was a task undertaken by many, but executed by none; one obstacle having been put out of the way, served only to make room for another; it was considered by some as a work insurmountable: to all it appeared extremely difficult; and it was at length accomplished by Adamnan, the learned abbot of Hy, about the year 703. It happened that Adamnan had, in the year 702, been deputed by his countrymen to pro-

ceed to Alfrid, king of Northumberland; during which visit, he became acquainted with the abbot Ceolfrid, and with several other eminent persons, who felt a desire to see this question amicably decided. Adamnan being a man of great experience, and lamenting the conflict of opinion which this controversy had occasioned, listened with attention to the arguments of these ecclesiastics; his former views of the subject were soon withdrawn; all these he was willing to sacrifice on the common altar of unity; and he at length consented to adopt the Roman, or rather the Alexandrine cycle, with the Eusebian revision and amendments. Adamnan promised, moreover, to use his influence in having it received as the permanent and exclusive calculation of the Pasch throughout the north of Ireland; in which undertaking he finally, but with difficulty, succeeded. In the year after, about 703, he sailed for Ireland, and having reached the north, this great man did all in his power, by authority and argument, to bring over his countrymen to the opinion which he had already formed on this then interesting subject.* His principal arguments referred to the source from which this disciplinary usage had emanated; to its universality, it being now the universally received rule of discipline over the Christian world, and to the important connection which subsisted between it and the other leading festivals of the year. The influence which Adamnan's learning and sanctity had gained throughout the north, added considerable weight to his arguments; accordingly the prelates, together with the heads of the leading monasteries, almost instantaneously adopted the Roman method of calculation, and thus the same rule of discipline appertaining to the Paschal festival was observed in every province and in every diocese in Ireland. Adamnan remained in this country until after the Easter of 704, which he celebrated at the time prescribed by the Roman cycle, and then returned to his monastery in the island of Hy.

About this period the question of the clerical tonsure was likewise decided. It is certain, that until some time in the fifth century, there was no peculiar tonsure in use among the clergy. The practice of it originated [illegible] some monks chiefly of the east, who as a token of repentance generally appeared with their heads shaved.† The Greek m[illegible] were accustomed to shave the whole head; and [illegible] the apostle, who in the reign of Constantine pretended to [illegible] monk, had his hair shorn accord[illegible] to the m[illegible]

* Bede, l. 5. c. xv. † Bingham Orig. b. 7.

that country. In other parts of the east they had their heads only half shaved, something similar to that practised by the first and second class of Irish saints. The eastern tonsure gradually passed from the monks to the secular clergy; but in the western church there was no certain or determined form prescribed until after the close of the fifth century.* The difference between the Irish tonsure and that used by the Romans since the time of Gregory the Great, consisted in this, that with the Romans the crown of the head was shorn in form of a circle, while the Irish shaved only the forepart of the head, permitting the hair to fall behind. The surrounding circle of hair in the Roman tonsure was, strictly speaking, called the *corona;* and in its mystical signification, was supposed to represent the crown of thorns which had been placed on the sacred head of the Redeemer. It is also considered as an emblem of the royalty of the Christian priesthood.† There is no doubt but the Irish tonsure was that which the clergy of this country had, in the fifth century, received from St. Patrick; nor was it in reality confined to Ireland; the semicircular tonsure (as it was called) had at that period been used in several parts of the east, and, generally speaking, throughout the west. St. Paulinus of Nola, who was a native of Gaul, and who died in the commencement of the fifth century, speaking of the monks of his time, says they were half tonsured, having the foreparts of their heads shaved: "*Semitonsi et destituta fronte præsasi.*"‡ The fact is, St. Patrick had found this form of tonsure used in Gaul and in other places, and having taught it to the Irish, it was afterwards observed with that scrupulous reverence which our forefathers always paid to everything delivered to them by that great apostle. At all events the controversy to which it gave rise continued for a long period; it was conducted with much argumentation between our Irish missionaries in Northumberland and the English clergy; but from the time in which the new cycle had been generally received in Ireland, this question of the tonsure was no longer discussed, and wherever the Roman Paschal system had been [illegible] of the tonsure was received along with it. It affords, however, another convincing proof of the moral impossibility of introducing any new dogma, or of corrupting the faith which had been preached and triumphantly planted in Ireland.

The precepts and maxims of the Gospel produced in this

* Smith's Appendix to Bede. † Bellarmin, l. 2, de Monachis. ‡ Ep. 7.

century a striking effect on the minds and actions not only of the people in general, but also of the princes and rulers of the land. Several of our kings and dynasts, disgusted with the vanities of the world, retired altogether from the dangerous scenes of life, and embraced the solitude and austerities of the cloister. Flahertach, monarch of Ireland, having conquered and slain in battle Kineth, a descendant of Diermit II., resigned his crown and kingdom in 734, and spent several years of great mortification in the monastery of Armagh.* During the incumbency of St. Colman, abbot and bishop of Lismore, Theodoric or Turlough, king of Thomond, after renouncing the splendour of the world, repaired to that monastery, and received the religious habit from the hands of that saint. Theodoric was the son of Cathal and grandson of Aidus Coemh, king of Munster.† He governed his kingdom with great glory for many years, and had several children, among whom was the celebrated St. Flannan of Killaloe. At the time in which Theodoric entered the establishment of Lismore, he had nearly reached the 75th year of his age; nevertheless, the austerities which he voluntarily underwent were almost incredible; and it is related that he employed himself for a considerable time in breaking rocks and making a convenient road to the monastery. This pious prince died in Thomond, and was buried in the church of Killaloe,‡ of which his son, St. Flannan, had been the founder.

After the death of Adamnan, the monks of the monastery of Hy continued as attached as ever to the Irish Paschal system, until about the year 716, when Egbert, a holy priest who had received his education in Ireland, and was at the time undertaking a mission to Friesland, had paid a visit to that establishment. Dunchad, grandson of Conall,§ was at that time superior of Hy, and, in fact, of the whole Columbian Order. He paid great attention to the arguments of Egbert, and was ultimately induced to receive the Roman Paschal cycle, together with the circular tonsure. On this subject Prideaux writes: "In the year 716, a pious and learned presbyter of the English nation, after having spent many years completing his studies in Ireland, which at that period was *the prime seat of learning in* [illegible] coming from thence to the monastery of Hy, proposed to that community the Roman Paschal system, and having better

* O'Flaherty Ogyg. p. 3. † Id. c. 83. ‡ Ware's Antiq. c. 29.

§ For about 200 years after the foundation of the great monastery of Hy almost all its abbots were descended [illegible] of Conall Culbanach, [illegible] northern Nialls, and consequently claimed relationship to St. Columbkill.

success herein than Adamnan, he brought them all over to it."*

This century is marked by our annalists as the period in which our Irish missionaries established a knowledge of the Christian religion in Iceland, which island was known to them by the name of Thule, or Inis-Thyle. Arngrim Jonas, the Icelandic historian, attempts to maintain that Iceland was not inhabited until the landing of the Norwegians in 874. This, however is a mere assertion, while the same writer is obliged to admit that the Norwegians had, on their arrival in the island, found some sacred utensils, which had been left there by Irish Christians. "These men," he observes, "the ancient Icelanders called *Papas*, a name which, in the minds of the Northerns, signified *Clergymen*." That Iceland was inhabited prior to the period mentioned by Jonas, and that Irish missioners had resided there, must appear evident from the testimony of Ara Multiscius and other Icelandic writers. These state that when Ingolf, the Norwegian, had landed in Iceland, the country was, in a great part, covered with forests; and Multiscius adds, "that there were Christians in it, whom the Norwegians called Papas, and that they afterwards quitted the country, because they did not wish to live with heathens; that they, moreover, had left behind them Irish books, bells, and staffs: thence it is easy to conclude that they had been Irishmen." The same circumstances are mentioned in the book called Laud-Nama-boc, in which we read: "Before Iceland was inhabited by the Norwegians, there had been men there whom these Northerns called Papas, who professed the Christian religion, and are considered to have come by sea from the west; for there were left by them Irish books, bells, and crooked staffs; several other things were discovered, which seemed to indicate that they had been westmen. These articles were found in Papeya, towards the east of the island, and in Papyli."† The probability, therefore, is, that on the arrival of the Norwegians—who, besides being invaders, were, moreover, infidels—a most violent persecution had been raised against the Christians; and this may account for the books, staffs, and sacred utensils, which had been found in the island after their departure. In these northern islands, and particularly in the Orkneys, are to be found a great number of remarkable ruins, which serve to point out the ancient state of religion in those places, and bear strong marks of having been clerical or monastic property. It is.

* Connect. p. 2. † Johnston Ant. Celto-Scand.

therefore, an undoubted fact, that Irishmen had extended their missions as far northward as Iceland, and this, very probably, anterior even to the eighth century.* There is still stronger authority for maintaining that the Orkneys and the Shetland Isles were indebted to our forefathers for the first knowledge of the Gospel. In truth, our Irish missionaries preached in these islands as early as the times of St. Columbkill; and Dicuil, who flourished as the close of the eighth century, states, that in the Hethlandic, that is, the Shetland Isles, Irish hermits were living since about one hundred years prior to the time in which he had written.†

The character of this century for distinguished Irish missionaries equals, if not surpasses, that of preceding times. Among these apostolical men St. Virgilius, bishop of Saltzburg, has justly obtained a high rank. His proper name was Feargil; and while it is uncertain to what particular family he belonged, there is no doubt of his having been of high extraction.‡ About the year 746 he repaired to France, where he was well received by Pepin, who had afterwards been raised to the throne of that realm.§ Virgilius soon after proceeded to Bavaria, and was favoured by Pepin with a letter of introduction to the duke Otilo, by whom the government of that territory was then held. Here the learning and unceasing labours of Virgilius rendered his name celebrated, and the assistance afforded by the duke gave additional effect to the success of his mission. St. Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, was contemporary with Virgilius, and enjoyed at the time jurisdiction over Bavaria, as well as over many other parts of Germany. During the incumbency of Boniface, a circumstance occurred which might have proved troublesome to Virgilius, had not his superior knowledge both of theology and of philosophy enabled him to justify the opinions which he held and the practice which he recommended. It happened that some priest in Virgilius' district, not having been well versed in Latin, had administered the sacrament of baptism with this form: "Baptizo te in nomine Patria et Filia et Spiritua Sancta." Boniface maintained that such baptisms were invalid, and ordered Virgilius to re-baptize these persons. Virgilius, on the other hand, justly defended the validity of

* Dicuil mentions that he had conversed with several Irish priests, who had been stationed in Iceland. From his account it would appear that these missionaries, after having remained for a certain time in the island, were called home and immediately relieved by others.

† Ussher, p. 729, 868. ‡ Messingham, Florilegium.

§ Mabillon, Acta. Ben.

the baptisms, and refusing to comply with the orders of Boniface, was at length obliged to address a letter to pope Zachary. This correspondence terminated in an admonitory epistle from the pope to Boniface, in which he tells him that his orders had been indiscreet, and that although the Latin used by the priest had not been correct, yet it did not by any means invalidate the sacrament, and that consequently the persons should not be re-baptized.*

While Virgilius had been completing his education in Ireland, he is said to have paid particular attention to the study of astronomy. His superior scientific knowledge often inclined him to descant on the prevailing astronomical doctrines of the day with great freedom and candour, and especially on that relative to the antipodes. Espousing the system which he had been taught in his own country, Virgilius defended the sphericity of the earth, and from thence deduced corollaries and scholiums, which proved by no means agreeable to the taste or opinion of those who still adhered to the once admired, but now exploded, hypothesis of the old school. Among those who considered the theory of Virgilius as false and worse than eccentric was the good Boniface. Nor is the epithet, when coupled with the name of Boniface, misapplied; that prelate was a good and a great man, but following the astronomical elements of the age in which he lived, he felt sincerely convinced that Virgilius was wrong, and that his principles and his antipodes should be denounced as extravagant and mischievous. Accordingly, Boniface sent a communication to Rome, and, among other things, accused Virgilius with having maintained, that there were other men living under the earth, and inhabiting a world altogether distinct from this. It is not surprising that Zachary should consider this doctrine both novel and dangerous; and hence, in his reply, he is made to say that "in case it be proved that Virgilius had held the doctrine of their being another world, and other men under the earth, a synod should be convened, and he should be expelled the Church."† Virgilius, however, having submitted a correct explanation of his opinion to Zachary, was pronounced orthodox and a perfect reconciliation was thus happily effected.

About the year 748 Virgilius was appointed abbot of the monastery of St. Peter, at Saltzburgh; and in 756 he was appointed bishop of that city by pope Stephen II, Pepin having been at the time king of France.‡ Virgilius considered

* Ussher Ep. Hib. Syl. No. 16. † Ussher Syl. N. 17.
‡ Mabillon Annal.

himself unworthy to be raised to this exalted dignity, and continued for two years in his refusal, until at length being prevailed upon by the bishops of the province and by the clergy and people, he submitted to the appointment. The accounts which German writers give us of the zeal and labours of Virgilius after his consecration, bespeak the vigilance of the prelate and the sanctity of the saint. He consecrated a basilic in that city in honor of St. Stephen, besides the celebrated abbey of Ottinga, which he founded. Virgilius also repaired the monastery in which he had been abbot, and enlarged the abbey of St. Maximilian and other establishments. His great and chief work was the basilic which he founded and dedicated in the name of St. Rupert, and after having translated there the remains of the saint, he constituted it the cathedral. Karastus, the Sclavonian, duke of Carinthia, and Chetimar, his cousin, were both converted and baptized by Virgilius; and from the interest which the saint took in the welfare of the Carinthian church, and the number of missionaries with which he had supplied it, he was always considered and is justly styled its apostle. After a most useful and holy life, Virgilius died at Saltzburgh, on the 27th of November, A.D. 785.* A discourse on the antipodes, and several other tracts, are attributed to him,† and he is to this day held in the highest veneration as patron of Saltzburgh and apostle of Carinthia.

St. Rumold, the illustrious apostle of Mechlin, flourished about the middle of the eighth century. According to the Lateran Breviary and Chronicles of the Church of Mechlin "he was of the royal house of Ireland, and, by right of succession, heir to a throne." After having embraced the ecclesiastical state, his talents and sanctity had soon become conspicuous, and he was raised to the episcopacy. Some writers have maintained that he had presided over the see of Dublin; this opinion, however, cannot be easily reconciled with the authenticated records of that church ‡ Rumold, inflamed with a desire to visit the tombs of the Apostles, repaired to Rome, and here, it is said, he was admonished in a vision to direct his course back to the west.§ Accordingly, after having obtained

* He is named by the German writers "a man the most learned among the learned." Alcuin in his encomiums on St. Virgilius has these lines:

Egregius præsul meritis et moribus albus,
Protulit in lucem quem mater Hibernia,
Instituit, docuit, nutrivit,
Sed peregrina petens,——
Vir pius et prudens, nulli pietate secundus.

† Ware, Writers. ‡ See cent. xi. c. 1. § Brev. Lat.

the pope's benediction, he proceeded to Mechlin, where he was received in a manner the most flattering by the Count Ado. This count was a great patron of Rumold, and having received several favours through the prayers of the saint, he in gratitude presented him with a tract of ground called *Ulmus*, on which an extensive monastery was soon erected. From this establishment St. Rumold supplied that and the neighbouring districts with missionaries, and so indefatigable was he in preaching the Gospel, not only at Mechlin but through the adjacent country, that he has been justly styled the apostle of the Mechlinians. Notwithstanding the great services and amiable disposition of the saint, two assassins, whom he had reproved for their immorality, conspired and put him to death on the 24th of June, A.D. 775.* The remains of St. Rumold were interred in the church at Ulmus, but were afterwards translated by Count Ado to the cathedral and metropolitan church of Mechlin, where they were deposited in a silver shrine, and it is stated that several miracles had been wrought at his tomb.†

About the same period, two justly celebrated Irishmen, ALBINUS and CLEMENS, arrived in France; Charlemagne being at the time sole sovereign of the whole French monarchy. These men, if not the revivers of literature in France and Italy, were, at least, most powerfully instrumental in diffusing through these countries a knowledge of philosophy and of the sciences, which had certainly suffered decay from the incursions of the northern barbarians and the revolutions by which they were accompanied. The reception which they met with from Charlemagne, and the history of their subsequent transactions are faithfully recorded by a writer of the ninth century, whom Ussher supposed to be the learned Notker Balbulus, a monk of the abbey of St. Gall in Switzerland. The author, in his history of Charlemagne, has the following narrative:‡ "When the illustrious Charles began to reign alone in the western parts of the world, and literature was every where almost forgotten, it happened that *two Scots of Ireland* came over with some British merchants to the shores of France; men incomparably skilled in human learning and in the holy Scriptures. As they produced no merchandize for sale, they us

* In the Belgic life, written about this period, and translated by Domyns, the year in which St. Rumold suffered, is marked by the capital letters contained in the following line:

"hIC CæsVs CæCIdIt fLUVIo IaCtVs neCe Capta."

† Vita ap J. Domyns.

‡ De gestis Caroli, Canisii Antiq ; Ware. Writers

to cry out to the crowds flocking to purchase: *If any one is desirous for wisdom, let him come to us and receive it; for we have it to sell.* Their reason for saying that they had it for sale was, that, perceiving the people inclined to deal in saleable articles, and not to take anything gratuitously, they might rouse them to the acquisition of wisdom as well as of objects for which they should give value; or, as the sequel showed, that by speaking in that manner they might excite their wonder and astonishment. They repeated this declaration so often, that an account of them was conveyed to the king, who, being a great admirer of wisdom, had them conducted with all expedition before him. He asked them if they truly possessed wisdom, as had been reported to him. They answered, that they did, and were ready, in the name of the Lord, to communicate it to such as would seek it worthily. On his inquiring of them what compensation they would expect for it, they replied, that they required nothing more than convenient situations, ingenious minds, and, as being in a foreign country, to be supplied with food and raiment. Charles, having heard their proposals, and replete with joy, kept them both with himself for a short time. After some interval, when obliged to proceed on a military expedition, he ordered one of them, whose name was Clemens, to remain in France, entrusting to his care a great number of boys, not only of the highest noblesse, but likewise of the middling and lower ranks of society; all of whom were, by his orders, provided with food and a suitable habitation. The other, by name Albinus, he directed to Italy, and assigned to him the monastery of St. Augustin near Pavia,* that such persons as wished for knowledge might there resort to him."

While these eminent men had been at the court of Charlemagne, the great patron of literature was highly pleased with their conversation, and conceiving that knowledge diffused among his subjects was likely to form the surest basis of his rising dominion, he wisely resolved to turn the fortunate arrival of these valuable strangers into a source of both individual and national advantage. Vincentius Bellovacensis and other writers state, that Clemens, following the directions his patron, kept his school in Paris; while others, assuming a hypothesis no less groundless than improbable, maintain that he

* This celebrated monastery was originally dedicated to St Peter. It afterwards obtained the title of the *Abbey of St. Augustin*, in consequence of it containing the remains of the illustrious bishop of Hippo. Muratori states that Albinus, after having received the grant of it, became a member of the Benedictine institute.

had been the founder of its university. That Paris had been the place appointed for Clemens may be readily admitted, although it is certain that Charlemagne had not usually kept his court in that city; but without a glaring anachronism, it cannot be said that he was the founder of its university; no such establishment having been known in Paris until about the close of the eleventh century.* Clemens continued to teach after the death of Charlemagne, and besides his grammatical and other tracts he is said to have written a history of the reign of that monarch.† Albinus is described by Muratori and others as the father and reviver of learning in Pavia.‡ That literature had at this time been deplorably neglected throughout Lombardy, is but the natural result of long-contested wars and incessant revolutionary vicissitudes. For more than two centuries, that fine country had been rent and distracted: the fury of the Goth having been allayed, only made way for the vengeance of the Lombard—one horde of barbarians was followed by another still more unsparing and formidable; while social improvement and the cultivation of letters were generally abandoned, and nearly lost amidst the terror of arms and the constant struggle of an enterprising, unsettled, and desperate people. Lombardy, however, had about this time been brought under the dominion of Charlemagne, and among the many other benevolent qualities of that great monarch, his zeal for promoting peace and for diffusing knowledge among his subjects was not the least conspicuous. As the foundation of the university of Paris had been gratuitously attributed to Clemens, in like manner Albinus has been mentioned by some as the parent of the celebrated university of Pavia. All this, however, is but mere assertion, and clearly repugnant to historical authority. Albinus taught at Pavia with great success for many years, and several works, including epistles and rhetorical precepts, are attributed to him. The year in which these learned teachers died has not been ascertained; but their exertions in the cause of morality and of literature were, for a long period, gratefully remembered in these countries, and have been honourably noticed by many of their ancient and most distinguished writers.

In the meantime the Church of Ireland continued to flourish with additional lustre, and while numbers of her ecclesiastics had been dispersed over the nations of Europe, her schools were as usual frequented by foreigners, and her reputation as a land of science and of sanctity was nobly upheld and

* Encyclopedié at Université. † Ussher, pre. Ep. Hib. ‡ Annali at 781.

universally admitted. Knowledge, religion, and happiness, reigned throughout the land, when, in the year 795, the Scandinavian adventurers, commonly called Danes, first invaded the coasts of Ireland* and laid waste the small island of Raghlin, in the county of Antrim, Holmpatrick, and other places.† The desolation which these barbarians had spread throughout the kingdom, and the sufferings which the Irish Church had undergone during the whole period of their invasion, shall be noticed in their proper place; meanwhile, the other ecclesiastical events connected with the eighth century shall, agreeably to our original plan, occupy the two following chapters.

CHAPTER II.

Successors of St. Patrick—Episcopal Sees—Religious Foundations of the Eighth Century.

On the death of Flan Febhla, archbishop of Armagh, in 715, Suibhne or Sweeny, son of Cronmail, was appointed his successor. This prelate was a great encourager of learning, and during his incumbency several scribes and other eminent men presided over the schools of Ireland. Among these are recorded Colman, surnamed Hua-Machensis, author of the Acts of St. Patrick; Eochad Mac-Colgan, an anchoret and professor of Armagh; Ferdomnach, a learned scribe and philosopher; Dochumna, surnamed Bolga, an anchoret and teacher of the holy Scriptures, etc. Suibhne having governed the archiepiscopal see for fifteen years, was succeeded by Congus, a descendant of Anmiracus, monarch of Ireland. Before Congus had been raised to the episcopacy, he obtained the title of scribe, which, as Colgan observes, belonged exclusively to men of letters, professors, and particularly to authors.‡ This prelate was well versed in poetry, and, when archbishop, addressed a poem to Aidus Ollain, king of Ireland, recommending that monarch to punish Rory, king of Ulster, for having sacrilegiously plundered some churches and religious houses in the diocese of Armagh.§ Congus presided over Armagh for twenty years, and had for successors Kele-Petrus, of Hi-Bressail, now Clan-Brassil, in the county of Armagh; Fer-

* Ware, Antiq. c. 24. † Ulster Annals, App. etc.
‡ Tr. Th. p. 294. § Harris' Bishops.

dachrich, son of Suibne; and Foennelach, son of Moenach.* According to the Psalter of Cashel, this latter prelate was followed in regular succession by Dubdalethe, Arectac, Cudiniscus, and Connach, whose incumbency commenced in 791, and continued for sixteen years. It is to be regretted that the acts of these prelates have been destroyed; and even as to dates there seems to exist an apparent diversity and much confusion between the Psalter of Cashel, the Four Masters, Colgan, and all our antiquarian authorities.

It has been observed in the foregoing century, that almost all the episcopal sees which flourish at this day had been founded up to that period; the few that remain, owe their origin to subsequent times, and shall be noticed in chronological order, together with the history of such unions as had at different periods taken place.

The see of Killaloe was founded about the commencement of the eighth century by St. Flannan, son of the pious king Theodoric.† Some writers assign the foundations of this see to an earlier period, and maintain that Flannan was a disciple of St. Molua Lobhar, from whom the see derives its name, and who flourished about the close of the sixth century. Such, however, could not be the fact, as his father Theodoric had not been in Lismore until about the year 700. St. Flannan might, very probably, have been a student in the monastery of Killaloe, which was founded by St. Molua, his great-grand-uncle; and this it was which most seemingly gave rise to the opinion of his having been a disciple of that saint. According to Ware, who is followed by Harris and others, Flannan was consecrated at Rome, by John IV, in 639; but, as has been already observed, this chronology cannot be admitted. Theodoric, the father of St. Flannan, was a munificent benefactor to this see, and endowed it with very ample revenues.‡ The year of St. Flannan's death is not known; but his festival is observed on the 18th of December. The churches and religious establishments of the diocese of Killaloe suffered awfully during the incursions of the Danes. From the death of the founder to the time of the learned O'Lonergan, bishop of Killaloe, in 1150, the names of only five of its prelates have been recorded; after this period the succession becomes regular and complete, presenting a catalogue of men distinguished for piety and learning, and by their labours advancing the interest of religion, particularly in this extensive and celebrated district of the south of Ireland.

* Ware Bishops. † Vit. Flan. ‡ Ware Antiq. c. 29.

Roscommon was an episcopal see in the eighth century, and had for its first bishop St. Coman or Comman, from whom it derived its name.* St. Coman, before his elevation to the episcopacy, was the author of a monastic rule which was held in great veneration, and was exclusively followed in Connaught and other parts of Ireland. The acts of this saint are very imperfect, and according to the Annals of Boyle, quoted by Ware, he died on the 26th of December, A.D. 746.

Mayo was likewise an episcopal see in this age, over which St. Muredach presided about the year 726.† It is considered to have taken its origin from the monastery founded here by St. Colman of Lindisfarne, and is ranked, together with that of Roscommon, in the diocesan catalogue of the council of Kells.‡

Fore, in Westmeath, was about the same time the seat of a bishop, although it was not in any age a regular episcopal see. St. Suarlech succeeded the abbot Dubdaboren in 736, and was afterwards raised to the episcopal rank.§ According to the Four Masters, this saint died on the 27th of March, A.D. 746. His successor, Aedgen, enjoyed the same dignity, after whom we find no other bishop residing at Fore.

Clondalkin (Cluain-dolcain), in which a celebrated monastery had been founded by St. Cronan Mochua, had a bishop, St. Ferfugill, who died in 785, and whose festival was celebrated on the 10th of March ‖

St. Sedulius, who died in 786, is mentioned by Marian Gorman as bishop of Ath-Cliath, now Dublin. It is, however, conjectured, and with great probability, that Sedulius, as well as Suarlech and Ferfugill, had belonged merely to the chor-episcopal body.

The Chorepiscopi were in these times very numerous in Ireland, and continued to a later date in the Irish Church than, perhaps, in that of any other country. They were regularly ordained or consecrated bishops, without possessing the canonical episcopal jurisdiction over a see or district. Many of them had been stationed in the large monasteries, some were attached to the cathedral church, and assisted the ordinary in several of his offices, and numbers of them had the pastoral care of rural districts, still, however, subject to the jurisdiction of the ordinary of the diocese. Agreeably to the canons of the Council of Nice, three bishops, at least, should be present at the episcopal ordination; but it appears

* AA. SS. p. 405. † Id. p. 605. ‡ See cent. xii. c. i. § AA. SS. p. 772.
‖ AA. SS. p. 577.

that the CHOREPISCOPI used to be consecrated by the bishop, properly so called, or ordinary of the diocese, without any application having been made for the assistance of other bishops. That this was lawful and customary, appears from the tenth canon of the Council of Antioch; and Bingham states that the city-bishops, or ordinaries, were accountable for the ordination of the country-bishops (chorepiscopi) to a provincial synod.* By the canons of the Church, the ordinaries were not allowed, except on some very urgent occasions, to leave the sees to which they had been originally appointed; whereas, on the contrary, the Chorepiscopi were not unfrequently removed from one district or province to another; which removal serves very often to indicate whether the person was an ordinary or a chorepiscopus, particularly in cases where history observes a profound silence as to the fact.

The number of religious establishments in Ireland, though very considerable, was, nevertheless, increased during the eighth century.

THE MONASTERY OF TOMGRANY, in the county of Clare, was erected by St. Munchen, and claimed a high rank among the religious foundations of the country.† This monastery continued to be the nursery of learning even in the most awful times. When in 964 the Danish power arose to a frightful height, and when neither the habitation of man nor the sanctuary itself had been secured from the ravages of these infidels, the abbey of Tomgrany was preserved by the talented and holy abbot Cormach O'Killeen. This eminent ecclesiastic is mentioned by all our hagiologists with great respect, and is said to have kept up the reign of literature, at least in his own establishment, when it was either extinct, or on the eve of destruction in other and more ancient places. After his death the church was demolished by the Danes, but was rebuilt by Brian Boroimhe. In the twelfth century this abbey became numbered among the ruins of the country.

THE MONASTERY OF KILLACHAD, in the county of Cavan, was established in this century by St. Tigernach, son of St. Mella of *Doire-Melle*.‡ This saint laid the foundations of several religious houses, among which should be noticed the celebrated monastery near the Lake Melge, or Lough Melve, in the county of Leitrim, which he afterwards resigned to his mother, and in which that holy woman, accompanied by a number of females, spent several years of extraordinary mortification and piety.

* Orig. Eccl. b. 12. † AA. SS. p. 332. ‡ Id. p. 796

The abbey of Killachad was greatly distinguished for its eminent professors, among whom were Robhertach, an eminent scribe and author, who died in 844; Dubtach, also a scribe, and the learned O'Kearta, who flourished at the close of this century.* About the year 1180 it was plundered by the English, and became a ruin.†

The abbey of Inistioge, in the county of Kilkenny, was founded, most probably, by St. Mœlruan, and continued during this and the following century eminently distinguished as the retreat of learned and holy men. It had been several times plundered by the Danes, and was ultimately demolished. However, in 1210, the abbey was rebuilt by Thomas, son of Anthony, seneschal of Leinster, for Augustinian Canons, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and St. Columbkill. Alured, a canon of Kells, was its first prior; and the founder granted to him and to the abbey the churches of Grenan and Kilcrenath. The last prior was Miles Baron alias Fitzgerald, who, at very great expense, built a new steeple and added an extensive cloister to this priory; he became bishop of Ossory in 1527, but held the priory, by a dispensation from the pope, until the suppression of religious houses.‡ An inquisition was held in the tenth year of Elizabeth, when the splendid possessions of this abbey were seized upon and granted to Edmund Butler and his heirs, in capite, at an annual rent of £28 12s.§ The rectory of White Church, in the same county, being parcel of the possessions of this priory, was soon after granted to Thomas earl of Ormond.‖

The monastery of Inismurray was erected by St. Dicholla, on an island in the great western ocean, about five miles from the main land of the barony of Carbury, county of Sligo.¶ This island is an immense rock rising with frightful precipices towards the ocean, but shelving gently on the opposite side towards the coast, and contains about 130 acres of shallow soil. In 807 the Danes effected a landing, and set fire to the abbey: the ruins of two of the chapels are still to be seen, one of which has an extraordinary window, the arch whereof is one immense elliptical rock, almost in its original state.

The monastery of Roscommon was founded by St. Coman, about the middle of the eighth century. Besides the severity of the institute, which had been drawn up by the founder

* Tr. Th. p. 633. † Annal. Inisfal. ‡ Ware Annals.

§ This property was situated in the counties of Kilkenny, Carlow, and Wexford, and consisted of various rectories, messuages, etc., and about 800 acres of arable and pasture land.—Aud.-Gen.

‖ King, p. 334. ¶ Annal Four Masters.

himself, this abbey was celebrated for its schools and the number of its learned professors, who continued to teach here until the year 1177, when the English army took possession of the abbey, in their route from Dublin to the west of Ireland.* Among its learned teachers may be noticed the abbot and bishop Cormac O'Killane, in 964; Flanigan Roe and Aidan, two learned professors of the eleventh century; O'Conally, Feargal, and O'Braoin, scribes and commentators, of the twelfth century; and the learned O'Cormacan, who was abbot in 1177 when the English came to Roscommon. Turlogh the Great was a particular benefactor to this establishment, and in 1156, after having augmented its estates, he caused the Blessed Sacrament to be carried with great solemnity, attended by the clergy and religious from all parts of Ireland, and afterwards deposited in this abbey, in a tabernacle of immense value prepared for it.† It was governed by its abbots in succession until the twentieth of Elizabeth, when its possessions, consisting of thirty quarters of lands and various rectories, were granted at an annual rent to Sir Nicholas Malbye.‡ A second inquisition was held under James I, when various other property, together with the rectories and tithes of eighteen parishes, were seized upon and held from the king in pure and common soccage §

To these may be subjoined the following abbeys, which owe their foundation to this century:

The abbey of Achad-hur, or the Green-ford, in Ossory, founded by St. Lactan, A.D. 700. Disert-tola, in the county of Meath, founded by St Tola, A.D. 720. Killcele-chriost, in the county of Westmeath, founded by St. Christicola. Kilfobrik, in the county of Clare, founded by St. Flannan. Tallagh, in the county of Dublin, founded by St. Moelruan. Killomy, in the county of Roscommon, founded by St. Coman. Annaduffe, in the county of Leitrim, founded by St. Tigernach. Doire-Melle, in the county of Leitrim, founded by St. Tigernach. Indenen, in the territory of Bregia, near Drogheda, by St. Suarlach. Lecknagh, in the county of Meath, founded by St. Coeman. Disert-Fulartach, in the Queen's County, founded by St. Fulartach. Kilshanny, in the county of Clare, founded by St. Comin.

From these and the foundations of preceding times, multitudes of zealous and learned missionaries came forth and contributed to the splendour of religion at home, as well as to its establishment in distant and unconverted lands.

* Annal. Annon.
‡ Aud.-Gen.
† O'Halloran, vol. ii.
§ Lib. Inquisit.

CHAPTER III.

Religious and Literary Characters of the Eighth Century — General Observations.

In noticing some of the eminent men of this age, we shall commence with ADAMNAN, the learned abbot of Hy. This distinguished father of the Irish Church was of the race of the northern Nialls, and was born in the territory of Tirconnel about the year 627.* The history of his early life remains unknown; but it is generally supposed that he received his education in the monastery of Hy, and having embraced the Columbian institute, he soon after returned to his own country. To Adamnan is attributed the foundation of the great abbey of Raphoe, over which he presided as abbot until the year 679, when he was raised to the supreme government of the whole Columbian Order, both in Ireland and in the Hebrides. The learning and superior qualities of this great man had endeared him to many of the princes, prelates, and other eminent characters of these times. Among his principal admirers was Alfrid, the pious and enlightened king of Northumberland. This prince, on the death of his father, Oswin, took shelter in Ireland, where, as Bede testifies, he applied himself diligently to study, and particularly to that of the sacred Scriptures; but after the demise of his brother Egfrid, he was recalled and placed on the throne of Northumberland. It appears that Egfrid, displeased at the hospitable reception which his brother Alfrid had met with in Ireland, was resolved to vent his rage on those whom he should rather consider as friends.† For this purpose he caused a band of Saxon pirates to proceed to Ireland and infest the entire coast of the ancient Bregia, extending from Dublin to Drogheda. Several towns were stormed by these marauders; terror and dismay spread along the country, and having thus executed the barbarous commands of their master, they returned to their vessels laden with plunder and conveying away great numbers of the unoffending inhabitants into captivity. As soon, however, Alfrid had succeeded to the throne, Adamnan, his particular friend, having been then abbot of Hy, proceeded to Northumberland and waited on the king. The visit had for its object the recovery of the property and of the captives, many of

* Tr. Th. p. 480. † Eccl. Hist. l. 4.

whom were still detained in bondage throughout the north of England. In this mission Adamnan succeeded, and after having remained for some time at the court of this prince, he returned to his cloister, and applied himself to the important duties connected with the government of his order. Nor was this the only visit which Adamnan had made to the court of Alfrid: about the year 702 he was again entrusted with an important commission, and sent by his countrymen to the king of Northumberland. It was on this occasion that he happened to meet with the abbot Ceolfrid, and after having conversed with him and other ecclesiastics on the subject of the Roman Paschal computation, he finally resolved to adopt it, and promised to use his influence in having it received and practised among his countrymen.* In this undertaking he succeeded throughout Ulster, while the members of his institute at Hy and in the Hebrides adhered to the old Irish Paschal cycle until some years after his death. Adamnan had been in Ireland during the Easter of 704, and celebrated that feast at the time specified by the Roman calculation; he soon after returned to Hy, and died on the 23rd of the following September, in the 77th year of his age.† This distinguished ecclesiastic has been ranked among the fathers of the Irish Church, and his memory was held in great veneration, particularly in Tirconnel and in the western isles. Among his writings are classed the following works: a Life of Saint Columba, in three books; afterwards published by Canisius at Ingolstad, from a manuscript of the Windberg Monastery; a Treatise on the Holy Land, from which Bede has taken many extracts; a Life of St. Patrick; a Collection of Epistles and Poems; a Monastic Rule; a Book of Canons, extant in the Cottonian Library; and a Treatise on the proper Celebration of the feast of the Passover.‡

St. Colga or Colcus, surnamed the Wise, flourished in the eighth century. This distinguished man was descended from the ancient family of Hua-Duneehda, and when very young, was placed in the schools of Clonmacnois. From his intimate acquaintance with the sacred Scriptures, and especially with the Psalter and the writings of St. Paul, he was considered in those days the most learned man in Ireland, and was usually styled "the Scribe or Doctor of all the Scots." Colga delivered lectures for many years in the school of Clonmacnois, and held a correspondence with several of the most learned men of his time, among whom was the celebrated

* Bede, l. 5. † Annals of Ulster; Four Masters. ‡ Ware Writers.

Alcuin. One of these important epistles of Alcuin has been published from two ancient manuscripts of the Cottonian Library and thence copied by Colgan. It is headed "Albini Magistri ad Colcum lectorem in Scotia," and is thus addressed, "Benedicto Magistro et pio patri Colcu, Alcuine humilis Levita Salutem."* In this letter the writer styles Colcus his most holy father, and calls himself his son; he then gives him a most satisfactory account of the state of religion on the continent, and after alluding to some misunderstanding which had taken place between Charles of France and Offa the Mercian king, he refers to the journey which he was about to undertake, for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation between these princes; and concludes by sending several presents to Colcu, to the bishops of Ireland, and to the community of Clonmacnois, recommending himself at the same time to their prayers. Colcu is said to have written some learned annotations on the Scriptures and several valuable tracts; one of which, entitled "Scopa devotionis," has been preserved. This holy and learned man died on the 20th February, A.D. 792.†

St. Moelruan, a contemporary of Colcus, was abbot and bishop of Tallagh, about five miles from Dublin. The monastery of Tallagh, during the government of this saint, was eminently distinguished for the number of its learned men; among whom the hagiologist Aengus was not the least conspicuous. While the virtues of its holy abbot served to illustrate the doctrines which he enforced, his talents and research enabled him to throw new lights on many obscure and difficult points of ecclesiastical literature. St. Moelruan has been deservedly ranked among the most learned men of the day, and was the principal author of the celebrated martyrology of Tallagh (Martyrologium Tamlactense).‡ This martyrology is entitled *Martyrologium Aengusii filii Huaobhlenii et Moelruani*, and is considered by antiquarians as the most copious of the kind written in any country at that period. From the name of Aengus having been marked in the title, it is conjectured by some critics that the work had been first undertaken by Moelruan, and was afterwards continued by Aengus. St. Moelruan died on the 7th of July, A.D. 788.§

St. Albuin or Witta, the apostle of Thuringia, was a native of Ireland, and flourished in this century. Thrithemius affirms that Albuin embraced the monastic state in Ireland, and afterwards repaired to Germany, where he converted numbers to

* Ussher Ep. Hib. Syl. No. 18.
† AA. SS. at 20 Feb.
‡ AA. SS. p. 581.
§ Four Masters.

the faith, and became bishop about the year 741. He entered on the same mission with Boniface, and was appointed by him bishop of Buraburg, near Fritzlar, in Hesse.* Albuin was greatly admired for his knowledge of the sacred writings; and by his preaching and missionary labours, has been venerated as the apostle and patron saint of that extensive territory. Although very honourable mention is made of this apostolical man by Arnold, Wion, and others, yet the particulars of his eventful mission have not been handed down to us. Several works have been attributed to him, the only one of which extant is a book of meditations addressed to the people of Duringen. The festival of St. Albuin is held on the 26th of October.

St. Alto, descended from an illustrious Irish family, arrived in Bavaria about the same time that Virgilius had been actively employed on his mission in that country.† With a determination of leading a life of penance, he withdrew to a forest situated between Augsburg and Munich, and in this desolate abode Alto spent several years as an ascetic. The fame of his sanctity soon spread through the neighbouring country; and among the number of his admirers was Pepin, then king of that territory. This religious prince, anxious for the reformation of his people, and placing a high value on the services of the saint, earnestly entreated him to leave his solitude. At length finding his solicitations ineffectual, he consented to grant him some ground in the heart of the forest, for the purpose of erecting thereon a church and a monastery. This work was undertaken in 750, and the church, when finished, was dedicated by St. Boniface; it was called from the saint himself Alto-Munster, or Alt-Munster, and was the fruitful nursery of saints and learned men. St. Alto is said to have composed several devotional works. The year of his death has not been ascertained; but his memory was revered on the 9th of February.

Dicuil, a learned grammarian and geometrician, flourished at the close of the eighth century, and was, as he himself testifies, a native of Ireland. The acts of this eminent man have perished amidst the confusion of the Danish wars, during which period piles of manuscripts and other monuments of antiquity, which would serve to illustrate the annals of those times, had been wantonly destroyed. Dicuil has written "A Geometrical Account of the Provinces of the Earth, according to the authority of those (to use his own words) whom Theodosius, the emperor, had sent to measure the same." This

* Fleury, l. 42. † AA. SS. p. 302.

work is extant in manuscript. He has also been the author of a treatise "On the Ten Questions in the Art of Grammar."*

Having proceeded thus far, it may not, perhaps, be considered irrelevant to examine, in this place, the character and object of those ancient monastic institutions, which in this country owe their origin to the eighth and the preceding centuries. In this examination, an almost countless variety of topics present themselves, from among which three principal points shall be selected. In the first place, the men who composed these several monastic orders had in view an object above all others the most sublime, and to man, the most interesting. Secondly, in attaining this object, they could not be considered an incumbrance to any community; and thirdly, so far from being an incumbrance, they were a national benefit. That their object had been most interesting, is a Christian truth which no man acquainted with religion will venture to deny. To calm the fury of contending passions, and to save human nature from the wreck, a benign Providence has prescribed certain rules, some of which are enforced as precepts, and others are recommended as counsels. Among these counsels are three which formed an essential component of every monastic order, and which its members were obliged to observe by vows the most sacred. These were, voluntary poverty, perpetual chastity, and constant unqualified obedience. To these were added the observance of certain constitutions, comprehending a variety of duties extremely rigorous, and to which human nature, in the innate rankness of its corruption, felt a strong and an intuitive repugnance. These rules had been faithfully observed by numbers; and while they conducted man to heaven, they served to afford another triumph to the truths of the Christian Gospel. Again, in attaining the objects which they had contemplated, these men were no inconvenience whatever to any portion of society. It is a well known fact, that all these monastic establishments had been founded and brought at length to a flourishing condition, by the exclusive industry and perseverance of the monks themselves. The monasteries of these centuries were, generally speaking, situated in places originally barren and desolate. When the servant of God went in quest of a spot on which he might erect his establishment, he repaired to the uncultivated mountain or to the dreary forest, and oftentimes to the solitary island around which the ocean billows dashed, but whose bleak and frightful shore, no living creature had ventured to inhabit. On this mountain, and in this forest, and

* Ware, Writers.

within this deserted island, the monks of the early ages of the Irish Church settled themselves. Their habitations were, of course, at the first onset, lowly and miserable; in lapse of time, and by unremitted labour, they shook the rock from the mountain, they levelled the forest, they compelled the stony soil of the island to yield to their industry—they did what the rest of the inhabitants of the country had neither fortitude nor ingenuity to do; in short, they rendered the mountain a profitable farm, they transformed the forest into a delightful garden, and the very island, with all its barrenness, into a second paradise. Hence it is, that in the acquisition of property, these monastic bodies were generally indebted to their own persevering industry. It has, in the third place, been stated, that the ancient monks of Ireland had been a benefit to the community: should this truth require illustration, we need but refer to the history of the last three centuries. While these monastic foundations had been suffered to flourish, the poor of the country knew where to find an asylum and a home; in short, these religious establishments were, in effect, national alms-houses, and at the same time were no burden or expense to the public. Nor were the services of these monastic communities limited to mere acts of charity; they contributed in no small degree to advance the national interest, by diffusing among all classes a spirit of industry, and a knowledge of the principles of civilised life; and it is a well known fact, that most of our towns and ancient cities took their rise from the solitary religious establishment which, in the early ages of our national Church, had been previously erected in those places. But the paramount utility of the monastic orders appeared most conspicuous in their unremitted exertions towards advancing the cause of literature, through the medium of public gratuitous education. Besides the leading seminaries which have been already noticed, almost every monastery had a school of education attached to it, and in this school were taught the truths of religion and the literature of the day. The foreigner as well as the native was received with welcome; and he was not only educated, but supported and furnished with books gratuitously by the pious, the noble-minded, the generous monks of Ireland. The conclusion which must be drawn from these few observations may be readily anticipated. If these ancient monastic institutions of Ireland had been, as they really were, a national benefit, it clearly follows that their suppression must have been, in the strict sense of the word, a national injury.

NINTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Sufferings of the Irish Church during the Danish Invasion—Columbian Establishments in the Hebrides pillaged by the Ostmen—Translation of the shrine and relics of St. Columbkill to Ireland—The Irish Clergy exempted from the obligation of attending Military Expeditions—Effects of the Danish Wars—Increase of Irish Missionaries—History of Dungal—Of St. Donatus—and of John Scotus Erigena.

That Christianity had been established in Ireland without having to struggle against the terrors of persecution, is a fact no less true than remarkable. In other nations, the Gospel was preached amidst the violence and uproar of the bigot and the tyrant, and the storm when abated was soon succeeded by the fury of the tempest: not so in Ireland; here the progress of the Gospel was undisturbed, and it rose like the sun in the heavens, and became resplendent without scarcely a vapour to scatter its rays or a cloud to darken its effulgence. Some modern writers have attempted to unravel and, in short, to account for this moral phenomenon; but the reasons which they assign, besides being superficial, might, moreover, with great propriety be equally applied to any other portion of the Christian world. It is most clear that the Church of Ireland had, in its infancy, been singularly cherished, and Providence, in its unsearchable ways, allowed it to grow up and strengthen; but it had its night and its darkness, with the storm and the tempest; and since the foundation of Christianity, no other particular church has passed through such a crucible—such a frightful ordeal of woes and sufferings, both public and private, individual and national. This is a truth which the man of natural sympathy would consider both melancholy and awful; but the Irish Catholic, viewing it through its proper medium, will glory in it; it is, however, a truth—an undeniable truth—which the subsequent pages of this work may serve to elucidate. It has been already noticed that the Scandinavians or Danes had made their appearance on the coast of Ireland about the close of the foregoing century.* In the year 807 these

* Treating of these northern adventurers, Ussher says: "Livonia, extend-

Northmen effected a second landing in Ireland, destroyed Roscommon, and laid waste the surrounding country. Encouraged by these repeated successes, they arrived with a stronger fleet in 812, but were overcome in two battles, and great slaughter ensued. However, in 821, the Danes made a still more formidable attack on Ireland, and spread universal terror through the country. At this time they stormed and laid waste Cork, Lismore, and the monastery of the island of Cape Clear. About this period, likewise, the great monastery of Bangor was plundered and almost levelled to the ground; the abbot and nine hundred of the monks were put to death; while the rich shrine of St. Comgal having been broken open, the relics were taken out, and scattered with the winds of heaven.* In this manner did they continue year after year their depredations, new fleets arriving, and fresh conquests the inevitable result, until 835, when Turgesius the Dane landed with a powerful army, and destroyed all Connaught, together with some districts of Leinster and Meath. Ulster shared the same fate; churches and monasteries were everywhere demolished; their libraries consumed, and the sanctuary and the cloister deluged with the blood of the clergy.† Turgesius entered Armagh and expelled the archbishop Faranan, together with all the religious and students of that ancient and celebrated place. Colgan states, moreover, that in the year 838 the Danes, with a fleet of sixty sail, entered the rivers Boyne and Liffey, and spreading themselves over the plains through which these rivers flow, plundered in all directions churches, monasteries, and the dwellings of all sorts of people. During the sway of Turgesius, the Danes pillaged Cork, Ferns, Armagh, Clonfert, Slane, Louth, Birr, Clonmacnois, Saigar, Tirdaglass, Mayo, and Taghmon.‡ In short, there had been scarcely any part of Ireland secured from the ravages of these unsparing plunderers. About the year 848 Turgesius was defeated in battle by Melseachlain

ing to the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea, is divided into three parts, differing from each other in manners and language, viz., Estia, Lettia, and Curlandia. The province of Estia was inhabited by those whom the ancient Greeks denominated Ostiæi and Ostiones. By Tacitus, in Germania, they were called Æstii; by Eginhard, in the life of Charles the Great, Aisti; by Saxo Grammaticus, Estones; by us, Ostmanni or Easterlings. The Easterlings of Ireland were also called by other names, viz., *Danes*, *Norwegians*, and *Normans*, which was a name common to all the people of Denmark, Norway, Livonia, and the rest of the northern nations." (De Veter. Danorum Literatura.) According to Olaus Wormius, "piracy was among the Danes accounted honourable and lawful; their kings and their children, with the most valiant and notorious they could find, addicted themselves to that sort of life."

* Keating, b. 2. † Jocelin Vita. S. Pat. ‡ Annals of Innisfallen.

(Malachy) king of Ireland, and falling into his hands, was, by his orders, drowned in a lake called Loch-uar, near Mullingar. During the same year Malachy engaged the Danish forces at Fore, and gained a complete victory; in this engagement seven hundred of the Scandinavians were slain, and before the end of that year two battles more had been fought, in which one thousand seven hundred of the Danes perished. On this occasion Malachy sent ambassadors with presents to Charles the Bald, king of France, intending thereby to form a bond of friendship with that monarch, and obtain permission to pass through France on his way to Rome.*

The Danes continued to receive new reinforcements from Norway and Denmark, and about 851 Dublin, which was already in the possession of a body of these Northmen called *Fin-gals* or *white foreigners*, was attacked by another force called *Dubh-gals* or *black foreigners*, when an immense slaughter of the Fin-gals ensued, and Dublin was stormed and plundered. But in 853 Amlave or Auliffe, accompanied by his two brothers, Sitric and Ivar, and a great fleet of Norwegians, arrived in Ireland, and all the Northmen in the kingdom submitted to him. Amlave took possession of Dublin; Limerick was enlarged and governed by Ivar, and Sitric built Waterford.† From this year until the close of the ninth century, Ireland was one continued scene of engagements and slaughter, in which the Danes and the Irish were alternately victorious. As if to render this state of affairs still more calamitous, the Irish princes kept up repeated contentions among themselves. In some of these engagements the Danish troops were invited to take an active part; and their assistance was solicited particularly by Aidus, who in 863 had been raised to the throne of Ireland by the powerful aid which Amlave had afforded him.‡ In the midst of these awful occurrences, desolation and terror stalked from one extremity of the country to the other, while cities, towns, churches, and monasteries became a prey to the fury of the contending parties.

Nor were the religious establishments in the Hebrides and along the western coast of Scotland secured from the irruptions of these pirates. The great monastery of Hy appears to have been selected, in a particular manner, as the object of their fury. This establishment, although extensive and of great celebrity, possessed none of those things which might invite the rapacity of the plunderer. Nevertheless, within its walls a treasure had been deposited which was esteemed more

* Ind. Chron. A. 848. † Geraldus Top. Hib. l. 3. ‡ Annals of Innisfallen.

valuable by that religious community than all the greatness and wealth of this world: it contained the shrine and relics of St. Columba. Diermit was then abbot of Hy; and this good man, aware of the profanations to which the sanctuary had been hourly exposed, deemed it most advisable to have the hallowed remains of the saint removed as speedily as possible out of that island. Accordingly, in 831, the relics and shrine of St. Columba were removed from the church of Hy, and with other sacred memorials of antiquity, were translated to Ireland. The remains of St. Patrick had, in the fifth century, been deposited at Down, while those of St. Brigid were removed from Kildare to that place by Kellach, abbot of Kildare and Hy, about the year 810; thither also the remains of St. Columba were conveyed, and with great pomp and solemnity placed in the same shrine with those of St. Patrick and St. Brigid.*

Donchad or Donagh, king of all Ireland, after having devoted the latter years of his life to prayer and penance, died in 797, and had for successor Aidus, surnamed Ordnidhe, son of the king Niell Frassach. During the reign of Aidus, the Irish clergy obtained an exemption from a duty in itself disgraceful and altogether repugnant to the dignity of the clerical state. It appears that a custom had at that time prevailed in Ireland of compelling bishops and abbots to attend the kings in their military expeditions. The people of Leinster having incurred the displeasure of Aidus, that monarch raised a powerful army from all parts of Ireland, and marched towards the borders of Leinster, with a determination of reducing that province to subjection. This army had been composed of men taken from every rank in society, comprising likewise a considerable number of ecclesiastics. Among those who accompanied Aidus, were Conmach, archbishop of Armagh, and Fothadius, a most learned and holy lecturer of that city; When the army had arrived at the frontiers of Leinster, the clergy, in strong terms, remonstrated with Aidus on the impropriety of compelling men to take up arms who, by their situation in life, should be the promoters of peace. Aidus listened with attention to their complaints, and left [illegible] to the decisions of Fothadius. This learned ec[illegible] cordingly drew up a document, in which he set forth the scandalous and uncanonical impropriety of such a custom; and this statement of Fothadius made such an impression on the mind of Aidus, that he permitted the ecclesiastics who

* Annals of Ulster at 831.

had accompanied the expedition to return home.* From this period that shameful practice fell into disuse, and was afterwards, by a positive law, totally abolished.

While the domestic and political state of society had been thus convulsed, it is remarkable with what order the schools belonging to some of the great establishments, particularly in the interior of the kingdom, had been conducted. The seminaries of Clonard, Clonfert, Leighlin, Lismore, and many others, continued their lectures as usual; and although the great influx of foreigners for which former ages had been remarkable, could not be expected to have taken place amidst the confusion of the ninth century, nevertheless, the ancient spirit of literature was not extinguished, and the halls of many of our learned institutions were filled with numbers of scholars, and of eminently distinguished professors. Considering, likewise, the awful complexion of the times, ecclesiastical discipline was regularlaly enforced and most scrupulously observed in each diocese. But the most singular and undoubted fact is, that since the establishment of Christianity, no century had produced more illustrious or talented men. Many of these repaired to the continent of Europe, partly for the purpose of retirement and study, but much more from an anxious wish to serve mankind, and to lend their assistance in the general diffusion of the Gospel. Great numbers remained in Ireland, and according as society began to assume a more settled aspect, and as opportunities might permit, they impressed the truths of Christianity on the hearts of the Danes, and were the happy instruments in effecting the conversion of that enterprizing and hitherto infidel people. From the catalogue of those who became distinguished on the continent, a few shall be selected, while a brief account of the remainder shall be reserved for the third chapter.

Dungal, the celebrated opponent of Claudius the Iconoclast, flourished in this century, and was a native of Ireland.† According to the most probable account, Dungal belonged to the establishment of Bangor. Having been compelled to leave that place in consequence of the cruelty of the Danes, he retired, first to France, and afterwards to Italy. During his abode in France Dungal spent some time as a recluse in the monastery of St. Denis. Here he applied himself to contemplation and study, and composed his learned epistle on the Two Solar Eclipses of 810, which he dedicated to Charlemagne.‡ Dungal's talents and information soon rendered him

* Four Masters at A. 800. † Histoire Litteraire, tom. 4.
‡ D'Achery, Spicilegium, tom. 10.

conspicuous, and he became a great favourite of Charlemagne, who, beside his love for military glory, was also an admirer and a patron of learning. Having remained but a very short time in the monastery of St. Denis, Dungal was prevailed upon to leave his solitude, and was afterwards employed in delivering lectures on mathematical and theological subjects in some of the most celebrated schools of that country. About this period he published his collection of poems, one of which, in praise of Charlemagne, has been particularly admired, and in it he calls himself *an Irish exile*. Some years after Dungal repaired to Italy, where he was appointed professor at Pavia, and his instructions were attended by students from Milan, Lodi, Brescia, Bergamo, Tortona, Novaro, Vercelli, Aequi, Genoa, Asti, and Como.* The heresy of the Iconoclasts, which had made its appearance in the eighth century, and was condemned by the second Council of Nice, had, it seems, one favourite in this age. Iconoclasm might with propriety be termed an heretical vapour; it appeared and disappeared about the same moment. Its principal object was to oppose the veneration or relative respect which Catholics pay to the images and representations of Christ and his saints. So repugnant was this heresy, not only to the apostolical practice of the ancient Fathers of the Church, but even to the dictates of nature and common sense, that it was universally condemned, and in a very short time became literally evanescent. However in the ninth century Claudius, bishop of Turin, soon after his promotion to that see, made a vigorous but fruitless effort to revive it. This ambitious prelate had resolved to indulge his vanity at the expense of religion, and knowing that the heresies of ancient times had all disappeared without leaving scarcely a wreck behind, he preferred speculating in one of a more modern character, and attempted to resuscitate Iconoclasm. With this view he published a treatise, which he called "An Apology against Theodimir." In this work Claudius inveighed against the respect due to images and to the cross; and insisted, moreover, that festivals should not be observed or saints invoked.† The work appeared when Dungal had been in Italy, and it gave rise to a most learned and elaborate display of scriptural and historical erudition from the pen of our distinguished countryman. In answer to Claudius, Dungal published a treatise entitled "Responsa contra perversas Claudii Turonensis Episcopi Sententias."‡ In this work he demonstrates from reason, Scripture, and the universal

* Muratori, Antiq. Ital. tom. 3.
† Fleury, l. 47.
‡ Biblioth. Patr. of Lyons.

practice of mankind, that a proper reverential respect might be paid, not only to an image of Christ, but also to those who proved themselves to be followers of Christ; and not only to the living members, who were the temples of the Holy Ghost, but even to any lifeless significative object in which the great event of man's eternal redemption might have been represented. Treating on the invocation of saints, Dungal observes: "If the apostles and martyrs, while in this world, could pray for others, how much more can they do it after their crowns, victories, and triumphs?" In conclusion, Dungal adds: "How can a bishop who abhors the cross of Jesus Christ perform the ecclesiastical functions, baptize, bless the holy chrism, impose hands, give benedictions, or celebrate Mass? For, as St. Augustin observes, none of these functions can be duly exercised without making the sign of the cross." The learning which pervades the entire of this treatise, proves most clearly the deep theological research of its author. Dungal, besides his ecclesiastical information, was gifted with a natural taste for poetry; but still paramount was his excellent knowledge of mathematics and astronomy. Besides his celebrated work on the eclipses, which in his day was a singular masterpiece of philosophical talent, there are other productions regarding the doubling of the cube, which some ancient lovers of science have attributed to Dungal. He possessed an extensive collection of rare and rich works, which he bequeathed to the monastery of Bobbio. It is generally thought that Dungal died in that monastery, about the year 831, and, agreeably to his own wish, had never been exalted to a higher rank in the church than that of deacon. His death was greatly lamented, and various eulogiums have been written on the genius and merits of this learned Irishman,* who, in the centre of confusion at home and of heresy abroad, stood forth the banished exile from his country, and the learned advocate of the sacred and ancient religion of his forefathers.

Among other holy and enlightened men who, during the irruptions of the Danes, had fled to the continent, was St. Donatus, afterwards bishop of Fiesole, in Tuscany. Donatus was a bishop before he left his native country,† and most

* Some of them have been published by Martene, in one of which (Exulephium) we read: "Scripturas promit casto de pectore sacras. Edocet infirmos et validos pariter. Lacte rigans pueros, et dat capientibus escam. Hinc lac ut capiant, indecibum pariter," etc.

† AA. SS. p. 236. Colgan does not say this, although Lanigan cites him for it. What Colgan says is this (on the authority of Constantine Caietan), that St. Donatus "eo anno quo S. Andrea ex Hibernia venerat, factum esse episcopum Fesulanum." Neither Colgan nor Lanigan say anything of his being a chorepiscopus.

probably a chorepiscopus. On his departure from Ireland, he brought with him a very saintly and learned man named Andrew, who was afterwards deacon of the Church of Fiesole, and founder of an extensive monastery at the foot of the Fiesole mountains. Donatus arrived at Rome during the reign of Louis the Pious, and soon after repaired to Tuscany, where he employed himself in teaching gratuitously, and was the author of several tracts partly poetical and partly theological. His great learning and piety soon ranked him amongst the most distinguished ecclesiastics in that district; and the diocese of Fiesole having been at this time vacant, Donatus was waited upon by the clergy and people, and requested to undertake its government. The year of his promotion is uncertain; but he was undoubtedly bishop there in 844, in which year he was present at the coronation of Louis (the son of Lotharius) as king of Italy. In 861 he was present at a Lateran council held under Nicholas I. against John of Ravenna, after which he governed the see of Fiesole for twelve years. Besides his profound knowledge of the Scriptures, and his intimate acquaintance with the writings of the Fathers, Donatus was one of the most eminent poets of his day. According to Dempster, as quoted by Ware, he wrote an account of his own travels; also, the office of his church and commentaries on the holy Scriptures. Donatus composed a life of St. Brigid, the prologue of which is extant, and has been prefixed by Colgan to a life said to have been written by St. Chilien of Iniskeltra. It has been noticed as an ancient and valuable fragment; while at the same time it serves to point out the genius, talent, and love of country for which this prelate had been distinguished. St. Donatus died on the 22nd of October, A.D. 873,* and was interred in his own cathedral.

Of all the Irishmen who had, in those times, repaired to the continent, the most learned and celebrated was John Scotus Erigena, or as some ancient manuscripts have it, Eringena, Erin being the land which gave him birth.† John was not

* The following epitaph, composed by himself, had been engraved on his tomb:

Hic ego Donatus Scotorum sanguine cretus
Solus in hoc tumulo, pulvere, verme, voror,
Regibus Italicis servivi pluribus annis,
Lothario magno, Ludovicoque bono,
Octenis lustris, septenis insuper annis
Post Fesulana Præsul in urbe fui.
Gratuita discipulis dictabam scripta libellis
Schemata metrorum, dicta beata senum.
Parce viator adis quisquis pro munera Christi
Te modo non pigeat cernere busta mea,
Atque precare Deum, residet qui culmina cœli,
Ut mihi concedat regna beata sua.

† Hist. Litteraire, t. v.

in holy orders, nor was he a monk, as some writers have, without any authority, undertaken to assert. In classical and philosophical learning John Scotus Erigena stood unrivalled; but he was by no means deeply read in theological literature, nor has he, during the early part of his life, appeared to have made it his study. About the year 840 he removed to France, where by his genius, learning, and wit, he became a great favourite with the French king, Charles the Bald. This monarch took such delight in his conversation, that he kept him constantly at court, and did him the honour of receiving him as a guest at his table. The royal presence was no restraint on John, and although he oftentimes indulged his wit at the expense of the king himself, yet his language never gave offence, and was not only tolerated but encouraged. The works of Dionysius the Areopagite were at that time greatly esteemed in France, in consequence of the prevalent opinion that they had been the productions of St. Denis, the first bishop of Paris. John having been well versed in the Greek language was, accordingly, employed by Charles to translate into Latin the four books of Dionysius. This translation, which has been much admired, appeared in 860, and was dedicated to the king.* At this time John taught philosophy in Paris; his lectures were attended by a great concourse of scholars, and, as Brucker remarks, the system which he adopted was that of the new Platonists of the Alexandrian school. While he had been thus usefully engaged, the writings of the monk Gothescale gave rise to a serious controversy among the French divines, on the mysterious doctrines of grace and predestination. Gothescale was supported by Prudentius, bishop of Troies, Remigius, archbishop of Lyons, Florus, archdeacon of the same city, and many others; while he was opposed by numbers, among whom Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, and Rabanus, archbishop of Mentz, were the most distinguished. On this occasion, John was solicited by Hincmar and his party to compose a treatise on predestination. This work was published about the year 850; in the composition of it, Scotus Erigena was led astray by placing too great a dependance on Platonic principl and he fell into a variety of errors. Among other absurdities, he advanced that sin and punishment being mere privations, cannot come under the divine prescience; that the torments of the damned are only the mere recollection of their sins; that the damned will, at length, enjoy the beatific vision; that

* Ussher, Ep. Syll. n. 22

the irregular motions of the will may be liable to punishment, but that our nature itself cannot; and in short, that human nature is not liable to sin. As soon as this work, which comprised nineteen chapters, had made its appearance, it produced an extraordinary sensation throughout the Gallican Church, and was ably refuted by Prudentius, Florus, and other divines.* It was formally condemned by the third Council of Valence, in 855, and is represented as a mass of "impertinent syllogisms, containing inventions of the devil, rather than any proposition of faith." The Council of Langres, held in 859, confirmed this sentence, and in the same year the work was solemnly condemned by pope Nicholas I.† About the same time his work *on Natures* was published; and here his philosophy led him into a maze of the most extravagant errors. This production, which had been written in form of a dialogue, was divided into five books. He reduces Nature into four classes or divisions:‡ 1st, that which creates and is not created; 2nd, that which creates and is created; 3rd, that which does not create and is created; 4th, that which neither creates nor is created. After a tedious and subtle discussion on the three first classes, John in his fourth and fifth books attempts to explain how the created natures will at length return into the increated one. He teaches, that at the general resurrection, the body of man will be transformed into his soul; that the soul will pass into the primordial causes, and these causes at length into God; and thus a period will arrive when there will be nothing but the Deity in existence. From these and similar absurdities, an endless chain of the most extravagant errors are deduced, and among the rest he concludes that the wickedness and punishments of the damned will at some time have an end. His book on the Eucharist was published about the year 861.§ This work had been written principally with a view to impugn the system of Pascasius Radbertus, relative to the mode of Christ's presence in the Eucharist. Neither Pascasius nor any other man had then the impiety to question the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the Sacrament of the Altar. There had, however, been a controversy between Pascasius and others relative to the mode or manner of this presence. Pascasius held that the body of Christ is present in the blessed Eucharist in the very same form as it had been on earth, and as it suffered on the cross and rose from the

* Fleury, l. 48, 49. † Ibid, l. 49. ‡ F. Paris, Dissert., et .
§ Hist. Litteraire, t. 5.

dead. Hence, according to him, the phrase *true body* meant a palpable body, such as our Saviour had during his mission on earth. On the other hand, many learned Catholic divines, in treating on the doctrine of the Eucharist, maintained that the body and blood of Christ, although really and substantially present in the Sacrament, are not there in the manner or under the form of a body as understood and explained by Pascasius. Among the opponents of the Pascasian system was John Scotus Erigena. In consequence of some peculiar terms employed by John in the composition of his work, and of a singular philosophical process of reasoning, many persons had been led to consider the book as heterodox, and that its author had actually denied the real presence. But in this opinion they were most probably mistaken. In the first place, the controversy between John and Pascasius was not about the reality of Christ's body and blood in the Sacrament: that had been admitted by all. The question was (quoad modum existentiæ) as to the mode or manner in which Christ was present. Now, this question could not be decided, nor could the controversy be sustained, unless both parties had acknowledged the real presence. In short, the very fact of their arguing on the mode of existence, necessarily implied that they both admitted the existence itself. It is, therefore, clear that had John Scotus, while engaged in this controversy, denied the real substantial presence of Christ in the sacrament, he would thereby be actually and in fact travelling out of the subject altogether, and his mode of reasoning would be unfair and unphilosophical. Again, the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament was the doctrine of the whole Christian world at the time, and as even Mosheim (a Protestant authority) testifies, there was no second opinion on the subject. Had Scotus, therefore, ventured to deny this universally believed and universally revered dogma, that moment there would have been a reclamation and an outcry, and he would have raised up the whole Christian world against him. As the mode of Christ's real presence in the Eucharist, and the phrase *true body* in the *Pascasian sense*, were the points at issue, John might, on such an occasion, have made use of some of his scholastic metaphysical terms, which to readers unacquainted with his style of writing or manner of reasoning, would appear not only obscure, but even heretical. It is also worthy of remark, that Hincmar, who was the first to reclaim against this work on the Eucharist, and had written to Charles the Bald on the subject, was unable to produce a single sentence or term

from it indicative of a denial of the real presence. Hincmar was a great advocate for the Pascasian system, and it is by no means improbable that, in his over-heated zeal for that opinion, he might have considered some part of the writings of his opponent, if not heterodox, at least dangerous and savouring of heresy. At all events, John's previous work on predestination was calculated to cast a shade of suspicion on many of his future productions, and particularly on such as embraced deep and mysterious subjects. But had John Scotus Erigena even denied the doctrine of the real presence it is self-evident that in so doing he would be advancing an unheard-of novelty—one to which the Christian world was a stranger, and alike repugnant to the creed of his forefathers, and to the universal belief of the Irish Church at that period.* This book on the Eucharist was condemned by the Council of Vercelli, in 1050; since which time, the copies have gradually disappeared, and the work is now lost. John was also the author of a variety of other works. He wrote on the immaculate mysteries of the faith against infidels; a Treatise on the vision of God; Paraphrastical tomes for the instruction of youth; the Opinions of Philosophers; Epistles and Homilies; seven Latin Poems, intermixed with Greek lines; a book on the Canons of Azachel; the *Excerpta* among the writings of Macrobius, touching the differences and agreement of the Greek and Latin Syntax; a translation of the Greek Scholia of St. Maximus on the difficult passages of St. Gregory Nazianzen.† Considering the age in which he lived, John Scotus Erigena was, without doubt, a man of most extensive erudition. He was a very superficial theologian, but his knowledge of mathematics, philosophy, and the classics, together with his powerful talents and wit, rendered him one of the most learned men and the greatest genius of the age. He finished his education before he left his native country, from which circumstance we may readily infer, to what an extent the cause of literature had been carried in Ireland during the ninth and preceding centuries. The Irish had been considered, long before this period, as the most eminent teachers in Europe; and ecclesiastical literature being that which was principally cultivated, their theological system became gradually digested and methodized, and in process of [illegible] formed the basis of what has been since called scholastic theology. John became acquainted with the system of this scholastic divinity in Ireland, and was certainly the first who

* See Appendix I. † Hist. Litter.; Ware, Writers.

blended its principles with the doctrine of mystic theology. It has been asserted that he was compelled to leave France, and had taken shelter in England during the reign of Alfred the Great. This, however, is a misstatement, and besides the anachronism which it implies, remains unsupported by any sufficient authority. John Scotus Erigena died in France during the reign of his patron, Charles the Bald, and about the year 874.*

So great was the number of learned men and of zealous missionaries who in those times had repaired even to France alone, that Heric of Auxerre, in a letter which he addressed to the French king, says:—"Why do I speak of Ireland? that whole nation, almost despising the danger, of the sea, repair to our coasts with a numerous train of philosophers and holy men, the most famous of whom, bidding adieu to their native soil, account themselves happy under your favour, as the servants of the wise Solomon." Thus it was that the persecutions of the Danes became an instrument, under Providence, for the greater extension of the Gospel; and the Irish ecclesiastics, after having established religion at home, went forth the teachers and apostles of other nations.

CHAPTER II.

Successors of St. Patrick—Episcopal Sees—Religious Foundations of the Ninth Century.

THE metropolitan see of Armagh had been governed, during the ninth century, by twelve prelates in unbroken succession. CONMACH, whose incumbency continued for sixteen years, died in 807, and had as successors FORBACH and NUAD, the latter of whom, after having made a visitation of Connaught, died in 812, and was succeeded by FLANGUS son of Longsech. This prelate governed the see for thirteen years. During the latter part of his incumbency (in 823), he appears to have been assisted by ARTRIGIUS or ARTRY, whom some have ranked as coadjutor to Flangus in the administration of the archdiocese of Armagh.† In the year 823, Artrigius made a visitation of the province of Munster, during which, as the Ulster Annals relate: "The law of St. Patrick was propagated throughout Munster by Feidhlim, son of Crimthan, king of

* Mabillon Annal. ben. tom. 3; Hist. Litter. at Erigena.
† Tr. Th. p. 291; O'Flaherty

Munster, and Artrigius, bishop of Armagh." Owing to the general confusion which accompanied the incursions of the Danes, the metropolitan rights of the see of Armagh had been in some places disregarded. The enforcement of these rights, and the re-establishment of what was then termed the law of St. Patrick, were the principal objects of this provincial visitation. About the middle of the eighth century, and during the reign of Hugh Ollain, king of all Ireland, arrangements had been made for augmenting the revenues belonging to the metropolitan see of Armagh, and a law had been actually passed for that specific purpose.* Tirdaglas, in Ormond, is the place in which this measure is said to have been first concerted. Although the primatial rights of Armagh were indisputably acknowledged over all Ireland, and the see had long before that period enjoyed ample possessions; nevertheless, Hugh Ollain, with a view of advancing the dignity of the metropolitan chair, engaged to have a law passed, according to which each of the four provinces were to be taxed, and the fund thence arising was to be applied as a supplemental revenue to the ancient possessions of the see of Armagh. Accordingly, an interview took place at Tirdaglas, between that monarch and Cathal MacFingin, king of Munster, and in this conference, at which, likewise, many of the clergy and several of the dynasts had attended, the measures contemplated and proposed by Hugh Ollain were readily adopted, and were from this time enforced as a regular national tributary enactment. This is the law which Artrigius, in his visitation through Munster, intended to vindicate; and in consequence of his having been obliged to employ the co-operation of the king Feidhlim, it may be easily imagined that the task was, at least in some places, attended with no very inconsiderable embarrassment. The enactment of such a measure was, at all events, a melancholy event for the Church of Ireland; it formed a union pregnant with woe, and was the fruitful source of great public scandal, of heavy and grievous calamities. Before this connexion with the temporal power had been thought of, the Church of Armagh was tranquil and prosperous. While her prelates, depending on the liberality of the people, and satisfied with the blessings of a moderate competency, had kept themselves disengaged from the cares which always follow in the train of boundless opulence, her affairs went on well, and religion was rapidly advancing; but once that see became inundated with the annual tide of a national revenue, that moment the wreck

* Keating, b. 2. p. 47.

commenced—the storm rolled on with redoubled violence, and all her ancient glory and greatness were lost in the darkness and fury of the tempest. The powerful facts which may serve to illustrate the truth of this observation, are to be found in the succeeding century; nor, indeed, is there a necessity for referring to a period so distant, while the very proceedings of Artrigius himself may be likely to afford an abundant exemplification. On the death of Flangus, in 826, Eugene, abbot of Armagh, was unanimously elected his successor, and was immediately after consecrated in the cathedral church.* The promotion of Eugene, besides being canonical was, moreover, a subject of great satisfaction to both clergy and people. Artrigius, however, could not be prevailed upon to view these proceedings in the same agreeable light. During his visitation in Munster and the other provinces, the valuable revenue which the law provided had been placed in his hands, and being a man of influence and intrigue, he soon found means of seizing on the see, and of having Eugene, its legitimate bishop, removed. Artrigius enjoyed the benefits of his unjust usurpation but two years; for in 828, he was deposed, and Eugene was replaced in the archiepiscopal chair.† The incumbency of this prelate continued until 834. On his death, Farannan was elected and consecrated archbishop of Armagh. During the administration of this prelate, the Danes made frightful ravages all over Ireland. Armagh, however, appears to have been marked out as the principal object of their vengeance. In 849 that city was taken by storm, the primate Farannan, with many of his clergy, fell into the hands of the Danes, while great numbers of the students and of the religious were expelled Armagh or put to death.‡ The life of the primate was, however, spared; and having been allowed to take with him some few of his attendants, together with the church relics, he was committed to the custody of a strong guard, and sent off to the Danish fleet then lying at Limerick. The metropolitan see was not permitted to remain long without a presiding pastor: immediately after the expulsion of the primate Farannan, Dermit O'Tigernach was consecrated, and continued direct the ecclesiastical administration of the archdio four years. The cause of religion and of morality would have been considerably promoted under the primate Dermit, had his incumbency been attended with any interval of order or tranquillity. He was a man of literature, a great encourager

* O'Flaherty, ad Tr. Th. p. 294. † Four Masters. ‡ Ind. Chron.

of learning, and is styled in the Ulster Annals "the wisest of all the doctors in Europe." During his time the Danes broke into Armagh on Easter Sunday; every thing both sacred and human became now one scene of desolation—the temple and the sanctuary, as well as the habitations of man, were laid waste, while the primate, afflicted at these repeated calamities, languished for a time, and died the same year, 852.* The successor of Dermit was FACTNA, whose incumbency continued for twenty-two years. Nor was the administration of this prelate attended with repose. During his time, Auliffe the Norwegian sacked and burned Armagh; on which occasion the churches were again plundered and one thousand persons perished. Factna died in 874, and had as successors, ANMIRE, CATHASACH, MAC-CRUNNVAIL and MAEL-BRIGID, the last of whom was of the royal house of Niall, and was consecrated A.D. 886.† This prelate ranked among the most distinguished men of those times, and so great was his reputation for piety and learning, that he has been called "the head of religion in this country," and is numbered among the saints of Ireland. He died on the 22nd of February, A.D. 926, after having governed the metropolitan see of Armagh for forty years.‡ Thus was the succession preserved in this ancient and venerable see, and although the city of Armagh had been several times plundered and the kingdom, from one extremity to the other, had become a continued scene of terror and confusion, the chair of St. Patrick was, nevertheless, regularly filled with zealous and eminent men, and the same grand and unbroken succession continued in triumphant order during the subsequent centuries, as shall be seen in its proper place.

The catalogue of the episcopal sees received no augmentation in this age; while the bishoprics which had been established, were directed by an uninterrupted succession of learned and vigilant pastors. Almost all the acts of these men have perished amid the continued wars with which the country had, in those times, been visited; and if we may except the dioceses of Armagh, Emly, and Kildare, the very names of the incumbents have not been, in any regular order, handed down to us. In the see of Emly, the succession has been faithfully recorded. Emly was not, as some have groundlessly asserted, an archiepiscopal see, nor did that distinctive title appertain to any bishopric in Ireland in those times, save to that of Armagh. In consequence of its great antiquity,

* Ussher, Ind. Chron. † Psalter of Cashel. ‡ Ulster Annals.

and the high veneration in which the memory of its founder had been held, Emly obtained a sort of distinctive precedency; but it cannot be said to have ever enjoyed anything like canonical archiepiscopal jurisdiction. This see was governed in 825 by the celebrated Olchobair Mac-Kinede. During his incumbency, Feidhlim, the king of Munster, died, after having atoned for the scandalous enormities of his life by a rigorous course of penance. On the death of this king, Olchobair put forward his claims to the sceptre of Munster, and being a man of influence and address, he succeeded, and found himself placed on the throne of that warlike province.* Olchobair is the first of our Irish princes in whose person we find the sceptre and the mitre united. This royal prelate, besides his love of country, was of an enterprizing and martial disposition; qualities which the state of the nation and the circumstances of the times soon called into action. About the year 848, the Danes committed frightful destruction all over Munster: cities, towns, and villages were stormed and plundered, while numbers of the inhabitants were put to the sword, without distinction of age, sex, or condition. Olchobair could no longer remain a passive spectator of such cruelties; he accordingly summoned his forces, and having been assisted by Lorcan, king of Leinster, this prelate met the Danes and gave them battle at a place called Sei-naght, in the territory of the Decies. After an obstinate engagement the Irish troops claimed the victory; the Danes were routed in all directions, and twelve hundred of their bravest men were slain on the field of battle.† Olchobair encouraged by this signal victory, was determined to pursue the enemy; while the Danes, recovering from the shock which this signal defeat had occasioned, were reinforced by detachments of their countrymen from Limerick, Dublin and other quarters. The Irish troops, headed by the Dalgais, lost no time in coming up to the invaders, and within the space of three days, two desperate engagements took place, in which seventeen hundred of the Danes and many of their leaders were cut off. These repeated victories spread dismay among the Danish troops, while Olchobair pursued the disordered and retreating enemy; nor did he cease until he had finally routed them beyond the frontiers of his kingdom. It was most fortunate for the Momonians that Olchobair had been their prince at this crisis; had they been governed by a less vigorous or intelligent monarch, the Danes would, no doubt, have gained a

* Annals of Innisfallen. † Ware's Antiq.

footing in their country, and the ancient throne of Munster would, ere long, be at the mercy and disposal of these invaders. The reign of Olchobair was but of short continuance. He died in 850, and was succeeded by Mane-Confelad, who, like his predecessor, possessed at the same time, both the chair of Emly and the throne of Munster.*

In the see of Kildare, the order of succession is also complete, but, as has been observed, the acts of these prelates have perished. The most eminent men in this catalogue were Edgen, O'Fionnachta and Seannal,† the first of whom is generally styled scribe, bishop, and anchorite of Kildare; and the latter two are marked as saints in the Irish calendars. Among the prelates of Clonmacnois in those times was the learned Corbre or Corpreus. The reputation of this prelate had been so great that he was universally called "the head of the religious of all the Irish in this age." His death occurred on the 6th of March, A.D. 900, the anniversary of which was for many years celebrated as a festival at Clonmacnois.‡ The see of Clogher had, at the close of the ninth century, been placed under the jurisdiction of Alild, a learned prelate. He is marked in the Ulster Annals as scribe, abbot and bishop of Clogher, and died 898. At this period, likewise, the see of Glendaloch was governed by the learned Dungal Mac-Baithen; and Ossory by Cormac, who is generally styled scribe, abbot, and bishop of Saigar.

The history of the monastic institutions present an exact coincidence with that of the episcopal sees of the ninth century. During the confusion of these times, when both cloister and sanctuary were profaned, it could not be expected that any new monastic establishments had been founded. Some few might have been erected in those sequestered districts into which the Danish forces had not penetrated, but they were of minor consequence, and were merely cells belonging to the great foundations of the preceding centuries. The religious establishments of Ireland had been the leading objects of attack during these times. From their extent and appearance the Danes had been led to expect immense booty, but being afterwards disappointed, and meeting with [illegible] in the cloister wherewith to gratify their avarice, they accordingly vented their fury on the altar, the temple and the libraries, and thus many of the records of the kingdom, and other monuments of antiquity which would serve to throw light on the history of those ages, had been consigned to the flames and

* Annals of Innisfallen. † Ware's Bishops. ‡ AA. SS. at 6th March.

perished for ever. The monasteries which appear to have suffered most were Armagh, Kildare, Clonmacnois, Bangor, Ferns, Louth, and Kells. During the course of this century, Armagh had been eleven times pillaged and laid waste, while in 873 one thousand of the clergy and people were slaughtered and the city was almost reduced to ashes.* Within the same space of time the great monastery of Kildare had been six times profaned. The greatest destruction seems to have taken place in 836, when two Danish fleets arrived, one in the Liffey, and the other in the Boyne. They not only laid waste every church and abbey within the territories of Maghliffe and Magh-Breagh, but also destroyed Kildare with fire and sword, and carried away the rich shrines of St. Brigid and St. Conlaeth.† In Bangor, Ferns, Louth, and Kells the same work of destruction had been carried on, while Clonmacnois seemed in a particular manner to have been singled out as the special object of their vengeance.

Such were the frightful circumstances in which the religious institutions of Ireland had at this time been placed. Providence, however, had ulterior objects in view, and in the accomplishment of them, these religious communities (it will be seen) were the principal and most effectual instruments.

CHAPTER III.

Religious and Literary characters of the Ninth Century.—General Observations.

St. Aengus, the celebrated author of the *Festilogium*, flourished in the commencement of the ninth century, and was descended from the illustrious chieftains of Dalaradia. The monastery of Clonenagh had, in this age, been eminently distinguished both for its discipline and the number of learned teachers with which it had been supplied. To this retreat Aengus repaired, and having embraced its institute, he applied himself with great diligence, for several years, to the study of the Holy Scriptures. Wishing, however, to avoid the applause which his learning had now elicited, he withdrew to the monastery of Tallagh, which at that time had been governed by the pious and learned Moelruan. Here the merits of Aengus soon became known; he taught the Scriptures for

* Tr. Th., p. 295. † O'Halloran, vol. ii.

many years in the schools of that monastery, and assisted Moelruan in completing the celebrated martyrology of Tallagh. He soon after published his Festilogium, or calendar of the principal saints, written in Irish verse, and taken chiefly from the martyrology.* Aengus is also the author of the work called Saltuir-na-raan, or Multipartite Psalter, divided into five books. The first book contains the names of 345 bishops, 299 priests and abbots, and 78 deacons; the second book treats of those saints who were called by the same name, and is entitled, "*Of Homonymous Saints;*" the third book, or "*The Book of Sons and Daughters*," gives the history of those saints who had been born of the same parents; the fourth book contains the maternal genealogy of more than 200 Irish saints; and the fifth comprises a variety of litanies, in which a great number of saints are invoked, among whom are mentioned several Italian, Gallic, British, and African saints who had lived and died in Ireland.† Aengus published likewise a second Saltuir-na-raan, written in verse, and containing a beautiful history of the Old Testament.‡ After the death of St. Moelruan, Aengus removed to Clonenagh, and was raised to the episcopal dignity. He died about the year 819, and his festival was observed on the 11th of March.

St. Findan or Fintan was a native of Leinster, and when a young man, was seized upon by a party of the Danes, who conveyed him to their vessels, and soon after departed from Ireland. Having arrived at the Orkneys, those pirates were obliged to put to shore, while Findan, by concealing himself among the rocks, escaped out of their hands. At this time, Findan resolved on spending the remainder of his days in holy pilgrimage. Having encountered a variety of difficulties, he arrived at length in France, and proceeded from thence to Rome, and ultimately to Switzerland; here he became a monk in the monastery of Rhingaw, now Rheinau, and remained for five years in the most strict observance of its institute.§ Findan was anxious to embrace a life of still greater austerity; for this purpose, he retired to a cell not far distant, in which he spent twenty-two years secluded from the world, practising in the meantime the most extraordinary acts of mortification. It is stated in his acts, that this saint had been favoured with several visions, especially on the feasts of St. Patrick and St. Columba; and so profound was the veneration in which he had been held, that the members of the ancient

* AA. SS. p. 581. † AA. SS. p. 539.
‡ Id. p. 582. § Id. p. 355.

establishment of Rheinau adopted him as their patron.* Findan died in this holy retreat about the year 827, and his festival is observed on the 15th of November.

St. Blaithmac was a descendant of the Southern Nialls and heir to a principality. When a young man, he felt an ardent desire of consecrating himself to religion; but his intention was by no means agreeable to the wishes of his parents; at length, however, he withdrew from the world, and embraced the monastic state. His burning zeal and extraordinary labours were mostly directed to the conversion of the Danes; and under Providence, he was the chosen instrument of collecting great numbers of them to the faith of Christ. About the year 820, he repaired to Hy, at which time a party of the Ostmen had made a descent on the island. Blaithmac, already filled with an ardent desire of receiving the crown of martyrdom, awaited their arrival, and was in the act of celebrating the sacred mysteries when they had entered the church. The Danes demanded the shrine which contained the holy remains of St. Columba, and upon his refusal, they instantly put him to death. The martyrdom of St. Blaithmac occurred on the 19th of January, A.D. 824.†

Helias, an Irishman and a disciple of Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, distinguished himself in France during the reign of Charles the Bald, and afterwards became bishop of Angouleme. This eminent prelate ranked among the learned men of the age, and for many years presided in the schools of France as professor of the sacred Scriptures; among his scholars was the celebrated Heric of Auxerre.‡ Helias, when bishop of Angouleme, assisted in 862 at the synod of Pistes, and in 866 at that of Soissons. Helias died on the 22nd of September, A.D. 876.

Moengal, or Marcelles, flourished about the middle of the ninth century. He travelled to Rome in 841, accompanied by his nephew Marcus, an Irish bishop, and afterwards visited the ancient monastery of St. Gall, in Switzerland. This establishment had been long celebrated for its schools of theology; and as soon as the learning of Moengal had become known to the fathers of the house, they requested him to remain with them. Here he delivered theological lectures for many years; and among his disciples are reckoned Notker Balbulus, Ratpert, and Tutilo.§ He has written a commentary on the Scriptures, and homilies on the lessons of the Gospel.‖ Moengal died in that monastery on the 30th of September, but the year has not been recorded.

* Mabillon, Annal. † AA. SS. at 19th Jan. ‡ Labbe, Nov. Bib. t. 2.
§ Mabillon, Acta. Ben. p. 462. ‖ Harris, Writers.

Gildas, whose parents had been Irish, was born in Wales, about the year 820. At an early age he repaired to Ireland, where he received his education, and according to some writers, he embraced the monastic institute of Bangor. His knowledge of the Scriptures and of mystic theology rendered him one of the most eminent men of the day. According to Bale, Gildas published a work, called the Breviary of Gildas, with this exordium, "from the beginning of the world to the flood;" a book on the Wonders of Britain; a book on King Arthur; a treatise entitled "De Esse Periculoso"; a book on his unknown sepulchre. He published, likewise, a work entitled "De Computo," which is in manuscript in the Cottonian Library, and consists of ninety-nine chapters. This work he dedicated to the celebrated monk Raban, afterwards bishop of Fulda.* The year in which Gildas died is not known, nor are any of his works extant, save a manuscript of the last-mentioned treatise.

The abbot Patrick may be ranked among the number of those ecclesiastics who, about the year 850, fled from the fury of the Danes, and retired to England. It is most probable that Patrick had been a bishop before he retired from Ireland; and it has been generally supposed that he was the same as Moel-Patrick, styled bishop, anchorite, and abbot-elect of Armagh. At all events, Patrick, on his arrival in England, repaired to the abbey of Glastonbury, where he remained until his death. This circumstance gave rise to the glaring absurdity of some writers who, confounding this Patrick with the apostle of Ireland, attempted to maintain that St. Patrick had died in England, and had been buried in Glastonbury. The abbot Patrick has published a book of homilies, several religious tracts, and some epistles to his countrymen.†

Besides these eminent characters, there remains a catalogue of others, whose acts have completely perished. Among these may be noticed Sedulius, abbot of Kildare in 829, and author of the Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul; Luacharen, professor and scribe of Clonmacnois; Aidus, scribe of Roscommon; Martin, scribe of Devenish; Dubtach, scribe of Kill-achaid, county of Cavan; [illegible] and an exact chronographer; Torpadius, an eminent Se[illegible]turian of Tallagh; O'Kearta, a philosopher and scribe o[illegible]achaid; Domnald, theologian and professor of Cork; Moel-Patrick, scribe and trevet; Suibhne, scribe and professor of Clonmacnois; and a host of others, whose solitary names

* AA. SS. p. 202. † Ware, Writers.

stand recorded in the melancholy annals of these frightful times.

Considering the repeated attacks which had been made on the literary institutions of the country, the wonder is, that even so great a portion of our ancient records have been preserved. During these awful times, the plunder of the cloister was sure to be followed by the profanation of the sanctuary; the writings and learned monuments of antiquity were consigned to the flames, while the professor and the student, already marked out for destruction, either fell by the sword of the infidel, or were obliged to consult their safety and fly from the storm. Those venerable monastic foundations of former days having been once upset, the cultivation of letters began to decline, ecclesiastical discipline was impaired—in short, everything human, or deriving its source from man, appeared crumbling, as it were, into one general ruin; while the Church alone, with its sacred deposit, remained immovable and even majestic, amid the darkness of the tempest in which it had been enveloped. Hence the civil and ecclesiastical events of the ninth century afford a powerful moral demonstration of the weakness and uncertainty of all those things which owe their origin to the ingenuity of man. The sacred founder of the Christian religion drew a broad line of distinction between the essential doctrines which he himself had revealed, and those disciplinary usages which eminent and holy men might in after ages introduce into his Church. The eternal building itself he erected upon a rock; and we are assured, that even the gates of hell shall never prevail against it. Schisms and heresies may spring up; persecutions may arise; the sword may be drawn, and the reign of terror commence; whole nations may be invaded; the tabernacle polluted; the sanctuary plundered, and the temple itself levelled to the ground; nevertheless, in the midst of this general wreck, and while altar and sanctuary, and temple and kingdom, are involved in one common mass of ruin, the Church of Christ will stand firm, solid, and unshaken.

There exists, therefore, a very material difference between the Church, with its articles of faith, and [illegible] human institutions. The former can never be destroyed; whereas the latter is liable both to decay and destruction. Now, of this latter class were the monastic foundations: they had, no doubt, been established upon the maxims and counsels of the Gospel, and their object was to advance the glory of God and to secure the salvation of man; nevertheless, they were human institutions, contemplated, organized, and perfected by eminent and holy men, sanctioned and confirmed by

the Church, and ultimately recommended, both by their intrinsic merits, and by the number of distinguished ecclesiastics whom they sent forth to instruct the faithful, or to plant the cross of Christ in the land of the distant unbeliever.

While the historical events of the ninth century may serve to furnish an awful record of the persecutions which the religious establishments of Ireland had undergone at that period; it must be recollected, that these had been the establishments which for ages had poured forth such a host of missionaries over Europe, and rendered the name of their country so justly celebrated. Scarcely had the light of Christianity beamed on Ireland, when these apostolic men went forth: the Appenines were blessed by one,* the Hebrides were hallowed by another;† while Rumold planted the Cross in Mecklin, the plains of Franconia were consecrated with the blood of Kilian. Donatus was revered in Tuscany; Virgilius was venerated in Saltzburg; Clemens shed the light of knowledge on France; Albinus lit up the lamp of science in Italy. The desert and the city, the hamlet and the palace, the mountain and its caverns, the valley and its loveliness; the north, with its eternal snow; the south, with its burning sun: all Europe was embraced by Irish missionaries. Their learning was acknowledged; their sanctity was revered; their virtues were canonized; their patronage was solicited, and their name and their memory are to this day cherished, and honourably recorded in many of the most distinguished cities and nations of this vast and powerful continent. With justice, therefore, did Benedict XIV. thus address the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, in his memorable epistle to that venerable body, A.D. 1741. "Recollect (writes the pontiff), the labours of your great apostle St. Patrick, whom our predecessor St. Celestine had sent amongst you. Let not the exalted virtues of St. Malachy be forgotten; nor the sanctity and trials of St. Laurence of Dublin be obliterated from your memory. But should we be inclined to enumerate all the holy men, Columbanus, Kilian, Virgilius, Rumold, Gallus, and a countless host of others, who, forsaking the land of their birth, planted the Catholic faith in other nations, or served to render it glorious and triumphant by their blood, we should certainly encounter a task which would far exceed the limits of this epistle. Suffice it, therefore, briefly to point out those few, in order that ye may the more readily bring to your recollection the piety, the religion, and the great and exalted sanctity of your illustrious forefathers."‡

* Columbanus. † Columbkill. ‡ See cent. xviii. c. i.

TENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Congall II. monarch of Ireland, repels the Invaders—The Danes of Dublin embrace the Christian faith—Cormac, king of Munster and first bishop of Cashel, slain in the Battle of Ballymoon—Effects of the Danish Wars—Monopoly of the See of Armagh—Irishmen teach at Glastonbury—Irish Missionaries on the Continent—History of St. Maccallin and of St. Fingen—Establishments conducted by Irish Ecclesiastics in various parts of Europe.

NOTWITHSTANDING the frightful aspect which the affairs of Ireland had at this period assumed, both from division among her own people and from the irruptions of the Danes, the religion of the nation was faithfully and firmly upheld. Since the memorable engagement of Tirconnel, A.D. 836, in which the Danes suffered a dreadful defeat, the Norwegian power appears to have been gradually declining in Ireland.[a] This signal victory was followed by others, still more encouraging to the Irish and disastrous to the Danes. In 902 immense slaughter had been made amongst them by the people of Leinster. Finnian, prince of Bregh, a territory stretching from Dublin to Drogheda, marched at the head of his forces, and after routing the Danes of Dublin, ultimately expelled them the country; while the Lagenians, under the command of Carrol, obliged them to quit the southern parts of that province. The Danes would never have ventured to renew their incursions, had the princes of Ireland acted in concert with each other. These Irish leaders had been guilty of a still greater piece of impolicy in employing the very enemy as soldiers in their armies, during their unfortunate conflicts with each other. Of this the Danes were sufficiently convinced, and accordingly, after having been routed from Dublin, they repaired without delay to the [illegible] of Europe, [illegible] the purpose of acquainting their countrymen with the [illegible] the enterprise, and of strengthening their ranks by [illegible] reinforcements. They continued year after year to pour into the country, but particularly in 914, when a large detachment

[a] Annals of Innisfal.

landed at Waterford, and soon after laid waste Cork, Lismore, and Aghaboe. From this period down to the time of Donagh II, king of Ireland in 940, the Danes having been constantly reinforced from their own country, devastated Leighlin, Kells, Armagh, Kildare, Clonmacnois,* Slane, Down, Clonard, Bangor, Ferns, and Ossory. At length, in 941, the celebrated Callaghan Cashel, at the head of the forces of Munster, defeated the Danes in two engagements, one in the country of the Decies and the other in Ossory. Congall II. was then king of Ireland: this monarch, witnessing the repeated disasters to which the nation had been so long exposed, raised a powerful army among the people of Bregh, and assisted by Bran Mac-Maolmordha and his Lagenians, advanced towards Dublin, which city he took by storm. However, in the following year, upon the reduction of Congall's army, the Danes returned under their king, Blacar, and once more made themselves masters of Dublin. Congall renewed the attack, and in 948 another desperate engagement took place, in which the Danish king, Blacar, and a thousand of his men were slain.† Upon the death of Blacar, Godfrid, son of Sitric king of Northumberland, was appointed ruler of the Northmen. This continued series of disasters so humbled the Danes of Dublin, that during the remainder of Congall's reign few depredations had been committed; and it is, moreover, considered one of the ordinary means by which the conversion of that people to the Christian religion had been effected. Godfrid, their king, had embraced Christianity long before he was elevated to any authority by the Danes in Ireland. When his father Sitric had married Editha, the sister of Athelstan, king of England, one of the conditions of the marriage was, that he should become a Christian.‡ Sitric had three sons, Reginald, Auliffe, and Godfrid, all of whom had been instructed by Editha in the principles of the Christian religion. It is stated by Ware and others, upon the authority of the Annals of Innisfallen, that the general conversion of the Danes throughout Ireland took place at this period (948). Such, however, is not the fact; and it is remarkable, that the annalist in stating the conversion which occurred in 948, confines himself to the Danes of Dublin; which, doubtless, he would not have done had the Northmen in other parts of Ireland become Christians at that time.§ It is certain that the conversion of that people did not become general until many years after; and so far was

* Annals of Innisfal. † Id. ‡ Murray, de Col. Scandicis.
§ Annal. Innisfal. A. 948.

it from having been an instantaneous event, that it was even a work of much difficulty and of many years.

The civil as well as the ecclesiastical events connected with the memory of Cormac Mac Culinan, king of Munster and first bishop of Cashel, form an interesting portion of the history of those times. From this celebrated man is dated the foundation of that bishopric, and from the circumstance of the city of Cashel having been the seat of royalty in the south and the residence of the kings of Munster, it was exalted in the twelfth century to the dignity of an archiepiscopal see. Cormac was born in the year 837, and was of the Eugenian branch, being lineally descended from Ænguse, who had been converted to the faith by the preaching of St. Patrick. Having received an education suited to the ecclesiastical state under Snegdus, the learned abbot of Castlekermot, Cormac was admitted to holy orders, and after a period, was promoted to the episcopacy.* It is conjectured that he had been bishop of Lismore before he removed to Cashel; however, the probability is, that in consideration of his learning and extraordinary merits, he was consecrated originally bishop of Cashel, and soon after established his see in that city, which had been for so many years the residence of his royal ancestors. Kinngeagan, who then swayed the sceptre of that province, having incurred the displeasure of his subjects, was deposed in 901, on which occasion Cormac was called to the throne by the unanimous voice of the people, and thus was he both bishop of Cashel and king of Munster. The union of the mitre and sceptre was not unusual in those times, particularly among the ancestors of Cormac: Ochobar, who died in 851, and Cinfeleb, in 872, had been kings of Munster and bishops of Emly.

In the very commencement of Cormac's reign, and while he was governing his kingdom in peace, Flan, surnamed *Sionna*, king of all Ireland, together with Cearbhal, king of Leinster, marched with a powerful army into Munster, and laid waste the whole territory between Gowran and Limerick. Cormac, who was at this time unprepared to resist such an attack, had been obliged to remain a passive spectator of these scenes; however, in the following year, he collected together the forces of Munster, and having been accompanied by Flahertach, abbot of Inniscatthy, he directed his march towards the county of Meath, for the purpose of demanding satisfaction for the injuries which his people had sustained, and of

* Annal. Inuist. sce c. ii.

preventing a recurrence of such unwarranted proceedings.* It would have been more fortunate for Cormac had he paid less implicit attention to the advice of Flahertach. This man was naturally of a bold, enterprising, military disposition; and by his counsel Cormac was at length prevailed upon to come to an engagement with the enemy. Having arrived with his troops as far as the plains of Magh-leana, in the now King's County, Cormac gave battle to Flan and his confederates, and defeated them with great loss, particularly of the Nialls, among whom Maolchraobha, king of Kinel-Eogain (Tyrone), was slain. Reduced by this defeat, Flan was compelled to submit, while Cormac continued his route towards Connaught, and obliged the Connacians and some of the Nialls to place hostages in his hands.† It was not to be expected that Flan, who, besides his ungovernable temper, was also monarch of the kingdom, could long submit to this degradation. Accordingly, in 908, with the aid of Cearbhal, king of Leinster, Cathal, king of Connaught, and the princes of Leath-cuin (the northern half of Ireland), he raised a formidable army, and notwithstanding the treaty which he had signed and the hostages which he delivered, Flan advanced towards the frontiers of Munster, determined at all hazards upon the subjugation and total destruction of the Momonians. Cormac, who was of a naturally peaceable disposition, on receiving intelligence of the enemy's approach, was for sending messengers and having the matter compromised. But such measures were far from being agreeable to the views of the unbending Flahertach. This abbot was an avowed enemy to peace, and by his repeated advice Cormac was, in a manner, constrained to lead out his forces and march towards Leinster, for the purpose of meeting the enemy and of giving them battle. The two armies came within view of each other at Beallach Mughna (Ballymoon, in Idrone, county of Carlow). The Munster troops were reinforced by the Ossorians, under their various chieftains, and by many of the principal nobility. Nor was Flahertach the only ecclesiastic who had accompanied Cormac in this ill-fated [illegible]; Mac-Eogan, abbot of Cork; Colman, abbot of Kenity (in the King's County); and Tiobrinde, bishop of Emly, with many others, were present at the engagement.‡ Cormac had a foreknowledge of his death, and previously to the battle, made his confession and likewise his will, in which he

* Ware's Antiq.; Four Masters. † Four Masters, p. 907.
‡ Annals of Innisfal.; Keating.

bequeathed various sacred ornaments, besides divers utensils of gold and silver, to the churches of Cashel, Lismore, Emly, Armagh, Kildare, and Glendaloch. This engagement is represented as one of the most desperate which had taken place in those times; in it the bishop of Cashel was slain, together with the abbots Mac-Eogan and Colman; Kelly, prince of Ossory; Fogarty, prince of Kerry, and about six thousand of their troops. Cormac's body was afterwards conveyed to Cashel, where it was interred; although it has been affirmed by some writers that he had been buried at Castledermot. This prelate was the author of the celebrated work entitled the *Psalter of Cashel*, in which the ancient historical events of Ireland are chronologically recorded. He has, likewise, written an etymological dictionary, or Irish glossary, called *Sanasan Cormac*, and a work on the genealogies of the Irish saints.* Cormac, after having established the see of Cashel, erected a small but beautiful chapel, on the summit of the rock in that city, the ruins of which, from their bold and lofty position, are strongly calculated to fill the mind with notions of the piety and grandeur of former days. This sacred edifice is, however, considered by some antiquaries as only a *capella*, or chapel, attached to the royal palace, which had been erected on the top of the rock of Cashel; while they conjecture that the cathedral must have been situated in the city, and most probably adjacent to the base of the rock.

It is natural to suppose, that during these domestic conflicts, aggravated by the incursions of the Danes, the kingdom must have been in a state of unusual excitement; while discipline, morality, and the general interest of religion had been considerably affected. The frequent attacks which the Ostmen had made on the religious establishments, and the indiscriminate slaughter in which these scenes had invariably terminated, obliged the monks and other ecclesiastics on many occasions to take up arms in self-defence. That which had at first originated from this imperative cause, and which stands not only justified, but even demanded by the very voice of Nature, did in a short time, from habit and the prevalence of example, assume the character of a national indispensable duty; and for this reason it was [illegible] battle of Ballymoon, such a number of ecclesiastics had been present, contrary to the discipline and wise regulations of their pious ancestors.

* Harris' Writers; AA. SS., p. 5.

To the unsettled state of society in those times, must be traced the introduction of that class of persons so generally known in our annals by the names of *Corbes* and *Erenachs*.* During the devastations of the Danes, several of the Irish prelates, and particularly the abbots of the large monasteries, were accustomed to commit their lands to the protection of some neighbouring prince or dynast. These individuals continued to hold, as guardians, this ecclesiastical property for a series of years; but at length they abused the trust which had, with such confidence, been placed in their hands; they, in many instances, monopolized the entire of these possessions, and actually annexed them to their own estates. The abuses which arose from this system were lamentable, and became the source of unprecedented scandal, but particularly in the archdiocese of Armagh. It has been already noticed, that the law of St. Patrick, or tribute intended for the maintenance of the church of Armagh, had in the preceding century been strictly enforced by several primates over the provinces of Munster and Connaught. This national revenue, having been augmented by various other property already attached to that church, rendered the see an object worthy the attention of certain powerful and avaricious aspirants.

* *Corba* or *Comorban*, in its etymological sense, signifies a joint-partner, and is derived from the Irish words, *Comh* (in latin *Con*) and *forba*, a landed estate; in an ecclesiastical sense, it means the successor of a person invested with ecclesiastical dignity. The monastic and other church property having been monopolized by the individuals under whose protection it had been placed, the title Comorban, or Corba, was soon after adopted by the same usurpers. These *Corbes* were generally laymen or tonsured clerks; yet some few among them were in holy orders; and this latter description usually presided over those churches which in former times had been minor bishoprics. Besides the property which belonged to the abbeys, several of the Corbes possessed lands attached to episcopal sees, out of which they were bound to pay certain mensal dues to the bishop. The *Erenachs* were a somewhat similar description of people, but of an inferior class. The term, in its original sense, signifies an archdeacon or econome. In the middle ages the office of archdeacon fell generally into the hands of laymen; and this abuse prevailed to a great extent in England, France, and the south of Germany. In Ireland, the system of lay-archdeacons, or erenachism, became very general. These Erenachs were universally laymen, with the exception that they usually received the tonsure, and they were the actual possessors of episcopal lands, out of which they were bound to pay certain annual contributions. The Erenachs, as well as the Corbes, were, in fact, the usurpers of church property; and when one of them happened to die, the sept immediately assembled and elected another. The only difference, therefore, between the Corbes and the Erenachs consisted in this, that the Corbes possessed a greater extent of property, and held lands which belonged to the abbeys, without being in any manner dependant on the bishop; while the Erenachs held their lands under the bishop, and were the perpetual tenants of the incumbent. Some of the lands possessed by these Corbes and Erenachs were called *Termon-lands*, as being exempted from all state taxes, but were charged with certain pensions, to be paid yearly to the bishop of the diocese.

On the death of the primate, St. Maelbrigid, in 926, an occurrence took place in this metropolitan see, which must have been as disedifying to the faithful as it was disgraceful to those who had taken a share in it.

In that year the see of Armagh, with its temporalities, was usurped by certain dynasts of that territory, and who, in all probability had, under the system of Erenachism, been constituted its guardians. With the specific grounds upon which the usurpers attempted to justify their proceedings, we have not been made acquainted; but it is generally supposed that these dynasts had been the descendants of Daire, from whom St. Patrick obtained a grant of the site on which the cathedral of Armagh had been erected. This powerful family held possession of the see for about two hundred years; and to such an excess had this usurpation been carried, that no person except a member of that family was allowed to fill the metropolitan chair. For several years an ecclesiastic appeared belonging to the sept, and he was accordingly consecrated; but at length, in the eleventh century, married laymen were intruded, took possession of the temporalities and in all their public acts, signed themselves archbishops of Armagh and primates of Ireland. While these lay-usurpers contented themselves with the temporalities of the Church, they at the same time had taken care to provide the see with regular consecrated bishops, who acted as suffragans under them, administered the Sacraments, and performed the necessary duties of the ministry throughout the diocese. The friends of morality were grieved at these unprecedented abuses; but remonstrance was ineffectual; for in those awful times all the laws, both of religion and of society, appeared to have been under the complete control of mere physical force, and at the capricious disposal of every domineering dynast.

It has been generally remarked as a singular feature in the character of this century, that the cultivation of letters, which, in other countries, had been neglected, was still ardently cherished in many of the ancient schools of Ireland. From these establishments numbers of learned men came forth, many of whom retired to other countries, and contributed to the general diffusion of knowledge and morality.

The important benefits which the English nation had at this very time derived from Irishmen has been attested by many of their own writers. Learning had, it appears, lamentably declined in England after the death of Alfred. That great monarch undertook the task of restoring the monastic institutions which had fallen into decay; and had he continued

to govern that nation for a longer period, he would, no doubt, have succeeded in his design. Unfortunately, however, for the interest of science, the reign of Alfred was but of short continuance. His successors neglected to patronize these religious establishments. There were no public schools throughout the kingdom; education was an object which the nation in general disregarded; and hence to such an extent had ignorance prevailed that, it is said, an ecclesiastic could scarcely be found capable of either writing or translating a Latin letter.* It happened, however, that about the year 950 a number of Irishmen, distinguished for talents and deeply versed in every department of literature, repaired to Glastonbury,† where they undertook to give lectures and to employ every means in their power for the re-establishment of knowledge. The labours of these men were soon appreciated; their instructions were attended by numbers of every rank, and among their pupils is noticed the learned and celebrated St. Dunstan. Irishmen had distinguished themselves here long before this period; it is, however, an undoubted fact, that the Irish teachers who repaired to Glastonbury in the tenth century, were the principal revivers of literature in that populous and extensive portion of the Anglo-Saxon territories.

Nor was it in England alone that the Irish ecclesiastics of this age became valuable; numbers of them repaired to the continent, and were the founders and abbots of historically-celebrated religious establishments. Among these eminent men it may be proper to notice the holy and penitential Maccallin, first abbot of the monastery of Walciodorus, now Vassor, near the Meuse. Maccallin and eleven other Irishmen accompanied St. Cadroe to France, where they intended to devote the remainder of their days to the practice of the most rigid austerities. St. Cadroe had been a British Scot, and received his education in Armagh. Being gifted with very superior talents, and having made himself master of the classics, history, philosophy, and other branches of literature, he returned to Scotland, and formed places of education, which had at the time been deplorably wanted in that

* Mabillon, Annal. Bened. at A. 940.

† Osbern, in his life of St. Dunstan, has the following passage: "Quorum (Hibernorum) multi atque illustres viri, divinis ac secularibus literis nobiliter eruditi, dum relicta Hibernia, in terra Anglorum peregrinaturi venissent, locum habitationis sue *Glestoniam* delegerunt, . . . susceperat illos . . . Lanfranc libus studiis imbuendos; ut quod minus ad usum loci ubertas exhiberet, eorum quos docebant liberalitate redundaret. Adest ergo nobilissimus in Christo puer Dunstanus, inter alios unus, imo pre aliis solus, ubi paulo diligentius quam imbecilla ætas ferre posset literarum studio intentus," &c

country.* Cadroe, however, was determined on leading an eremitic life, and accordingly repaired to the continent; on which occasion, Maccallin and eleven others associated themselves with him. After a perilous voyage, they arrived at Boulogne, and from thence proceeded to St. Fursey's monastery, in Peronne. By the kindness of Hersendis, a pious and wealthy matron residing in that neighbourhood, a convenient site was obtained in a part of the forest called *Theorascensis*, near the river Oise, and adjoining a church which had been dedicated to St. Michael; while their community being now formed, Maccallin was, although against his wish, appointed their superior.† Having spent some time in this retreat, Maccallin and Cadroe embraced the Benedictine institute; the former at Gorzia, a monastery in the diocese of Metz, and the latter at the celebrated monastery of Fleury-sur-Loire. Eilbert, the husband of Hersendis, had by this time completed the great abbey of Walciodorus; Maccallin was accordingly directed to undertake the government of it, and thus did he become its first abbot, still retaining the management of the monastery of St. Michael. The history of this ancient and celebrated abbey presents an interesting and lengthened detail of the labours of St. Maccallin. That territory was not yet recovered from the wars and revolutions by which it had for centuries been agitated. Ignorance and degeneracy of morals had, to a frightful extent, pervaded all ranks, while the clergy themselves, harrassed by a severe mission, stood in need of some experienced men to assist them in the discharge of their numerous duties. On every occasion Maccallin was a never-failing auxiliary, and in consequence of his extraordinary exertions, his name has been mentioned with great praise by the writers of those times, and in various martyrologies. About the year 950, St. Cadroe, at the urgent request of Otho, king of Germany, undertook the government of Walciodorus, and was afterwards abbot of the monastery of St. Felix, at Metz, where he died, in 975. St. Maccallin returned to the monastery in the forest, in which retreat he continued until his death, which occurred on the 21st January, A.D. 978.

St. Fingen, a native of Ireland, and an eminent master of a spiritual life, became the immediate successor of St. Cadroe in the monastery of Metz.‡ About the close of this century, the ancient abbey of St. Symphorian, which had almost

* Mabillon, Annal.; Vit. Cadroe. † Bollandus, at 21st Jan.
‡ Mabillon, Annal. Bened.

become a ruin, was rebuilt by Adalbero II., bishop of Metz, and this prelate having a great esteem for the learning and sanctity of Fingen, caused that abbey to be forthwith placed under his direction. Adalbero was a great encourager of Irish missioners: he obtained from Otho III. a confirmation of the rights and possessions of this establishment, on condition that none but Irish monks should be allowed into its community; if, however, such postulants did not apply, the abbot was then at liberty to admit persons of any other nation. This deed was signed by the emperor at Frankfort, on the 25th of January, A.D. 992. Nor were the labours of Fingen confined to Metz; he founded, or at least re-established, several monasteries in these districts, to which both Germany and the north of France had been greatly indebted. Among these, the monastery of St. Peter and St. Vitonus, now St. Vannes, at Verdun, is particularly mentioned. In this establishment he placed a community of Irish monks, and took them under his own direction. Soon after its foundation, Richard, dean of the diocese of Rheims, and Frederick, count of Verdun, applied to him for permission to become members of this house. Fingen had been for some time unwilling to receive them, conceiving that men of their rank would not so easily submit to the poverty and rigorous discipline of the monastery; in this, however, he was mistaken; and under his instruction they became two of the most eminent men of these times. St. Fingen died in the year 1004, and was succeeded in the government of the monastery by Richard, his zealous and beloved disciple.*

The reputation of Irish ecclesiastics, as teachers of science and of morality, had in this age become so celebrated, that many of them were invited to retire to the continent, and were particularly patronized. About the year 974, Warinus, archbishop of Cologne, erected an extensive monastery for the Irish in an island of the Rhine.† Another distinguished literary establishment had at this time been conducted by Irishmen, in the diocese of Toul; while Duncan, an Irish bishop, taught at the same period in the monastery of Remigius, at Rheims.‡ This learned prelate has written, for the use of his scholars, explanatory observations on the first book of Pomponius Mela, regarding the situation of the earth; also a commentary on the nine books of Martianus Capella on the Liberal Arts. Duncan, having been thus employed for many years, died at Rheims about the close of the tenth century.

* Mabillon, at A. 1004. † Id. at A. 974. ‡ Hist.

CHAPTER II.

Successors of St. Patrick—Episcopal Sees—Religious Foundations of the Tenth Century.

The incumbency of Maelbrigid in the metropolitan see continued until 926. His successor was Joseph, styled in the Ulster Annals "prince of Armagh, a bishop, a wise man, and an anchoret."* On the death of Maelbrigid, the sept of Daire, as has been already noticed, seized upon the temporalities of the see of Armagh.† Joseph was the first of that family who had been advanced to the primatial chair; he is allowed to have received consecration, and is represented as a man of extensive learning. It does not appear that his election had obtained the concurrence of the clergy, nor were they, it is probable, even consulted, particularly as these powerful dynasts, availing themselves of the national confusion, were determined to make a monopoly of the see in favour of their own family. However, on Joseph's accession, the clergy became reconciled, and he is represented as "a good and a wise bishop." Joseph held the see for nine years, and upon his demise in 936, Moelpatrick was appointed his successor. Moelpatrick, although a member of the family of Daire, is allowed by all our annalists to have been a regularly consecrated bishop.‡ He is likewise styled "prince of Armagh," and died after an incumbency of only five months. Catasach II. was consecrated soon after the death of Patrick, and placed by the same family in the archiepiscopal chair. This prelate is styled in the Ulster Annals son of Dulgan and comorban of St. Patrick. Catasach, having governed the see twenty years, died in 957; and upon his demise, Muredach, son of Fergus, was appointed in the same manner as his predecessor had been, and was soon after consecrated. Muredach having held the see for nine years, was, according to the Psalter of Cashel, deposed in 966. O'Flaherty, on the authority of a manuscript catalogue, says that he resigned the see after having governed it for seven years, and that he died in the ninth year of his consecration. The Cashel catalogue, however, appears to have been preferred, and adopted, according to which, his incumbency [illegible] down to 966. Dubdaletire II. succeeded Muredach, and was consecrated archbishop of Armagh in 966. In consequence of

* Ware, at Armagh. † See chap. i. ‡ Tr. Th[illegible]

his great wisdom, this prelate had, in 989, been elected by the Columbians both of Ireland and of North Britain, chief superior of all their monasteries;* although, according to their primitive institute, no person could be superior of that body unless a simple priest. The incumbency of Dubdalethe continued thirty-two years; he died in 998, and was succeeded by MURECHAN. This prelate, having governed the see for three years, resigned it in 1001.† He has been considered by Colgan as one of the lay usurpers of the primatial chair. This opinion, however, is not confirmed by the authority of any sufficient record; the reasons, moreover, by which that writer endeavours to support it, appear altogether unsatisfactory. It is impossible to identify all these eight laymen who styled themselves archbishops of this see,‡ and it is believed that their names have been omitted in the Cashel catalogue. The consecration of Murechan has been generally admitted: he was succeeded in 1001 by MALMURY, the son of Eochad.

THE SEE OF CASHEL derives its foundation from the tenth century, and had for its first bishop Cormac MacCulinan, in whom, as has been already observed, the mitre and the sceptre were both united.§ Before the time of Cormac, Cashel, although the residence of the kings of Munster, had been subject to the jurisdiction of the bishops of Emly; but it was raised to the rank of an archiepiscopal see in the council of Kells, A.D. 1152. Cormac erected a cathedral in Cashel, which, according to the annals of the Priory of the Island of All Saints, was afterwards rebuilt and consecrated with great solemnity. This records of the see are very imperfect for a long time after the death of Cormac. Between that prelate and the council of Kells, comprehending a period of 244 years, the names of only four of its bishops are mentioned; while their acts, as well as those of other eminent ecclesiastics, have been completely destroyed.

The foundation of THE SEE OF RAPHOE must, in all probability, be dated from the tenth century; yet its origin remains involved in considerable obscurity. An extensive monastery had been founded in Raphoe by St. Columbkill, and according to some authorities, the church of this establishment was, in after times, converted into a cathedral by St. Eunan, who is considered to have been its first bishop. The time, however, in which St. Eunan flourished cannot be ascertained.‖ It is

* Tr. Th. p. 503. † Psalter of Cashel. ‡ See cent. xi. § See chap. i.

‖ Doctor Lanigan, treating of Adamnan as abbot of Raphoe in the seventh century, seems to think that this distinguished father of the Irish Church had been the same person as the St. Eunan mentioned by the writers. His words

certain that there had been bishops in Raphoe during the tenth century. Malduin Mac-Kinnfalaid was bishop of that diocese in 930,* and after him occurs the name of his successor Aengus Hua Lapain, whose death is assigned to 957. From that period until the incumbency of Gilbert O'Caran in 1172, even the names of the prelates in this see have not been recorded, owing, very probably, to the devastations committed by the Danish leader Aulifle, particularly in this warlike district of Ulster.

Of all the sees in Ireland, that of Ferns suffered most from the Danish invasion, during which both churches and libraries had been indiscriminately committed to the flames. This may account for the silence observed by all our annalists relative to the ancient succession in this diocese. It is a singular fact, that during the lapse of three hundred and thirty-four years, that is, between Killen, who was bishop of Ferns in 714, and Dermit Hua-Rodachan, who was the incumbent in 1048, there is mention made of only one prelate in this see, which had for so many years maintained an honorary precedence among the bishoprics of Leinster. In Colgan's list from the Four Masters, Laidgnen is marked as comorban or bishop of this see, and his death is assigned to 938.† Ferns did not at this time possess the archiepiscopal dignity, or rather precedency, which had been conferred on it in the days of St. Aidan. This ecclesiastical distinction was transferred from Ferns to Kildare in the beginning of the ninth century, after it had been enjoyed by the former for more than two hundred years.

The history of the monastic foundations presents almost a continued series of sacrilege and destruction. During the course of this century, the ancient abbey of Clonmacnois was eleven times pillaged by the Danes, in which profanation some of the Momonians had, on two occasions, assisted.‡ The work of ruin carried on in the foregoing age did not, however,

are: "I strongly suspect that St. Euman, who is usually called the first bishop of Raphoe, was no other than Adamnan; not that Adamnan was ever a bishop, for were he so, he could not have become abbot of Hy; but that he was the ancient patron saint of that place before it became an episcopal see. Colgan never mentions this St. Euman, nor could Ware ever discover any account of him. The first bishop of Raphoe that we meet with [illegible] Mac-Kinnfalaid who died about 930. These observations are not sufficient to show that Adamnan has been changed into St. Euman; but it is a very remarkable circumstance that the festival of the saint called Euman is kept on the 23rd of September. Now this was the day on which Adamnan died, and on which his memory was revered not only at Raphoe, but in many other churches."—Vol. iii. p. 99. Taking all these circumstances into account, the conjecture, it must be admitted, is both ingenious and plausible.

* Tr. Th. p. 509; Ware, bishops.

† AA. SS. p. 223. ‡ Annals of Munster.

discourage some religious benefactors from evincing their respect towards this venerable establishment. In the year 901, Flan, king of Meath, and the abbot Colman, enlarged the church by the addition of a splendid capella, designated the temple of the kings; and soon after, Colman erected the great church, in which the patron saint lies interred.* To this century is assigned the foundation of the abbey of St. Mary, in Dublin.†

When the Danes of Leinster had been satiated with the plunder of Clonmacnois, they usually passed through Kildare, and on all these occasions the ancient monastery of that town appears to have been marked out as the object of their fury. Kildare, during the tenth century, had been eleven times stormed by the Danes, and these invaders, after having destroyed the town and the churches, carried away many of the inhabitants as captives, together with the whole of their most valuable effects. The depredations committed in 962 even surpassed any of those which this ancient place had as yet witnessed: the town was consumed, the inhabitants were put to the sword, and a great number of ecclesiastics were either put to death or made captive.‡

While these scenes of terror had been repeated in the province of Leinster, the religious foundations of the south were not exempt from their share of the national calamity. The abbey of Cork had been plundered and consumed three times in one year; while the monastery and schools of Lismore presented the appearance of a place abandoned by man and given up to desolation.§

The ninth and tenth centuries form one dismal night of persecution, in which the monastic foundations principally suffered. The eleventh century, however, presents a brighter prospect; while in subsequent times, new orders were established, and religious retreats were seen rising up and flourishing in every district throughout the country.

* AA. SS. p. 407. † See cent. xii. c. ii. ‡ Tr. Th. p. 629. § Four Masters.

CHAPTER III.

Religious and Literary Characters of the Tenth Century—General Observations.

The Church of Ireland, even amidst the terrors of these times, had by no means been deficient in learned and saintly men. Among these may be noticed:

St. Anatolius, the patron saint of the chief collegiate church of Salins, in the diocese of Besançon. This apostolic man was a native of Ireland, and in the commencement of this century emigrated to the continent.* Anatolius had been a bishop before he departed from his own country; but it does not appear that he was attached to any see. Having travelled to Rome, he continued for some years in that city, where his extensive acquaintance with the Scriptures and the Fathers soon brought him into notice, and he was appointed to deliver lectures in some of the principal schools. Being, however, desirous of leading a retired life, Anatolius left that city and travelled into France. During his stay in Burgundy, his labours in preaching the Gospel were incessant; and after having traversed the greater part of these extensive districts, he at length arrived at the city of Salins, in the diocese of Besançon.† At a small distance from the city, and at the foot of a dreary mountain, stood an oratory dedicated to St. Symphorian, martyr of Autun. Thither Anatolius repaired, and knowing it to be a place which Providence had marked out for his retreat, he prayed for a time in the oratory, and determined on fixing his abode in a sequestered hermitage. Here this penitential anchoret soon after closed his mortal career, but not until his sanctity had been recognized by the faithful in Salins and the surrounding country. Several churches in that diocese have been dedicated to his name, and particularly one of the four parish churches of the city of Salins, situated on the mountain, at the south side of which is the hermitage of St. Anatolius. The body of the saint was, in the eleventh century, removed to the principal church of Salins, while in 1229 Nicholas, bishop of Besançon, had it placed in a silver shrine and deposited in the same church.

St. Maimbodus, another Irish ecclesiastic, retired from his native country early in the tenth century, and travelled through

* Bollandus, Vit. † Colgan, at 3rd Feb.

many parts of the continent, for the purpose of preaching the Gospel.* His labours had been particularly directed to the northern districts of Italy and Gaul, and having at length arrived in Burgundy, he was hospitably entertained by a pious nobleman, who pressed him earnestly to take up his abode in that territory. Maimbodus, however, conceiving that his services might be more necessary in other places, proceeded on his journey, and stopped at the small village of Domnipetra, eight miles from Besançon. On his departure from this place, and at a small distance from the village, he was met by robbers, who, being disappointed in their expectation of getting money, wounded him in such a manner that he died on the spot. The body of the saint was buried by the faithful in the church of St. Peter in that village, but was afterwards translated with great solemnity to Montbelliard, by order of Berengarius, bishop of Besançon. The same prelate decreed that the memory of St. Maimbodus should be celebrated in the diocese of Besançon on the 23rd of January, the anniversary of his death.

The learned and saintly Dunchad O'Braoin flourished about the middle of the tenth century.† This saint was of the illustrious family of the Nialls, and was born in a district of the county of Westmeath now called the barony of Brawny. At an early age he repaired to the monastery of Clonmacnois, where he embraced the monastic state, and made great progress in learning and piety. Dunchad gave lectures on the sacred Scriptures in the schools of that establishment, and was considered the most eminent among the divines of the Irish Church in this century. The applause which his learning had now elicited became so great, that Dunchad formed the determination of retiring for ever from public life. For this purpose he withdrew to a desert place in the mountains of Ely O'Carol, where he shut himself up and lived as an anchoret for many years. On the death, however, of Tuathal, who had been both abbot and bishop of Clonmacnois, in 969, Dunchad was unanimously elected to succeed him in the abbacy, and having been brought from his retreat, was reluctantly compelled to undertake the government of it. His love for retirement would not allow him to remain long in this exalted situation. He accordingly resolved to withdraw to some distant part of Ireland, where he should be altogether secluded from the intercourse of man. In the year 971, Dunchad removed to Armagh, in which place he expected to live retired:

* Colgan, at 23rd Jan. † Id. at 16th Jan.

in this, however, he was disappointed; his reputation for learning and holiness was soon spread throughout that neighbourhood, and so great was the respect which was paid to him that he at length resolved on leaving it. As soon as his determination had been made known to the inhabitants, a deputation, consisting of some of the principal persons of that country, waited on the saint and requested that he would stay with them for one year longer, to which Dunchad with reluctance complied. He is said to have wrought many miracles, and among others, to have restored to life the infant child of a widow. Tigernach, author of the annals of Clonmacnois, says that Dunchad was the last of the Irish saints, up to his time, through whose intercession God restored a dead person to life. A year having elapsed, the saint was preparing to depart, when a similar request was made by the people of Armagh; and it was repeated year after year, until at length he died in his hermitage on the 16th of January, A.D. 987.*

Probus or Coenachair, author of the life of St. Patrick, flourished in the tenth century. This eminent man had been chief lecturer in the schools of Slane at the time of the great conflagration in 949. In that year the town of Slane had been stormed by the Danes; while Probus with many others fled for shelter into the belfry of the church, when they were consigned to the flames.† The life of St. Patrick written by Probus consists of two books, and is admired as one of the most circumstantial and correct records which the piety of ancient times has handed down to us on that interesting subject.

The tenth century produced, likewise, a great number of scribes and chronographers, who taught in the different schools of the provinces, but of whose acts no satisfactory narrative appears to have been transmitted. In this catalogue, the name of Kineth, scribe and professor of Derry, is honourably recorded; and of Paulinus, chief scribe of Leth-cuin, to whom Probus addressed his life of St. Patrick. Among other eminent men noticed in this catalogue, we find Colman, lecturer in the schools of Kildare; Flan, professor in Drumcliffe and a celebrated Irish chronographer; Cronmail, lecturer in Tallaght; Mac-Siedul, lecturer in Bangor; Mac-Feredach, lecturer in Castledermot; O'Flanagan, scribe of Armagh; O'Huactain, of Kells; Odran, of Clonmacnois; and a host of others, whose solitary names have been recorded in our annals, and are occasionally accompanied by some distinctive term, serving to

* Acta Dunch. † Tr. Th. p. 219.

indicate the ecclesiastical dignity which the individual enjoyed, or the department of literature in which he excelled.

The ecclesiastical, as well as the political, history of Ireland during the tenth century, appears to form one uninterrupted series of both private and national calamities. The invasions of the Danes, and the unprecedented scenes by which they had been accompanied might, no doubt, be accounted as so many temporal visitations. The ways of Heaven are, however, mysterious: Providence has its own grand object in view; and that object it will attain by instruments simple and ordinary, and even without man being conscious of the work, which, by the dispensations of Heaven, he is destined to accomplish. When the Goths and Vandals in the fifth century came down from their forests, and broke through the barriers of the Roman empire, and at length became masters of the Capitol, the result was, that although much public and private calamity had been occasioned, yet all terminated in one splendid event—in the conversion of a people who, from their localities, habits, and other circumstances, could not be easily approached by missionaries, and most likely would not in any other way have been visited by the light of the Gospel. With respect to the Danes in the tenth century, the case seems to be of a parallel description. We have at this period the Scandinavians dispersed over a frozen and an almost impenetrable region—men unacquainted with civilized life, locked out, as it were, from the rest of their fellow-creatures, and given up to the mere impulse of destitute fallen nature. Conversion with respect to such a people almost sets what may be called ordinary power at defiance. It were, indeed, less difficult for the Christians of earlier times to convert the Goth and the Vandal; and whatever might have been the occasional intercourse between the rude inhabitants of the German forests, and their really civilized and polished neighbours in the south, no such argument holds good for the poor Norwegian of the tenth century, seeking for a subsistence on an almost frozen ocean, or the Scandinavian whom necessity compelled to abandon his trackless forest and join his Norwegian associate in the work of enterprize. Their object had been, no doubt, a worldly one; but they were brought from their deserts by the unsearchable ways of Providence, and for the purpose of having the important truths of revelation conveyed to their minds. The instruments by which the Gospel was established have been various and wonderful; and the light of Christianity has been diffused, not only by missioners visiting the land of the infidel, but by

Providence itself leading the very infidel into the country and into the sanctuary where his conversion will be inevitably effected. Now, this appears to have been the very case with the Danes. This unsettled and piratical people, although frequently repulsed, had at length gained a footing in Ireland. They built towns and cities, formed habits of intimacy with the natives, and in process of time became masters of many of the principal maritime districts of the country. In the meantime the Christian Gospel, which sometimes makes its way imperceptibly, but at length brilliantly, soon beamed on these benighted people. The Danes were converted, and became the founders of some of the most excellent and magnificent institutions in the country.

The state of literature in the tenth century is another subject, which might well challenge our consideration; and in this respect Ireland forms a singularly remarkable contrast with many of the other nations of Europe. From the manner in which the kingdoms of the continent had been so long convulsed, we may be allowed to suppose that literary pursuits had been almost abandoned. In this age, however, many successful efforts had been made by statesmen and princes, and especially by the emperor Otho, to repair the moral ruin which the events of bygone days had occasioned. For this reason it was that Fingen, Duncan, and other Irishmen had been so peculiarly patronized at Rheims, Metz, Verdun, and along the territories of France and Germany. Learning had been revived by Irishmen in the imperial city of Cologne; they taught the classics and the sciences in the extensive diocese of Toul; they established schools along the Rhine, in the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the northern districts of Italy; in short, the Irish ecclesiastics of the tenth and preceding centuries were the persons by whose means the reign of literature had been established in many of the most distinguished cities and provinces of Europe. If to these facts may be added the schools which had been formed by Irishmen in Glastonbury and other places, we must be fairly allowed to infer that, even in the midst of the Danish wars, the cultivation of letters had been encouraged and admirably upheld in this country.

ELEVENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Christianity embraced by the Danes throughout Ireland—The Danes of Dublin governed by a Bishop—Origin and antiquity of the See of Dublin investigated—The Archbishops of Canterbury never enjoyed jurisdiction over the Irish Church—Letters of Lanfranc—Letter of pope Gregory VII—Irish establishments at Ratisbon—State of Irish literature in the eleventh century.

The very causes which urged the Danes to abandon the regions of the north, and set out in quest of new and more advantageous settlements, may, with probability, be numbered among those ordinary means employed by Providence in effecting the total conversion of that people. It has been already noticed that the Danes of Dublin had, in the tenth century, embraced the faith; their countrymen, however, who had settled in Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and other places, were still obstinate pagans; nor does it appear that they had generally embraced the Gospel, until by being humbled, the season for cool reflection arrived, and the ferocity of the warrior thus gave way to the meekness and more kindly feelings of the Christian convert. From the year 976, when Brian Boroimhe succeeded his brother Mahon on the throne of Munster, the Danish power had been generally unsuccessful in the field; one defeat was followed by another still more disastrous, until at length the fatal blow was struck and their overthrow accomplished by the same renowned warrior, in the memorable battle of Clontarf, A.D. 1014.

From this period the Danes ceased to be formidable, and appear to have been exclusively limited to the few maritime towns of which they happened at the time to have possession. It is at such a season, and under such circumstances, that men generally feel inclined to turn their thoughts to the more serious truths of religion. For this reason we find that these Northmen, in Limerick, Waterford, and other towns, began rapidly to abandon paganism; so that before the middle of this century, the Danish people throughout Ireland had embraced Christianity.

The Danes of Dublin, although converted to the Christian

faith in the tenth century, were, nevertheless, without a bishop. When, however, Sitric their king had returned from a pilgrimage which he had undertaken, he used all his influence to have the Danish town of Dublin erected into a see. Accordingly Donatus, or more properly Dunan, was, in 1040, consecrated its first bishop.*

This statement, although a very general one, and resting on the best authority, has nevertheless been questioned. For the purpose of giving the see of Dublin a claim to higher antiquity, some writers have had recourse to the period in which St. Rumold flourished; maintaining, at the same time, that this prelate had been the regularly constituted ordinary of that see, and as such had attended to its administration for some years antecedent to his missionary labours on the continent. Should this doctrine be satisfactorily established, it will follow that Dublin had been an episcopal see in the year 760, and that consequently, as far as antiquity may be in question, it has gained an accession of nearly three hundred years. Hence arises the necessity of examining the authorities on which this opinion is made to rest, and of contrasting them with the documents produced by those who insist that the see of Dublin dates its origin from the year 1040. Those writers who maintain that St. Rumold had been bishop of Dublin as an episcopal see, ground their doctrine principally on the following authorities: first, on the Belgian Martyrology; secondly, on the Carthusian Martyrology, edited at Cologne; thirdly, on the testimony of the synod of Mechlin, held in 1570; fourthly, on the Chronicle of the Benedictine Order; and fifthly, on the Acts of St. Rumold, translated from the Belgian by Joannes Domynsius, in the eleventh century. The Belgian Martyrology, treating of St. Rumold, has these words:† "St. Rumold, archbishop and martyr, having relinquished his country, his parents, his nobility, and his *archbishopric of Dublin*, came to Rome from that part of *Scotia* which is called Ireland (Hibernia), and after having received the benediction of the pontiff, he, according to the apparition of an angel, came to that place where the river Scald disembogues itself into the sea; that is, he came to Mechlin, where he planted the rudiments of the faith in such a manner, that he is deservedly

* Ussher, Not. ad Ep. 25, Syl.

† "Sanctus Rumoldus, archiepiscopus et martyr, ex ea parte Scotiæ quæ Hibernia dicitur, disertis patria, parentibus, nobilitate et archiepiscopatu Dubliniensi, Romam ivit, et inde habita Pontificis benedictione, juxta angeli apparitionem eó pervenit, ubi Scaldis fluvius in mare se exonerat . . . hoc est, ad Mechliniam, ubi sic fidei rudimenta plantavit, ut merito Mechliniensium apostolus habeatur."

accounted the apostle of the Mechlinians." The words of the Carthusian Martyrology are:* "The festival of St. Rumold, bishop and martyr, son of the king of Ireland, and *archbishop of Dublin*." To these authorities is added the following ordinance of the synod of Mechlin:† "Whereas, St. Rumold, *archbishop*‡ and martyr, is the patron of the metropolitan church of Mechlin, and is, therefore, deservedly to be venerated throughout the whole province; the synod ordains that on the first of July, the day on which he suffered martyrdom, his festival be celebrated in the city and throughout the entire diocese as a double, in the same manner as a feast of nine lessons. The Benedictine Chronicle, in recording the events of the year 775, supplies an evidence of a similar description.§ "This year the most holy Rumold has consecrated by his martyrdom, who, descended of a noble family in Ireland, after having resigned the *archiepiscopal see of Dublin*, repaired first to Great Britain and Belgium, and from thence to Rome, the citadel of religion." In short, the Acts of St. Rumold, as delivered by Domynsius, afford the same testimony; representing the martyr, not only as a bishop, but, moreover, as archbishop of the diocese of Dublin.‖

Having thus presented a fair statement of the grounds on which the advocates for the antiquity of the see of Dublin undertake to establish their opinion, it now becomes necessary to place before the reader the arguments of those who insist that the see of Dublin had been founded under Sitric, in the year 1040. In confirmation of this fact, these writers refer to the best of all possible authorities, namely, to the ancient records of the see itself. In the Black Book (*Liber Niger*) of Christ Church, in Dublin, is to be seen a recorded document in these words: "Sitricus, king of Dublin, son of

* "Festum Sancti Rumoldi, episcopi et martyris, filii regis Hiberniæ et archiepiscopi Dubliniensis."

† "Quoniam Sanctus Rumoldus, archiepiscopus et martyr, patronus est ecclesiæ metropolitanæ Mechliniensis, ideoque per totam provinciam Mechliniensem merito veneratus, ordinat synodus, ut primo Julii, quo martyrium subiit, per civitatem et totam diœcesem tamquam duplex ad instar festi novem lectionum celebretur."

‡ The term "archbishop," as found in this passage, shows that Rumold was, in the minds of the fathers of the synod, archbishop of Dublin. It could not refer to the archiepiscopal see of Mechlin, which had not been raised to a metropolitan rank until the year 1559, or nearly eight centuries after the death of the saint.

§ "Annum hunc martyrio suo Sanctissimus Rumoldus consecravit. Qui in Hibernia nobili stemmate natus, abdicato archiepiscopatu Dublinensis, Britanniam magnam primum Belgumque petivit et inde religionis arcem Romam."—Chron. Bened. ap. Ath. Ypres. tom. ii.

‖ Vide Acta Rumoldi, ap. H. Yardeum.

Ableb (Anlaf), earl of Dublin, gave to the Holy Trinity, and to Donatus, *first bishop of Dublin*, a place where the arches or vaults were founded, to build thereon the church of the Holy Trinity (now Christ Church), together with the following lands: viz., Bealdulek, Rechen, Partrahern, with their villains, cattle and corn. He also contributed gold and silver enough, wherewith to build the church and the whole court thereof." This document, ancient and consistent as it is, supplies us with an authority which cannot be questioned; hence it has been followed by Ware, Ussher, and in fact by all our most approved antiquarians. With respect to the Belgian and Carthusian martyrologies already noticed, it may be proper to observe, that we know not the period in which they had been written, or who had been their compilers, and above all, we are totally unacquainted with the sources from which these compilers had drawn their information. These martyrologies had, in all probability, been composed in the sixteenth century, and the authors of them might have been misinformed; there is, moreover,—an important expression contained in every one of these documents which cannot, with any propriety, be passed by unnoticed,—an expression amounting to a glaring inaccuracy, and in itself sufficient to upset the credibility of any evidence. In all of them, be it remarked, St. Rumold is represented not only as bishop, but even as archbishop of Dublin. Now it is beyond all controversy that the see of Dublin had not been raised to an archiepiscopal rank until the twelfth century (1152), at which time Cardinal Paparo arrived in this country, and distributed the palliums at the council of Kells.* When absurdities of this description are found mixed up with an important public document, what value can be possibly set upon it? the statement, so far as regards the rank of the individual, must in the judgment of every impartial critic stand rejected.

Donatus, as has been noticed, was chosen to preside over the see of Dublin: that he was an Irishman, and that he had been consecrated in Ireland, are facts which cannot upon any grounds be disputed.† He governed the see until 1074, in which year he died, and was buried in his own cathedral of the Holy Trinity, at the right hand side of the high altar.

The consecration of Donatus forms an event by means of which we are enabled to trace the origin of the see of Dublin; while the incumbency of his successor, leads us to subjects of a more general extent, and in some respects interwoven with the

* See cent. xii. chap. i. † See chap. ii.

character of the Church of Ireland at this period. On the death of Donatus, the clergy and people of Dublin elected an Irishman named Patrick his successor.* William the Conqueror had now been seated on the throne of England; and Lanfranc, who had come over with the Normans, was archbishop of Canterbury. The Danes of Dublin, being a colony of Norwegians, looked on the Normans as their countrymen; and considering the unbounded sway which these people had at that time enjoyed in Britain, the former were on that account the more anxious to seize the first opportunity of forming a friendly correspondence with them. These had been the reasons which urged Gothric, their king, to propose that Patrick should be sent to Lanfranc for consecration. Accordingly, Patrick sailed for England, furnished with a letter from the clergy and people of Dublin, in the following words:† "To the venerable metropolitan of the holy Church of Canterbury, Lanfranc, the clergy and the people of the Church of Dublin offer due obedience. It is known to your paternity, that the Church of Dublin, which is the metropolis of the island of Ireland, is bereft of its pastor and destitute of a ruler. We have, therefore, chosen a priest, named Patrick, very well known to us, of noble birth and conduct, versed in apostolical and ecclesiastical discipline, in faith a Catholic, cautious as to the meaning of the Scriptures, and well trained in ecclesiastical dogmas, who, we request, may be ordained bishop for us as soon as possible, that under the authority of God, he may be able to preside over us regularly and be useful to us; and that under his government, we may be able to combat with advantage. For the integrity of superiors constitutes the safety of the subjects; and where there is the healthfulness of obedience, there the form of instruction is salutary." On the delivery of this letter, Patrick was received by Lanfranc, and shortly after was consecrated by him in St. Paul's Church, London. The profession of obedience which Patrick made at his consecration was as follows:‡ "Whoever presides over others ought not to scorn to be subject to others, but rather make it his study to humbly render, in God's name, to his superiors, the obedience which he expects from those who are placed under him. On this account, I, Patrick, elected prelate to govern Dublin, the metroplis of Ireland, do, reverend father Lanfranc, primate of the *Britains*§ (Britanniarum) and archbishop of the holy Church

* See chap. ii. † Ussher. Syl. 25. ‡ Ware's Bishops.
§ Or, what amounts to the same, primate of *Great Britain*.

of Canterbury, offer to thee this charter of my profession; and I promise to obey thee and thy successors in all things appertaining to the Christian religion."

From the tenor of this profession of obedience made by Patrick, and especially from his having acknowledged Lanfranc as primate of Great Britain (in the original Britanniarum), some English writers have attempted to maintain, that Lanfranc and his predecessors had held a metropolitan jurisdiction over the Irish Church.* To support this opinion the more forcibly, they have grossly mistranslated the term *Britanniarum* by making it signify the British isles, among which, by adopting modern phraseology, Ireland would of course be included. If, however, the expression *Britanniarum*, as it stands in the original, be considered, it must be acknowledged that it signified in reality Great Britain. It was usual with many ancient authors, when speaking of Britain, to use the plural number (*Britanniæ*), and in illustration of this, several instances might be adduced from Bede. That venerable writer, alluding to the emperor Claudius, says: "Going into Britain (*Britannias*), he reduced the most part of the *island* under his subjection;"† and after having given the ecclesiastical history of every part of Britain, he repeatedly uses the term *Britanniarum*.‡ The fact is, when the Romans had conquered Britain, they divided the country into provinces, and these several provinces went by the names of *Britannia prima*, *Britannia secunda*, etc., and hence the whole country, from north to south, was generally known by the plural name *Britanniæ*. Ireland, however, was at no period subject to the Romans, nor was it ever considered a part of Britain. During all this time, Ireland had her own kings, and while Britain was subdued and mutilated, Ireland was a free and an independent nation, and was known over Europe by the ancient name of *Scotia*. The Church of Ireland also, from the days of her apostle, had been governed by her own primate; under his metropolitan jurisdiction had her whole hierarchy been placed, nor can the supporters of English primatial authority adduce *one solitary instance of the archbishops of Canterbury having interfered in the ecclesiastical concerns of Ireland* before the consecration of Patrick for the Danish city of Dublin. So far were the archbishops of Canterbury from having metropolitan authority over the Church of Ireland, that their jurisdiction did not, in former times, extend even over *all Britain*. It was acknowledged only

* Cressy, b. 13; Dr. Milner's Tour, p. 164.

† Claudius *Britannias* adiens, plurimam *insulæ* partem in deditionem recepit. —L. 5. c. 24. ‡ Id.

in those places which had been subject to the Anglo-Saxons; the British Scots never recognized it, while the northern Picts were, it is well known, always subject to the Irish abbot of Hy.

This groundless doctrine was first started during the disputes which had taken place between the sees of York and Canterbury relative to the primacy. In 1072 a council had been held in Winchester for the purpose of deciding this question, and at which William the Conqueror was present. As an argument for supporting the cause of Canterbury, it was asserted in that council, that the prelates of Canterbury had always enjoyed a metropolitan right, not only over the churches of Great Britain, but also over those of Ireland;* and this assumption they pretended to establish upon the authority of Bede. It happens, however, that in all the works of that venerable writer, not one sentence appears in support of such an assertion. Equally groundless is the opinion of those who maintain that Augustine, who came to Britain in the sixth century, was possessed of, at least, a legatine jurisdiction over the Irish Church. Augustine never presumed to exercise such a power; the prelates and ancient annalists of Ireland knew nothing about it; and even supposing that he had been invested with such jurisdiction, it by no means follows that it should descend to his successors. It was, indeed, at that time imperatively necessary that Augustine should be entrusted with legatine authority over Britain,† on account of the distracted state of religion in that country, and the general decline of morals and discipline which immediately followed the Saxon invasion; but as regards Ireland, no such causes existed. The Irish Church was at that period pre-eminently distinguished for both order and discipline; and for piety and learning she stood unrivalled among the churches of the Christian world.

The consecration of Patrick by the archbishop of Canterbury was a proceeding which met at once the general displeasure of the Irish prelates; however, the matter had been tolerated merely out of respect for Lanfranc's learning and eminent character, and as a still further step by which some secure and permanent conciliation might be effected between the native Irish and the Danes.

Patrick remained but a short time in Britain. On [illegible] to Ireland he received from Lanfranc the usual testi[illegible] of his consecration, together with two letters,‡ one addressed to Turlogh, king of Ireland, and the other to Gothric, who

* Fleury, l. 61, 51.

although styled king of the Danes, was at the time but merely a vassal, having submitted to Turlogh in 1073. In these letters, and particularly in the one addressed to Gothric, Lanfranc refers to some abuses which, he understood, had at that time prevailed in Ireland. Instances, he says, had occurred of men abandoning their lawful wives without assigning any canonical cause, and of taking to themselves others who were within the degrees of consanguinity; and that in Dublin it sometimes happened that men even exchanged their wives.

Had such abominable abuses existed, they certainly must have been confined to the Danes.* The charge, however, cannot be consistently supposed to affect any portion of Turlogh's Irish subjects, particularly when we consider that they would have been in open violation of the canons of St. Patrick,† and that these canons had been looked upon with almost sacred veneration by the native inhabitants of Ireland. If, therefore, these abominations had at any time taken place, they must be known only amongst the Danes, some of whom might not, even as yet, have totally forsaken their long-cherished and favourite Scandinavian barbarities. The same letter took notice of three other practices, and condemned them as repugnant to apostolical authority, to the sacred canons, and to the institutions of all the orthodox Fathers. The first was, that holy orders had been administered by bishops for money; the second, that bishops had been consecrated by only one bishop; and the third, that infants were baptized without the consecrated chrism having been used. The first of these abuses alluded to in this letter, if any such had taken place, could not by any means be justified. A solitary instance might possibly have occurred, but there is no other authority for it having been practised except this one letter, the writer of which might have been misinformed. The subject of the remaining two charges (it may be proper to observe) could not in those times be considered an abuse,

* Ussher, in his note on these letters, remarks, that the custom of dismissing wives was prevalent among the Anglo-Saxons and in Scotland; a remnant of it may be still discerned in England, where wives are to this day sometimes sold in the public market.

† The fifth canon ordains: "If the wife of any man [illegible] adultery, the injured husband shall not marry another as long as the wife lives; but should she turn from her evil ways and repent, he shall receive her, and she shall serve him as a handmaid, and do penance for a whole year on bread and water, and that by measure." And if a woman should attempt to abandon her husband and marry another, she was, by the 19th canon, excommunicated. "The Clerics [illegible] and afterwards leave him, and in adultery join another, shall for this be excommunicated."—19th of the Synod of Patrick, Auxilius, and Iserninus.

contrary to apostolical authority, and to the institutions of the Fathers. It frequently happened in those days that bishops had been consecrated in Ireland by only one bishop; but then they were the *Chorepiscopi*, not the regular ordinaries of sees;* and it was lawful, in virtue of an ancient canon of the Church, to have the chorepiscopus consecrated by a single bishop. Neither could the omission of the chrism in baptism be properly called an abuse, the application of it being merely a ceremony, and by no means essential to the validity of the sacrament. It is well known that in the primitive ages of the Church, when baptism had been administered by bishops, the sacrament of confirmation, to which chrism was essential, immediately followed. When, however, the missionary duties had in after times devolved on priests, the use of the chrism was still observed as a ceremony in baptism, the priest applying it to the top of the head; whereas in confirmation, the bishop applies it to the forehead of the person about to be confirmed. It is very remarkable that Lanfranc had not at that time addressed any letter to the primate or to the prelates of Ireland on these subjects, as he, no doubt, would have done had he possessed either metropolitan or legatine jurisdiction over them. Patrick governed the see of Dublin until 1084, when he was shipwrecked and drowned on his way from that city to England.†

About this time, various efforts had been made to enforce the doctrine by which some of the popes endeavoured to claim a temporal sovereignty over princes; and to this effect Turlogh, who was then at the summit of his power, received an epistle from pope Gregory VII.‡ This letter, which had been dated from Sutri, was addressed not only to the monarch himself, but likewise to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, nobles, and to all Christians inhabiting Ireland. That part of it, in which Gregory insinuates his temporal authority over Ireland, runs in these words: "The authority of Christ has founded his holy Church on a solid rock, and has committed its rights to the blessed Peter, which Church he has likewise constituted over all the kingdoms of the world. To this Church he has subjected the principalities, powers, and everything else which is sublime upon earth, according to the prophet Isaiah: 'The sons of them that slandereth thee, shall come and shall worship the steps of thy feet.' Therefore, to the blessed Peter and his vicars, among whom, by divine dispensation, we happen to be numbered, the whole world owes both obedience and reverence,

* See cent. viii. † Four Masters. ‡ Ussher, Syl. No. 20.

which, with a devout mind, ye shall remember to show to the holy Roman Church. If, therefore, any affairs shall take place amongst ye which may seem to require our assistance, be careful to apply to us at once, and your just demand, with God's help, ye shall obtain."* It is needless to remark, that this doctrine has nothing whatever to do with the tenets of the Catholic faith. It is merely a school question, which had been clamorously agitated at subsequent periods; and, indeed, from the profound silence of our annalists as to the result of the letter itself, it is manifest that no attention had been paid to it in this kingdom.

That the Church of Ireland had, in every age since its foundation, contributed most amply towards the advancement of religion and of literature, has been already abundantly illustrated. By means of its schools and learned professors, the ancient reputation of the country was still sustained, and in the eleventh century, we find Irish ecclesiastics repairing, like their predecessors, to the continent, and becoming the founders of many valuable and celebrated establishments. Among these the ancient literary foundation of Ratisbon, formed by Marianus Scotus, shall be briefly noticed. Marianus Scotus† (who must not be confounded with the celebrated chronographer of that name‡) was a native of the north of Ireland, and in 1068 withdrew to Germany, bringing with him two companions, named John and Candidus.§ They

* "Hujus (Christi) auctoritas sanctam ecclesiam in solida petra fundavit, et beato Petro ejus jura commisit, quam etiam super omnia mundi regna constituit *cui principatus, et potestates, et quicquid in seculo sublime videtur esses subjecit*, illo Isaiæ completo oraculo; 'venient, inquit, ad te curvi detrahentes tibi, et adorabunt vestigia pedum tuorum.' Beato igitur Petro ejusque vicariis, inter quos dispensatio divina nostram quoque sortem annumerari dispensuit, *Orbis universus* obedientiam et reverentiam debet, quam mente devota sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ exhibere reminiscimini. Si qua vero negotia penes vos emerserint, quæ nostro digna videantur auxilio, incunctanter ad nos dirigere studete, et quod juste postulaveritis, Deo auxiliante, impetrabitis."—Ussher, Syllog. No. 29.

† The term *Scoti* was, up to the tenth century, applied exclusively to the natives of Ireland. On the overthrow of the Picts, and the extinction of their kingdom by the Albanian Scots, about the year 900, North Britain, the ancient Albania, gradually assumed the name of Scotia, yet distinguished from the original *Scotia* (Ireland) by the adjuncts, *minor*, *secundior*, *Albanensis*, etc. However, the name *Scotia*, or the term *Scoti*, had been but very rarely applied to North Britain or to its inhabitants until the reign of Edgar, king of A[illegible] in the commencement of the twelfth century. This prince, soon after he ascended the throne, published an edict, setting forth the extent and bound[illegible] of his kingdom, and by virtue of which, that part of Britain was in future to be called by the name of Scotia. Nevertheless, the Irish were, for many years after the death of Edgar, known among the learned by the name of Scoti, as appears from St. Bernard, from Mauritius de Portu (in tit. Script. Oxon.), and others. A learned dissertation on this subject may be found in the Collectanea Sacra by Fleming, "Commentaria ad Vit. S. Columbani."

‡ See chap. ii. § Bollandists at 9th Feb.

remained for some time at Ratisbon, and afterwards became Benedictine monks in the monastery of St. Michael, near Bamberg. Marianus, who, besides his sanctity, had been an eloquent and a learned man, obtained soon after a grant of the church of St. Peter, near Ratisbon, for himself and his companions, which was confirmed by Henry IV. then king of Germany.* This monastery, from the great influx of Irishmen who had repaired to it, became, in a short time, so very celebrated and so well supplied, that in the commencement of the twelfth century, it was found necessary to erect another in the city of Ratisbon, which second establishment was dedicated to St. James. In this manner did the ancient foundation of St. Peter become, as it were, the parent of numberless religious retreats, by which piety and literature had been cherished for ages in that and the adjoining territories. This monastery was particularly celebrated for the number of works, both sacred and profane, which had been transcribed by its monks, among whom it may not be improper to notice another Marianus, under whom Nicholas Breespere, afterwards Adrian IV. had received his education.† Marianus, the founder, continued to govern the monastery of St. Peter at Ratisbon until his death, which occurred in 1088. Besides the collection of works which he had transcribed, Marianus has left some valuable commentaries on the Psalms, deduced, as the preface testifies, from the writings of the primitive Fathers of the Church. These monasteries of Ratisbon, together with those of Wurtzburg, Nuremberg, Vienna, and many others, remained in the hands of Irish ecclesiastics until they were dispossessed by Scotchmen. After the death of Marianus, several applicants from Scotland had been kindly received by the Irish monks, and admitted into the German monasteries. The number of these gradually increased, so that in the thirteenth century, when the term *Scotia* ceased to be generally used as a name for Ireland, the ungrateful Scotch availed themselves of the expression (Scotorum) contained in the original grants, and by that means became, in a short time, the possessors of all these foundations. It is needless to add, that the Irish monks were, before the close of the thirteenth century, compelled to quit those very establishments of which their countrymen had been the founders, and which they had both governed and adorned for so long a period ‡

At this time also, the Irish monastery of Wurtzburg was justly celebrated, and among its distinguished abbots may be

* Colgan. † Chron. Ratisbon. ‡ Chron. Ratisbon.

ranked the learned and venerable Nehemias, who, having resigned his see of Glendaloch, retired to the monastery of Wurtzburg, where he died, A.D. 1085.*

Meanwhile the reputation of Ireland for learning was still supported; and to the ancient schools of Armagh, numbers of English students had been indebted for their education. In 1092, a dreadful conflagration took place in that city, by which the third division of the town, usually called *Trien-Saxon* (because inhabited by English students) was reduced to ashes.† Many of the other ancient establishments had, as well as Armagh, been numerously attended; while literature and civilization began to spread rapidly among the Danes, so that at the close of the eleventh century, the confusion of former times was compelled to give way to national order, and Ireland seemed once more to hail the bright prospects which were opening upon her.

CHAPTER II.

Successors of St. Patrick—Episcopal Sees—Religious Foundations of the Eleventh Century.

THE forbearance with which mere laymen had been allowed to usurp not only the temporalities, but even the title of archbishop of Armagh, in this century, is a matter which cannot be easily accounted for. The country had, no doubt, been distracted by repeated wars between the natives and the Danes, and, in fact, between the Irish princes themselves; it is certain, however, that had Brian survived the victory of Clontarf, these disgraceful abuses, which must have given such scandal to the nation, would be at once and effectually checked. It has been already stated, that the primate Murechan, after an incumbency of three years, resigned his see, and in 1001 was succeeded by MAELMURY, the son of Eochad. Some authors are of opinion, that Maelmury had been one of the lay usurpers. The contrary, however, appears from the account given of him by the Four Masters ‡ According to their testimony, Maelmury was styled "the head of the clergy of western Eur[illegible] the chief of the holy orders of the west, and a most [illegible] doctor." These and other high encomiums, by which his character stands supported, are sufficient to supply the strongest evidence that Maelmury had not been a layman, but, on the

* Colgan, AA. SS. p. 200. † Tr. Th. p 299. ‡ Ap. Tr. Th. p. 298.

contrary, that he had been a regularly ordained bishop. He was greatly distinguished for his learning, and died A.D. 1020.

AMALGAID is marked as the successor of Maelmury, and is generally supposed to be one of the laymen who usurped the title of archbishop of Armagh. Colgan strengthens this opinion by the fact that two of his successors, Mœliosa and Domnald, are called the sons of Amalgaid,* and it may, moreover, be remarked, that during his time there resided in Armagh a regular bishop named Moeltule. This prelate is also styled *bishop* of that see; and it appears that the usual episcopal duties had been constantly performed by him.† Amalgaid made a visitation over Munster, in which he enforced the observance of what was termed the law of St. Patrick; a usage which referred solely to the temporalities of the primatial see, on his decease in 1049.

DUBDALETHE III., who had for many years filled the chair of lecturer in Armagh, became his successor. It cannot be doubted that Dubdalethe was one of the eight laymen alluded to by St. Bernard. Scarcely had he taken the management of the archdiocese into his hands, when Hugh O'Fairreth, who had succeeded him in the professorship, was consecrated, and was constantly styled bishop of Armagh until his death, which occurred in 1056.‡ Dubdalethe was a learned annalist, and compiled the annals of the archbishops of Armagh down to his own time; he died most penitently in 1064,§ having some time previously resigned the see to

CUMASACH. This prelate, who must by no means be confounded with the lay usurpers, continued to govern the archdiocese but a short time. Not long after the death of Dubdalethe, he withdrew from the administration of the diocese, when it was usurped (as the Ulster Annals express it) by

MŒLIOSA, the son of Amalgaid.‖ From the expression employed by the annalist, together with the circumstance of his being the son of Amalgaid, it is certain that Mœliosa had been one of the pseudo-archbishops.¶ In 1068 he made a circuit through Munster, for the purpose of exacting the usual revenues, and held the see until his death, in 1091.

DOMNALD, also the son of Amalgaid, usurped the primatial chair on the death of his brother Mœliosa. He was certainly one of the lay intruders, and appears to have possessed considerable influence among the princes of Ireland. Adopting the example of his predecessor, Domnald made a visitation of

* Tr. Th. p. 302. † Id. p. 298. ‡ Id.
§ Annals of Ulster. ‖ Ware, Bishops. ¶ Tr. Th. p. 302

Munster, Tyrone, and other places, the object of which was, as usual, the temporalities of the see. These abominable proceedings appear to have at length brought down on the people the just indignation of Heaven; for in 1095, a dreadful plague raged throughout the country, which swept away such multitudes, that the towns and villages became deserted. To appease the wrath of divine justice, a general fast was proclaimed throughout Ireland in the year 1096, with which both prelates and people strictly complied;* and about the same time, Coemcomirach O'Boil was consecrated as suffragan or acting bishop of Armagh. According to St. Bernard, there had been eight lay usurpers; four of these have been already noticed, while the names of the others are not given in any one of our annals. What the circumstances were by which this omission had been occasioned, we are not able to determine; it may, however, be remarked, that all these pseudo-archbishops mentioned by the annalists, are said to have died great penitents. Domnald, after having evinced deep sorrow, died at Armagh on the 12th of August, A.D. 1105, and with him terminated those enormous abuses, by which the Church of Ireland had been so long and so grievously distracted.

The ecclesiastical sees established in the eleventh century were those of Dublin and Waterford.

The see of Dublin was established A.D. 1040, under Sitric, king of the Danes, and, as has been already noticed, its first bishop was Donatus, or more correctly Dunan.† Donatus was consecrated in Ireland, and it is strongly conjectured that he had been a bishop even before he was selected by Sitric to preside over Dublin. Neither in the annals of this country nor in any other document, is there the least intimation that Donatus had been consecrated in Canterbury; and it is most certain that the Danes of Dublin had no connexion whatever with that metropolitan see, until after the arrival of the Normans in England, A.D. 1066. On this subject Ussher observes:‡ "The Ostmen, who possessed the three cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, being a colony of Norwegians, and so countrymen to the Normans, when they had seen England subdued by the Conqueror, and Normans advanced to the chief archbishopric there, would needs now assume to themselves the name of Normans also, and cause their bishops to receive their consecration from no other metropolitan but the archbishop of Canterbury. And, forasmuch as they were

* Annals of Innisfallen. † See chap. i. ‡ Discourse on the Religion, etc. chap. viii.

confined within the walls of their own city, the bishops whom they made had no other diocese in which they might exercise their jurisdiction, except the bare circuit of these cities." This new see of Dublin, as well as the Danish power itself, was greatly circumscribed; nor did it extend beyond the walls of the city until some years after the council of Kells, in 1152.

After Donatus had, with the assistance of Sitric, finished his cathedral of the Holy Trinity (Christ Church), and a chapel called St. Michael's, he erected an episcopal palace near it, on the site where the former *Four Courts* stood. Donatus continued to preside over the see of Dublin until 1074, in which year he died, and was buried in his own cathedral.

As the events of the see of Dublin become, after this period, closely interwoven with other portions of our ecclesiastical history, and are, moreover, intrinsically interesting, it will be necessary, in the future arrangement of this work, to attend carefully to the order of the episcopal succession in that see, as well as to the leading occurrences connected with it.

Patrick, or according to the Four Masters, Gilla-Patrick, the successor of Donatus, in 1074 was, as has been already stated, shipwrecked and drowned on the 10th of October, A.D. 1084*

Immediately on the death of Patrick, Donat, or Donough O'Haingly, an Irishman, was promoted to the see of Dublin.† In compliance with the wishes of the Danes, Donat was sent to England for consecration, having been furnished with letters from Turlogh, monarch of Ireland. Donat was kindly received by Lanfranc, and was consecrated by him in the cathedral church of Canterbury. He made his profession of obedience in the following terms: "I, Donatus, prelate of the Church of Dublin, which is situated in Ireland, promise canonical obedience to thee, Lanfranc, archbishop of the holy Church of Canterbury, and to thy successors." This prelate continued to govern the see of Dublin until his death, in 1095, and was succeeded by his nephew, Samuel O'Haingly.

Samuel, on his appointment, was (agreeably to the Danish custom) sent over to Canterbury to be consecrated by Anselm, who had succeeded Lanfranc in the government of that archdiocese. At his consecration, Samuel made the following profession of obedience:‡ "I, Samuel, chosen for the government of the Church of Dublin, which is situate in Ireland, am to be consecrated bishop by thee, Reverend Father Anselm, archbishop of the holy Church of Canterbury, and primate of

* See chap. i. † Ware's Bishops. ‡ Ap. Ussher, Syl

all Britain, do promise that I will observe canonical obedience in all things to thee and to all thy successors."

In the early part of Samuel's incumbency, he received an epistle from Anselm, in which that prelate proceeds to make three very serious complaints: first, that Samuel had given to strangers the books, vestments, and church ornaments which Lanfranc had presented to his uncle Donatus, for the use of the church of the Holy Trinity in Dublin. Secondly, that he removed the monks who performed the offices of said church, and that he refused to receive those who were willing to return. And thirdly, he adds, "I have also heard, that you cause the cross to be carried before you on the way, which, if true, I command you not to reiterate; for this privilege does not belong to any one except to an archbishop, who has been confirmed with the pall by the Roman pontiff. Nor is it fit, that by any presumption relative to an unusual thing, you should appear remarkable or reprehensible before men."* This letter was directed to Malchus, then bishop of Waterford, with directions to deliver it in person to Samuel, and expostulate with him on the impropriety of these abuses. The epistle thus conveyed in fatherly terms, had the desired effect, and Samuel presided over the see of Dublin until his death, which occurred on the 4th of July, A.D. 1121.†

THE SEE OF WATERFORD was founded in the eleventh century, MALCHUS being elected its first bishop by the clergy and people of that city; which election was approved of by Murtogh O'Brian, then king of Ireland, by Domnald, bishop of Cashel, and by several other prelates of the kingdom. According to Eadmer and other contemporary authorities, Malchus was a native of Ireland, and had spent several years as a Benedictine monk at Winchester.‡ Although Waterford had been founded by the Danes and was still in the possession of that people, yet it appears to have been at this time subject to Murtogh. The inhabitants, desirous to follow the example of their countrymen in Dublin, proposed that Malchus should be consecrated in Canterbury; for which purpose they petitioned Murtogh O'Brian, requesting that he would unite with them in a letter to that effect. To this request Murtogh assented, and in 1096 Malchus repaired to England [illegible] with him a letter for Anselm, and to which the king and several bishops had annexed their signatures. After stating in this epistle the many spiritual disadvantages under which the people of Waterford were placed, in not having a bishop

* Ussher, Syl. 39. † Ware's Bishops. ‡ Eadmer's Hist. Nov. l. 2.

residing amongst them, they conclude in these words: "Therefore, we (the clergy and the people of the town of Waterford), together with our king, Murtogh, the bishop Domnald* and Dermod our duke, brother of the king, have chosen this priest, Malchus, a monk of the bishop Walchelin of Winchester, very well known to us, of noble birth and morals, versed in apostolical and ecclesiastical discipline, and in faith a Catholic." Accordingly Malchus was consecrated by Anselm at Canterbury, on the 28th of December, 1096, Ralph, bishop of Chichester, and Gundulph, bishop of Rochester, being the assistant bishops.† His profession of obedience runs thus: "I, Malchus, elected for the Church of Waterford, and to be consecrated bishop by thee, Reverend Father Anselm, archbishop of the holy Church of Canterbury, and primate of all Britain, do promise that I will observe canonical obedience in all things to thee and to all thy successors." Shortly after his consecration, Malchus, with the assistance of the Danes, erected a splendid cathedral in Waterford, and dedicated it to the Holy Trinity. This cathedral was endowed by king John in the commencement of the thirteenth century, at which time also its dean and canons had been instituted; but the possessions expressed in the charter were not confirmed until the time of pope Innocent III., A.D. 1210.‡

THE SEE OF ARDFERT had, according to the annals of Innisfallen, been governed by bishops in the eleventh century, yet its origin remains involved in great obscurity. Some writers have named Ert, the master of St. Brendan, as having presided over it in the sixth century; they have not, however, been able to support their opinion, and hence the subject remains wrapt up in much uncertainty. Had Ardfert been established as a permanent see in the days of St. Brendan, it is singularly unaccountable that not even one of its prelates had been named from that time down to the eleventh century, including a period of about five hundred years. There had, in all probability, been some bishops residing in Ardfert during that intermediate time, without having either a regular succession or a permanently established see, as had been the case in Swords, Lusk, Clondalkin, and other places. When, however, the Danish people of Dublin and of Waterford had procured for themselves a bishop, it may be reasonably supposed that the Irish, who inhabited this extensive portion of the south, felt considerable solicitude for obtaining a similar advantage. At all events there can be no doubt that Ardfert

* Bishop of Cashel. † Ware Bishops. ‡ Ware Antiq. c. xxix.

had been placed under the administration of a bishop at the period of which we are now treating. Dermot Mac-Mel-Brenain was bishop of Ardfert about the middle of the eleventh century. This prelate governed the see until 1075, in which year he died, and was succeeded by Magrath O'Ronan,* whose incumbency continued until 1099, when he was succeeded by Mac-Ronan. This latter prelate has been styled bishop of Kerry, and was present at the synod of Kells, in 1152.†

The history of the monastic establishments presents, in general, during the greater part of the eleventh century, one frightful scene of pillage and destruction. In 1016 the Danes, under their king Sitric, plundered Kildare, Glendaloch, Clonard, Swords, and Armagh.‡ The island of Arran of the Saints, in which stood the celebrated establishment of St. Enda, was taken by the Danes of Limerick, and that ancient monastery, with its church, library, and schools, was levelled to the ground.§ Ardbraccan, Ardfert, and Lismore, were pillaged three times within the lapse of one year; while the monastery of Clonmacnois was plundered and almost demolished no less than thirteen times during the eleventh century.‖ Amidst these awful scenes, the usual duties of these institutions must, at least for a time, have been suspended; however, many of the other establishments had been suffered to continue in comparative tranquillity. When, at length, these Northmen had been in a manner humanized by the influence of religion, and when law and justice began to be known and respected amongst them, these retreats of sanctity were no longer molested, and the customary instructions were imparted to students, both natives and foreigners, as amply as they had been in preceding ages.

CHAPTER III.

Religious and Literary Characters of the Eleventh Century—General Observations.

Notwithstanding the melancholy state of the nation, the Irish Church had, in the eleventh century, been distinguished for enlightened ecclesiastics; and among these shall be noticed, in the first place, the pious and learned Marianus Scotus, generally styled the chronographer.

* Annals of Innisfal, A. 1075. † Ware Bishops. ‡ Annals of Innisfal.
§ Annals of Munster. ‖ Tr. Th. p. 633; Four Masters.

This eminent man was a native of Ireland, and was born in the year 1028.* Being desirous to retire from the world and to devote himself to study and prayer, Marianus entered the monastery of Clonard in 1052, in which celebrated establishment he continued for four years. Influenced by the example of many of his countrymen, Marianus, at length, formed the design of withdrawing for ever from his native country. Agreeably to this resolution, he arrived at Cologne in 1056, and soon after joined the Irish monks of St. Martin in that city. Here he remained until 1058, about which time, having been ordained priest at Wurtzburgh, he removed to Paderborn and from thence to Fulda.† It is most probable that this had been the place in which he collected and arranged the materials for his Chronicle; a work which, in its kind, far surpasses anything which the middle ages have produced. For the purpose of completing it, he became a recluse for ten years, and although immured in study and shut out from all human intercourse, yet the fame of his virtues and of his extraordinary learning, made its way beyond the solitary cell, and among his admirers were many of the most distinguished prelates of that country. At length this extraordinary man was brought from his favourite retirement by orders of the bishop of Mentz and the abbot of Fulda, and in 1069, he removed to Mentz, where, as he himself expresses it, he was again shut up, on the 10th of July in that year. Marianus remained in Mentz until 1086, in which year he died, and was buried in the church of St. Martin beyond the walls of that city.‡ Besides his Chronicle, which he had brought down to his own time, and which has been continued to A.D. 1200 by Dodechin, abbot of St. Desibod, Marianus has written§ *The Harmony of the Evangelists*, of the Universal Account, on the great Paschal Cycle, Amendments to Dionysius, a Breviary on St. Luke, Annotations on the Scriptures, Letters of Exhortation, Commentaries on the Psalms, Annotations on all the Epistles of St. Paul, together with a copy of said Epistles transcribed by himself, which is extant in the imperial library of Vienna.‖

* It is rather amusing to witness the gravity with which some Scotch writers pretend to maintain that Marianus Scotus was a British Scot, that is, according to modern phraseology, a Scotchman. Among these, Mr. Innes, in particular, has handled the subject with real composure and downright earnestness in his *Lives of the Writers of the Scots Nation*. However, Florence of Worcester, who was contemporary with Marianus, is an authority at once conclusive; his words are: "Hoc anno (1028) natus est Marianus *Hibernensis* Scotus, cujus studio et labore haec chronica praecellens est de diversis libris coadunata." Dupin, Moreri, Labbe, De Scriptor. Eccles afford a similar testimony.

† Florence of Worcester. ‡ Mabillon, Annal. Ben. § Bale. ‖ Labbe, Com. Bib.

While Marianus had been thus employed in Germany, TIGERNACH O'BRAOIN, the distinguished annalist of Ireland and abbot of Clonmacnois, was by his talents and unwearied research casting new light on the ancient records of his own country. It is, indeed, much to be regretted, that the history of this annalist has not been circumstantially handed down to us. Tigernach belonged to a sept which inhabited an eastern part of Connaught, most probably the now county of Roscommon;* he had for some years been abbot of Roscommon, and afterwards became abbot of Clonmacnois. It was in this latter monastery he compiled his celebrated Annals of Ireland, which he brought down to the year of his death, A.D. 1088. Very high and well-merited encomiums have proceeded from the pen of both ancient and modern antiquaries on this invaluable work.† Tigernach died at Clonmacnois, A.D. 1088.

HELIAS, the saintly and learned abbot of St. Martin's, at Cologne, was an Irishman, and flourished in this century. About the year 1022 he had been at Rome, and was the first who had brought from that city the Roman note or church-music to Cologne.‡ Before he retired to the continent, Helias had spent some years in the monastery of Monaghan, the rigid discipline of which he punctually observed, and afterwards most strictly enforced. The value which this great man had placed on the virtue of obedience was such, that when, on one occasion, a member of the community in Cologne had, without asking permission, transcribed a neat copy of the missal for the use of the monastery, Helias consigned it to the flames, lest others, by following his example, should presume in any manner to infringe on the ancient discipline of the institute.§ Helias was likewise a learned lecturer, and to him and his community had society been indebted for the transcription of several valuable portions of both sacred and profane literature. Having spent a life of mortification and sanctity, he died at Cologne, A.D. 1042.

JOHN, the venerable bishop of Mecklenburgh, and apostle of Sclavonia, was a native of Ireland, and flourished in the middle of the eleventh century.‖ About the year 1057, he arrived in Germany, and was soon after placed over the see of Mecklen-

* Annals of Innisfal.

† Among others, Mr. D'Alton, in his Essay on Irish History, observes: "The pages of this writer (Tigernach) are frequently illustrated by quotations from Latin and Greek authors; as, v. g. Horace, Virgil, Pliny, Eusebius, Origen, St. Jerome, Julius Africanus, Anatolius, Bede, etc., whom he not only quotes with accuracy, but frequently balances and contrasts their authority with much critical acumen."

‡ Mabillon, at A. 1022. § Florence of Worcester. ‖ Fleury, l. 61.

burgh by Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen. The Vandals and the Venuli, who inhabited that part of ancient Sclavonia which lies between the Elbe and the Vistula, were at this time pagans; thither, therefore, John went to preach the Gospel in 1062. After having traversed the greater part of that trackless region, and having visited their principal towns, in which he converted great multitudes, John at length suffered martyrdom at Rethre, their capital. By the orders of a pagan governor he was first cast into prison, and after having endured a variety of torture, was at length beheaded about the year 1065. Adam of Bremen, Trithemius,* and other writers, make honourable mention of this martyr, and he has been always considered the apostle and patron of that ancient and extensive territory.

While these writers bear high testimony to the apostolic labours and suffering of John, Surius, Johannes Stabius and others are equally ardent in praise of his countryman COLMAN. This holy man departed from Ireland about the year 1022 for the purpose of visiting Jerusalem. Having performed his devotions at Mecklin, Saltzburg, and other places, he at length arrived at Stockeran, a small town in the eastern territory of Norica, now Lower Austria. At that time the Austrians were at war with the Moravians, and so furious had been the spirit with which hostilities had been carried on, that no quarters were given on either side. Colman had scarcely reached Stockeran, when he was seized as a spy employed by the Moravian party, and although he persisted in declaring his innocence, and had given a true account of himself, he was, nevertheless, cast into prison, and afterwards put to death. Several contemporary chroniclers bear testimony to the miracles which had been wrought through the intercession of this saint, and particularly in the place where he suffered. About three years after, Henry, marquis of Austria, caused the body to be removed to Medlicum (Melck), when it was found entire, and deposited with great solemnity in St. Peter's Church in that town, on the 7th of October, A.D. 1025.† This saint has been styled the patron of Lower Austria,‡ and his name occurs in the Roman martyrology at the 13th of October.

The ancient annals of Ireland furnish a long catalogue of eminent teachers, who, during the eleventh century, had given instructions at Clonard, Clonmacnois, and other establishments.§

* Chron. 1065. † Mabillon, Annal Ben. ‡ Colgan, AA. SS. p. 105.
§ Aidus, bishop, scholastic, and professor at Armagh, died A.D. 1005. O'Flanagan, chronographer and antiquary of Ireland, died A.D. 1004. Crichen, bishop and lecturer of theology at Armagh, died A.D. 1011. Kenfelad, scribe

Of these professors we have nothing recorded save a lengthened list of names, accompanied by some occasional epithet which serves only to indicate their merit. Imperfect, however, and unsatisfactory as this catalogue,—this remnant of former days may appear, it furnishes ample and undeniable evidence, that the cultivation of letters had, in this age, been carefully attended to in Ireland; when, as is well known, it had been disregarded and almost totally neglected in many of the other kingdoms of Europe.

The legal ecclesiastical tribute, usually denominated "the law of St. Patrick," took its rise from certain political events connected with the local government of Hugh Ollain, monarch of Ireland in the eighth century. If the observations, which we have already ventured to offer on that subject, would seem to require any further illustration,* let the history of the see of Armagh during the eleventh century be produced, and the truth of these positions can be no longer disputed. The union of any ecclesiastical establishment with temporal power must engender materials which at one time or other will explode; and again, a church overburdened with riches, and arrayed in worldly pomp, instead of being beneficial, will be an evil, and must at length be the fruitful source of some dreadful catastrophe. In the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, when the Church of Ireland was comparatively poor, and depended on the voluntary but sufficient donations of the faithful, we had practical religion, and Ireland was a land of saints. Scarcely, however, had this same Church been brought into contact with the ruling power,—scarcely had the tide of mammon set in, when the frightful inundation, drifting on its surface everything sacred and venerable, soon rose to the threshold of the sanctuary, and the temple of peace was at once converted into a scene of anarchy and desolation. The Church of Armagh had her saints in the days of holy poverty; while in opulence and grandeur, she became a sacrilegious monopoly in the hands

and lecturer of philosophy at Armagh, died A.D. 1012. Dunchad, scholastic and professor at Clonmacnois, died A.D. 1005. Cathasach, philosopher and lecturer at Clonmacnois, died A.D. 1006. Mac-Cethenin, styled the wisest doctor of the west, taught at Armagh, and died A.D. 1030. Maelodar, scholastic and lecturer at Killachid, died A.D. 1032. Corcran, the learned theologian of Lismore, taught there, and died A.D. 1040. Longsech, theologian and lecturer at Clonard, died A.D. 1042. O'Ballen, scholastic and professor at Roscrea, d[ied] A.D. 1047. Kieran, scholastic and lecturer of Kells, died A.D. 1061. Mac-Dorighal, scholastic and lecturer of Kildare, died A.D. 1063. O'Clothocain, scholastic and professor at Armagh, died A.D. 1071. Conchobran, scribe and lecturer of Gleannassen, died A.D. 1082. Maeliosa O'Brolcan, whom the Annals of Innisfallen style "the most venerable man in Ireland; the most learned of his day in wisdom and science," died A.D. 1086.

* See cent. ix. c. ii.

of irreligious and scandalous usurpers. Nor are these direful effects of overgrown ecclesiastical wealth to be discovered exclusively in the Church of Ireland; they may be traced in the history of every nation on earth. What gave rise to Arian blasphemies and Greek schism? What disfigured Germany with wars and bloodshed, and disgraced France with infidelity and revolution? and what brought towering ambitious spirits into the sanctuary of mysteries, and afterwards transformed them into blasphemers and heresiarchs? The truth, therefore, of that general principle which has been placed at the head of these brief remarks, rests on undoubted historical evidence,—it becomes in reality a moral axiom; and it is certain that an ecclesiastical establishment bound up with state policy, or overburdened with wealth, must at length give rise to some dreadful explosion, in which religion will inevitably suffer, while both individual prosperity and national independence may, in all probability, be swept away for ever.

Among the principal interesting objects contemplated in this analysis of Irish ecclesiastical history, the superior benefits arising from public gratuitous education have been pointed out with particular attention. A revision, therefore, of this most important subject may not be deemed improper in this place. It may recall to our minds the character of the ages over which we have travelled, and at the same time it will serve to throw new light on many of the historical events of succeeding centuries. In the first place, public gratuitous education, aided by a priesthood humble and disengaged from the world, was one of the principal ordinary means by which the conversion of Ireland had been effected. Secondly, the same gratuitous education filled the monastery with scholars, supplied the mission with an enlightened clergy, caused religion to appear in its loveliness, made its counsels be embraced by multitudes, and transformed the country into a land of penitents and saints. Thirdly, it created a high national reputation for Ireland; it brought the distant stranger to our shores; it sent him home, with a mind enlightened by knowledge, and a heart warmed with gratitude; and it elicited many lofty and well-merited panegyric in favour of our country from some of the most distinguished writers of Europe. And, fourthly, it emboldened the Irish ecclesiastic to leave his native land, and to encounter the difficulties of a foreign mission; it made some of them the apostles of nations, and others the revivers of literature. For these reasons it was that the ancient fathers of the Irish Church had been so very solicitous in upholding the noble system of public gratuitous educa-

tion. Hence, likewise, it was, that each monastery had been a seminary of learning, and that these establishments were cherished and venerated by all that was great or virtuous in the land. Nor did education and literature cease in Ireland even in those angry days, when the storm rolled in all its fury, and when society presented the appearance of one tottering crumbling mass of ruin. During the highest rage of Danish power, the literary establishments were not totally deserted; many of the ancient schools of the kingdom were frequented, and we find that even at the close of the eleventh century, Armagh was still the great literary rendezvous of foreign students, and particularly of Englishmen. Such had been the progress of education up to this period: whether it advanced or was suffered to decline in after times, the reader will be best enabled to judge from a perusal of the subsequent pages.

TWELFTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Celsus, archbishop of Armagh—Synods of Usneach and Rath-Breasail—St. Malachy, bishop of Connor—Translated to Armagh—His apostolic labours—Synod of Kells—Distribution of the Palliums—Henry II.—Means employed by that monarch to obtain the bull of Adrian IV.—English Invasion—Strongbow lands in Ireland—Arrival of Henry II. at Waterford—Synod of Cashel—Cardinal Vivian and the Synod of Dublin—St. Laurence O'Toole, legate apostolic—John Cumin, archbishop of Dublin—Convenes a synod—Albin O'Mulloy and Giraldus Cambrensis—Translation of the remains of Sts. Patrick, Brigid, and Columbkill—State of the Church of Ireland at the close of the twelfth century.

The ecclesiastical as well as the political events of the twelfth century form a new and important era in the annals of the Church of Ireland. During the Danish invasions, comprehending a period of more than two hundred years, one scene of terror was followed by another in rapid succession, while the interests of religion, as it is natural to expect, had been grievously affected; however, in the year 1100 the darkened storm seemed at length to subside, and a prospect more bright and cheering appears once more to open upon our view. In the year 1105, Celsus was archbishop of Armagh.* This learned and good man, having been the grandson of Mœliosa of Armagh, was consequently a member of the family by which that see had been so monopolized.† The scandal which these intruders had for so many years occasioned, was a subject of much uneasiness to Celsus; and accordingly, after his consecration on the 23rd of September in said year, he entered on his ministry, with a firm resolve of putting an end to this system of vile and uncanonical usurpation. For this purpose he undertook, in 1106, a general visitation of the province of Ulster, in which district, as he was informed, [illegible] and under the immediate influence of the [illegible] a greater laxity of ecclesiastical discipline had, in some, prevailed. Here he catechised, preached and laboured; and the counsels which he delivered derived new efficacy from the

* Tr. Th. p. 299. † See cent. xi. chap. ii

example of his own charity and disinterestedness. From the north Celsus directed his course to Munster and Connaught, the entire of which provinces he visited,* and then returned to Armagh, confident that Providence would, in the proper season, crown his labours with success.

Celsus had, during his visitation, seen the necessity of two essentially important measures. The first was the convocation of a national synod, in which the actual state of the Irish Church might be regularly taken into consideration. The second was the appointment of an archbishop for the southern half of Ireland, and who, besides being an assistant to him, would, moreover, have the responsible government of that extensive portion of the country. These measures, expedient and salutary as they had been, met at once with the concurrence, not only of the prelates of the kingdom, but also of Murtogh O'Brien, then monarch of Ireland.

Accordingly, in the year 1111, a general national synod was held at a place called Fiadh-mac-Aengusa (Usneach), now the hill of Usney, in the barony of Rathconrath and county of Westmeath.† At this synod, Celsus the primate attended, together with Moelmury O'Dunain, archbishop of Cashel, and, according to the Annals of Innisfallen, "fifty other bishops, three hundred and seventeen priests, one hundred and sixteen deacons, and a vast number of clergy of inferior degree." Murtogh O'Brien, the monarch, was also present, and all the princes of his kingdom. Besides the revision which the existing ecclesiastical discipline of Ireland had undergone in this synod, and the sanction of new laws for the regulation of the clergy and people, a most important measure had been effected, by raising the diocese of Cashel to the rank of an archiepiscopal and metropolitan see; yet with this condition, that it was to be subordinate to the primatial one of Armagh.‡ Donatus O'Heine, the predecessor of Moelmurry, had enjoyed that title at the close of the eleventh century. It was still further confirmed in 1101, when Murtogh made over Cashel, hitherto the royal seat of the kings of Munster, to the Church.§ Nevertheless, it was but a mere honorary appellation, a certain mark of precedency, without having any metropolitan authority or canonical jurisdiction annexed to it. However, by this act of Celsus and the synod, together with the subsequent confirmation of Innocent II., Cashel became in reality an archiepiscopal see;

* Tr. Th. p. 299.
† Id. ; Four Masters.
‡ St. Bernard, Vit. S. Mal.
§ Keating, b 2.

the archbishop of which was charged with the care of the south or southern half, while the primate reserved to himself the northern half, together with the primatial authority over all Ireland.* From the decrees passed at this synod, the most salutary effects were soon visible, and the Church of Ireland at length enjoyed repose, while its clergy were busily employed in repairing those breaches which discipline and morality had undergone during the distracted affairs of the last two centuries.

Celsus was still intent on further improvements. The number of small or minor sees to which the usages of former years had given rise, was soon found to have been the cause of much inconvenience. To remedy this, by forming a regular division of dioceses, and marking out the respective boundaries of each, Celsus convened another synod in 1118 at Rath-Breasail, now Clanbrasil, in the county of Armagh.† Gilbert had been bishop of Limerick since 1106, and some time after was appointed legate apostolic for Ireland by pope Pascal II.‡ In this capacity he presided at the synod, at which were also present Celsus, Mœliosa, archbishop of Cashel, and a number of other bishops and clergy of various ranks. According to the decrees of this synod, the number of dioceses in Ireland was reduced to twenty-four, besides Dublin, which was still left subject to Canterbury. Twelve of these sees were in the northern half, subject to the archbishop of Armagh; the remaining twelve were in the south, subject to the archbishop of Cashel. The order in which they are placed is as follows: In Ulster were five sees, viz., Clogher, Ardsrath (Ardstraw, county of Tyrone), Derry, Connor, and Down. In Connaught five, viz., Tuam, Clonfert, Cong (in the county of Mayo), Killala, and Ardcarn (in the county of Roscommon). In Meath were the sees of Dulcek and Clonard, and which henceforth were to be the only permanent sees in that territory. These twelve sees were placed under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Armagh. The twelve subject to Cashel were: In Munster—Lismore, Waterford, Cork, Rathmaighe, Deisgirt (Ardfert), Limerick, [illegible] and in Leinster — Ossory,§ Leighlin, [illegible] and Ferns.‖ It appears, likewise, by an act of this synod, "that the revenues of the clergy and the church-lands were confirmed to the several bishops of Ireland for the maintenance and support of the episcopal character; which

* St. Bernard, loc cit. † Tr. Th., p. 293. ‡ See chap ii.
§ In Keating's list the see is called Kilkenny. ‖ Keating, p. 2.

lands were to be exempted from tribute, chief rents, and other public contributions, and to remain in that state of freedom and independence for ever."* After some other decrees regarding morals and discipline had been enacted, the legate closed the synod by pronouncing a blessing on those who should observe its ordinances, and on the other hand a malediction on such as should presume to infringe upon them.

This latter synod has brought us to that portion of our national history, in which the great St. Malachy must necessarily be introduced. Regarding the eventful life of this holy man, those passages only shall be here noticed without which the chain of historical narrative would be unconnected and incomplete; while a more circumstantial account of his apostolical labours shall be reserved for a future chapter.†

After Malachy had been ordained priest by Celsus, about the year 1120, he repaired to Lismore, for the purpose of completing those theological studies which he had already commenced under the pious and learned Imar of Armagh. Meanwhile Celsus, whose esteem for Malachy was very great, had to contend with many difficulties, which at length obliged him to write to Lismore; and the return of Malachy to his native diocese was the consequence. At that time the monastery of Bangor was in ruins, and the lands belonging to it were in the possession of a maternal uncle of Malachy; thither, therefore, the saint repaired, fully determined on re-establishing that venerable retreat of sanctity and learning. His uncle, who afterwards became a monk in that establishment, listened attentively to his expostulations, and at once resigned the whole concerns into his hands. Malachy, however, deeming such ample possessions as inconsistent with the spirit of sacred poverty, refused to receive these lands, and was content with the mere site on which the ancient monastery stood. In a short time an humble cloister and an oratory were completed, and thus did Malachy, at the head of a small community, re-establish the ancient discipline of Bangor, exactly as it had been in former days.‡

The see of Connor had at this time (1127) become vacant. Malachy, although unanimously chosen and urgently solicited to undertake its government, persisted in declining that honor, until at length the absolute command of Celsus was found necessary, and the reasonable orders of the superior were instantly followed by the cheerful acquiescence of the humble inmate of Bangor.§ Celsus, whose constitution had been worn

* Keating, b. 2. † See chap. iii. ‡ St. Bernard, Vit. Mal. § Tr. Th. p. 3

down by care and unremitted labour, had pre-determined on appointing Malachy his successor; which resolution he put into effect in 1129, exactly two years after Malachy had been consecrated bishop of Connor. In that year Celsus died at a place called Ardpatrick, in the now county of Limerick. On his death-bed, he appointed Malachy his successor, and charged the clergy who were present and the king of Munster, in whose house he then resided, to see this his last request executed. On this occasion, also, he sent to Malachy his staff or crosier, as a proof of his most earnest and dying wishes.

The news of the primate's death had scarcely reached Armagh, when the same turbulent faction, re-commencing the scenes of past times, seized upon the title and temporalities of the archdiocese and placed Maurice, the son of Domnald, a lay-man, in the metropolitan chair. So great was the violence with which this party had then maintained their sacrilegiously-usurped authority, that three years had elapsed before the legate apostolic, with the bishops of the province, had ventured to insist on the translation of St. Malachy. The saint at length complied, yet on this condition, that he should, when peace was re-established in Armagh, be allowed to return to his former diocese of Connor, or as he himself expresses it, "to his former spouse and to his beloved state of poverty." Accordingly, in 1132 Malachy removed to Armagh, but was obliged to reside at some distance from the city until the death of the usurper, which occurred about two years afterwards.* It would be impossible to enter into a minute detail of the trials and sufferings which Malachy had undergone during the three years which he spentin the government of the archiepiscopal see. He had, however, the consolation of at length beholding the happy success of his labours, in the re-establishment of order, morality and discipline, and above all in the final extinction of those hereditary claims and consequent abuses by which that see had been so long and so grievously distracted. Malachy, as already stated, had resolved to return at some time to his former diocese of Connor; wherefore, in 1137 he resigned the see of Armagh, and undertook the government of the diocese of Down, with which, at that time, the see of Connor had been united. The person whom, with the consent of the clergy and people, he appointed as his successor in Armagh, was Gelasius, abbot of Derry and archdeacon of that diocese.†

Cashel had been raised by Celsus to the dignity of an archi-

* St. Bernard, chap. viii. † AA. SS. at 27th March; see chap. ii.

episcopal see, but that act had not as yet been confirmed by the sovereign pontiff; neither had that see nor the primatial one of Armagh been honoured with the pallium, by which, in those times, metropolitans were usually distinguished. For this purpose Malachy undertook a journey to Rome, and on his way visited the celebrated monastery of Clairvaux, where he continued for some days. Here he became acquainted with St. Bernard, and that friendship commenced which had never after been dissolved. When Malachy arrived at Rome, he presented himself to the sovereign pontiff, then Innocent II., by whom he was received in the most gracious manner. His holiness was pleased to confirm the act by which the see of Cashel had been raised to an archiepiscopal rank; but to that part of Malachy's request which regarded the palliums for Armagh and Cashel, the pope replied: "this is a matter which must be transacted with great solemnity. Do you, first summoning the bishops and clergy and the chiefs of your country, celebrate a national council, and, after ye will all have agreed on this point, apply for the pallium, and it shall be given to you."* He then appointed Malachy legate apostolic for all Ireland, an office now vacant by the resignation of Gillebert, and then taking the mitre off his head, the pontiff placed it on that of Malachy. In like manner he invested him with the stole and maniple which he used when officiating, and saluting him in the kiss of peace dismissed him with his benediction.

The many arduous duties which had now devolved on Malachy, in the capacity of legate, allowed him little leisure or repose, until at length in 1148, and in the pontificate of Eugene III. a synod was held at Holmpatrick, at which Malachy and Gelasius were present, together with fifteen other bishops, two hundred priests, and a great number of the inferior clergy.† In this synod it was agreed to make the regular application for the palliums, and for this purpose Malachy undertook a second journey to Rome. Having arrived at Clairvaux, he was received with joy by St. Bernard; however, a few days after, on the festival of St. Luke, he was seized with a fever, and expired in this monastery on the 2nd of November, A.D. 1148, and in the 54th year of his age.‡

The high veneration in which St. Malachy had been held by the holy abbot of Clairvaux, cannot be well described. St. Bernard preached the funeral oration on the day of the interment, and delivered a second panegyric on the anniversary of his death. It is also highly probable that St. Bernard com-

* St. Bernard, chap. xi. † Annals of Innisfal. ‡ St. Bernard, chap. xvi.

municated the intelligence of St. Malachy's death and the nature of his mission to Pope Eugenius, especially as that pontiff had been formerly a monk at Clairvaux and had been well acquainted with the saint. At all events, Cardinal Paparo, accompanied by Christian, bishop of Lismore, then legate apostolic, arrived in Ireland in the year 1151, bearing with him four palliums for the metropolitan sees of Armagh, Cashel, Dublin, and Tuam.

That a matter of such importance might be conducted with becoming solemnity, a national synod was convened at Kells (in the county of Meath) on the 9th of March, A.D. 1152. At this synod, besides the cardinal, who presided, and Christian, bishop of Lismore, then legate apostolic, there were also present Gelasius, the primate, Domnald O'Lonergan, archbishop of Cashel, Gregory, bishop of Dublin, together with the bishops of the following sees: Glendaloch, Leighlin, Waterford, Kildare, Cork, Clonfert, Kerry, Limerick, Clonmacnois, Roscommon, Achonry, Conmacne (Ardagh), Kinel-Eogain (Ardstrath), Connor and Down, together with the vicars-general of Emly and Ossory; a great number of abbots and priors were also present, and a vast multitude of inferior clergy.* When it was known that palliums had been intended for Dublin and Tuam, many of the clergy were much dissatisfied, and particularly those who belonged to the dioceses of Armagh and Down.† This circumstance has been considered by some as one of the reasons why the prelates of several sees had been absent.

The council opened by the distribution of the palliums to the four following sees, in order: Armagh, Cashel, Dublin, and Tuam; on which occasion the archbishop of Armagh was declared primate over the others. This is the synod in which an attempt was, for the first time, made of introducing the notorious tithe system into Ireland.‡

The decrees by which simony and usury had been condemned passed unanimously, but when the cardinal set forth his favourite yet strange system of tithes, the proposition was instantly rejected; nor do we find that it had met with the approval of a single ecclesiastic in this national synod. The cardinal then proceeded to the arrangement of the suffragan sees, in the following order: 1. Under Armagh were the sees of Connor, Down, Louth or Clogher, Clonard, Kells,

* According to the Four Masters the number amounted to 3000.
† Keating, quoted by Colgan, AA. SS. p. 654.
‡ Keating; Annals of Clonenagh.

Ardagh, Raphoe, Rathlure (in the county of Tyrone), Duleek, and Derry. 2. Under Cashel were placed Killaloe, Limerick, Inniscatthy, Kilfenora, Emly, Roscrea, Waterford, Lismore, Cloyne, Cork, Ross, and Ardfert. 3. Under Dublin were named Glendaloch, Ferns, Ossory, Leighlin, and Kildare. 4. Under Tuam were placed Mayo, Killala, Roscommon, Clonfert, Achonry, Clonmacnois, and Kilmacduagh.* It may be proper to remark, that in this list the sees of Elphin and Dromore are not mentioned; for which reason, it is generally supposed that the former was at this time united to Roscommon and the latter to Armagh.† The sees of Louth and of Clogher had been united for many years prior to this synod; however, in later times, the town of Louth and other parts of that ancient diocese were annexed to Armagh.‡ The decrees of the synod of Kells were confined exclusively to discipline and morals; nothing relative to faith had been discussed, the doctrine of the Irish Church being at that time, as it is at this day, the very same which the apostle of the nation had introduced, and which had been consecrated by all that was great or grand in antiquity—by the learning, the wisdom, and the sanctity of ages.

The proceedings of the synod having been terminated, Cardinal Paparo remained but a short time in Ireland, having, on the 24th of the same month, set out on his journey to Rome.

This was the memorable period in which Henry II. was placed on the throne of England, and about the same time (1154) Adrian IV. succeded Eugene III. in the chair of St. Peter. Henry had, for years, secretly contemplated the conquest of Ireland, and that a similar design had engaged the attention of some of his predecessors, ever since the subjection of the see of Dublin to that of Canterbury, is an opinion amounting to more than a mere probability. Henry, who had artfully studied the natural disposition and religious temperament of the Irish, saw distinctly the profound reverence with which that people were always ready to entertain every injunction emanating from the Holy See: accordingly, he resolved to procure, by all means, the solemn sanction of the pontiff, before he should venture on so daring and hazardous an enterprize. An opportunity soon presented itself, and Henry availed himself of it. Adrian IV. (Nicholas Breespere) was an Englishman, and to him did Henry make application, through the agency of John of Salisbury, then chaplain to

* Ware Antiq. c. xvi. † Ware, Bishops. ‡ See cent. xiii.

Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury. John's request, like the reasons on which it had been grounded, was, no doubt, a precious compound of Christian zeal and disinterestedness. He prayed that his master might be merely permitted to take possession of Ireland, for the purpose "of extending the boundaries of the Church, of announcing to an unlearned and rude people the truths of the Christian faith, and of extirpating the weeds of vice from the field of the Lord."*

Adrian, anxious for the aggrandizement of his country, or as Cardinal Pole expresses it, *induced by the love of his country*,† lost no time in complying with the agent's request. He accordingly furnished Henry with the celebrated document or bull, by which he makes over all Ireland to that monarch, requiring only, that the rights of the Church may be preserved inviolate, and that *a denarius* should be paid annually from every house to St. Peter.‡ That this document is unquestion-

* See bull of Adrian.

† In his speech delivered A.D. 1554, and quoted by Ussher (Syll. note to Adrian's bull).

‡ The following is a translation of the bull of Adrian IV.:—"Adrian, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most dear son in Christ, the noble king of England, sendeth greeting and apostolic benediction. Your magnificence hath been very careful and studious how you might enlarge the Church of God here on earth, and increase the number of saints and elect in heaven, in that, as a good Catholic king, you have and do by all means labour and travail to enlarge and increase God's Church, by teaching the ignorant people the true and Christian religion, and in abolishing and rooting up the weeds of sin and wickedness. And whereas you have and do crave, for your better furtherance, the help of the Apostolic See (wherein you more speedily and discreetly proceed) the better success, we hope, God will send; for all they, which of a fervent zeal and love in religion, do begin and enterprize any such thing, shall, no doubt, in the end have a good and prosperous success. And as for Ireland, and all other islands where Christ is known and the Christian religion received, it is out of all doubt, and your excellency well knoweth, they do all appertain and belong to the right of St. Peter, and of the Church of Rome; and we are so much the more ready, desirous, and willing, to sow the acceptable seed of God's word, because we know the same in the latter day will be most severely required at your hands. You have (our well-beloved son in Christ) advertized and signified unto us, that you will enter into the land and realm of Ireland, to the end, to bring them to obedience unto law, and under your subjection, and to root out from among them their foul sins and wickedness; as also to yield and pay yearly out of every house, a yearly pension of one penny to St. Peter, and besides, also, will defend and keep the rights of the churches whole and inviolate. We, therefore, well allowing and favouring this, your goodly disposition and commendable affection, do accept, ratify, and assent unto this your petition, and do grant that you (for the dilating of God's Church, the punishment of sin, the reforming of manners, the planting of virtue, and the increasing of Christian religion) do enter and possess that land, and there to execute, according to your wisdom, whatsoever shall be for the honour of God and the safety of the realm. And further also, we do strictly charge and require, that all the people of that land do, with all humbleness, dutifulness, and honour, receive and accept you as their liege lord and sovereign, reserving and excepting the right of holy Church to be inviolably

ably authentic cannot be doubted, notwithstanding the opinion of some writers to the contrary. It is published in the Annals of Baronius, and copied, as that learned author declares, from the *Codex Vaticanus*. John XXII. has annexed it to his celebrated brief addressed to Edward II. in the fourteenth century:* in short, John of Salisbury, in his work entitled "Metalogicus," actually acknowledges that it was by his means the king of England had obtained this bull from Adrian IV.†

Henry, although having this document in his possession, was soon sensible that some other pretext must be assigned for the invasion of Ireland, besides the pretended reasons alluded to in the bull. Nor was it long until the opportunity so ardently wished for had been afforded him, by means of the perfidious and profligate Dermod Mac-Morogh, king of Leinster.‡ This detestable tyrant, having been abandoned by his vassals and deposed by Roderic O'Connor, king of Ireland, had recourse to Henry II., who was then in Aquitaine, and casting himself at the feet of that sovereign, swore allegiance, and offered him the supreme dominion of his kingdom, in case he should be reinstated. The English monarch, having been at that time involved in great difficulties himself, could not assist him with any considerable force; he, however, caused letters patent to be issued, in which he recommends the case of Dermod to his subjects, and encourages such as might be inclined to volunteer their services. Dermod proceeded on his journey until he came to Bristol. Here he met and conversed

preserved, as also the yearly pension of Peter-pence out of every house, which we require to be truly answered to St. Peter and to the Church of Rome. If, therefore, you do mind to bring your godly purpose to effect, endeavour to travail to reform the people to some better order and trade of life, and that also by yourself and by such others as you shall think meet, true, and honest in their life, manners, and conversation, to the end the Church of God may be beautified, the true Christian religion sowed and planted, and all other things done, that by any means shall or may be to God's honour and the salvation of men's souls, whereby you may in the end receive of God's hands the reward of everlasting life, and also in the meantime, and in this life, carry a glorious fame and an honourable report among all nations."—Cod. Vat. apud Baron.; Matth. Paris. ad. an. 1155; Fleury, l. 70. This bull of Adrian was afterwards confirmed by his successor, Alexander III., for which confirmatory brief, see page 237.

* See cent. xiv. c. i.

† "Ad preces meas illustri Regi Anglorum Henrico II. concessit (Adrianus) et dedit Hiberniam jure hereditario possidendam, *sicut literæ ipsius testantur in hodiernum diem.* Nam omnes insulæ de jure antiquo, ex donatione Constantini, qui eam fundavit et dotavit, dicuntur ad Romanam Ecclesiam pertinere."—Metalog. l. 4

‡ Giraldus Cambrensis, treating of Dermod Mac-Morogh, [illegible] character: "Nobilium oppressor, humilium erector, infestus suis, exosus alienis; Manus omnium contra ipsum et ipse contrarius omni."—Hib. Expug. lib. 1, c. vi.

with Richard, surnamed Strongbow, earl of Chepstow or Strigul, who engaged to go over into Ireland the ensuing spring, upon condition that Dermod should give him in marriage his only daughter, Eva, and settle upon him the succession of his whole inheritance in that kingdom. Passing through Wales, he there negotiated with Robert Fitz-Stephen and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, both Normans and maternal brothers, and having promised to reward them amply, they readily engaged to espouse his cause.

It was the month of May, 1169, when the Anglo-Normans, for the first time, arrived on the Irish coast.* They landed near Bannow, in the county of Wexford; their whole force consisting of only 360 men, under the command of Fitz-Stephen, Miler Fitz-Henry, Hervey de Monte-Morisco (Mount-Morres), and several knights. On the next day, having been joined by Maurice de Prendergast and by Dermod himself at the head of 500 of his best Leinster troops, they fell upon Wexford, where they met with a desperate resistance from the Danish inhabitants. The town was soon after obliged to surrender, and was made over by Dermod to Fitz-Stephen and Fitz-Gerald, according to agreement. The arrival of Strongbow did not take place until the 23rd of August, 1170, in which year he landed near Waterford, with a detachment of 1,000 men and 200 knights.† Strongbow, without waiting to be reinforced by the other Norman troops or by Dermod, made an attack on Waterford: the city having been taken by storm, a dreadful slaughter of the inhabitants ensued. They next proceeded to Dublin, which city fell into their hands, and thence Marched into Meath and Breffny, ravaging these territories with unsparing barbarity. The atrocities committed by these Normans, not coming within the scope of this history, shall be here passed over. During the frightful carnage which had taken place in Dublin after the storming of that city, the exertions of St. Laurence O'Toole, who was then archbishop of the see, were unceasing and truly perilous.‡ At the risk of his life he attended and comforted the dying and the afflicted, and with difficulty obtained that the books, vestments, and sacred chalices, which the Normans had pillaged from the churches, should be restored.

This invasion, accompanied as it had been by unheard-of sacrilege and massacre, was considered by the prelates of Ireland as a judgment from heaven, in consequence of the base traffic which had been at that time carried on between some Irish merchants and the unnatural English. The state-

* O'Flaherty's Ogygia, part iii. † Id.; Ware. ‡ See chap. iii.

ment of this notorious fact shall, for obvious reasons, be taken *verbatim* from the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis: "About this time a general synod of the Irish clergy was held at Armagh, in which, after much deliberation concerning the arrival of the foreigners in Ireland, it was unanimously declared, that this misfortune was a judgment of God on account of the sins of the people, and particularly because they used to buy English persons from merchants, robbers and pirates, and reduce them to slavery; and that it would appear that they, in their turn, were to be enslaved by that nation. For the English people, while their kingdom was still firm, had, *through a common vice of the nation*, been accustomed to expose *their children for sale*, and even before they were in any want or distress, scrupled not to sell *their own sons and relatives* to the Irish. It might hence be probably supposed, that for this enormous crime, the purchasers deserved the yoke of slavery, in the same manner as the sellers had been treated already. It was, therefore, decreed and unanimously ordered by the synod, that all the English throughout Ireland, who might happen to be in a state of slavery, should be restored to their original liberty."*

Henry II. who had now become jealous of the progress of Strongbow, resolved to lose no time in proceeding to Ireland. He accordingly landed at Waterford, on the 18th of October, A.D. 1171, with an army consisting of 500 knights and about 4,000 armed followers.† Here he was waited upon by Dermod Mac Carthy, king of Desmond, who submitted to him and put hostages into his hands. From Waterford Henry marched to Lismore, and afterwards to Cashel, in which latter city Donald O'Brian, king of Thomond, swore fealty and acknowledged himself his vassal. The example of these princes was followed by O'Felan of the Desies, Mac-Gilla-Patrick of Ossory, and others. Henry next proceeded to Dublin, where O'Carrol, prince of Ergal, and O'Ruarc of Breffny, made submission; while Roderic O'Conor still continued in his kingdom of Connaught, and the princes of the northern districts of Ulster refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of a foreigner.

Henry having been now sovereign of Leath-Mogha (the southern half of Ireland), thought it high time to commence his long-boasted reformation of the Irish Church, according to the terms expressed in the bull of Adrian IV. For this purpose, he directed that a synod should be convened at

* Giraldus, Hiber. Expug. lib. 1. chap. xviii. † Ware; O'Flaherty, Ogy.

Cashel early in the ensuing year, 1172, and that notice, in due form, should be given to each of the archbishops and bishops of the kingdom. At this synod, neither the primate Gelasius nor any of the Ulster bishops attended.

Christian, bishop of Lismore, then legate apostolic, presided; there were present O'Hullican, archbishop of Cashel; Laurence O'Toole of Dublin; and Catholicus of Tuam; together with their suffragan bishops and some abbots. Henry, on his part, sent to this synod, Ralph, archdeacon of Landaff; Nicholas, his chaplain; and other ecclesiastics. In this convocation, the mighty engagements entered into by Henry were to have been fulfilled, and the Church of Ireland was to be reformed: how effectually all these objects had been achieved, the following decrees, passed in the synod of Cashel, will best enable us to determine:

It was decreed: "1. That the faithful throughout Ireland do contract and observe lawful marriages, rejecting those with their relations either by consanguinity or affinity.* 2. That infants be catechized before the door of the church, and baptized in the holy font in the baptismal churches. 3. That all the faithful do pay the tithes of animals, corn, and *other produce* to the church of which they are parishioners. 4. That all ecclesiastical lands and property connected with them be quite exempt from the exactions of all laymen. And, especially, that neither the petty kings nor counts, nor any powerful men in Ireland, nor their sons with their families, do exact, as was usual, victuals and hospitality or entertainments in the ecclesiastical districts, or presume to extort them by force; and that the detestable food or contributions, which used to be required four times in the year from the farms belonging to churches by the neighbouring counts, shall not be claimed any more. 5. That in case of a murder committed by laymen, and of their compounding for it with their enemies, clergymen, their relations, are not to pay part of the fine (or eric); but that, as they were not concerned in the perpetration of the murder, they are to be exempted from the payment of money. 6. That all the faithful lying in sickness do, in the presence of their confessor and neighbours, make their will with due solemnity, dividing, in case they have wives and

* By this decree, it was intended to establish in Ireland that portion of the ecclesiastical law by which, in those times, marriage was prohibited within the seventh degree of consanguinity and affinity. This law could not be conveniently enforced in Ireland, in consequence of the system of clanship which then prevailed in this country. It was found to be equally inconvenient in many other parts of the western Church, and was, on that account, soon after modified and reduced, as it now is, to the fourth degree.

children (excepting their debts and servants' wages), their moveable goods into three parts, and bequeathing one for the children, another for the lawful wife, and the third for the funeral obsequies. 7. That due respect be paid to those who die after a good confession, by means of masses, vigils, and decent burial. Likewise, that all divine matters be henceforth conducted agreeably to the practices of the holy Church, according as observed by the Anglican Church."*

Such were the regulations of the Synod of Cashel—such the mighty reform brought about by Henry II., and to effect which, public plunder, rapine, and sacrilege had been perpetrated, while the face of the country was deluged with the blood of the people. These decrees were, however, totally disregarded by the Irish clergy and their flocks; the tendency of some of them were too perceptible, and having been furnished already with ample and salutary laws of discipline, confirmed at Kells and in previous councils, to these they conscientiously adhered. Henry was soon after obliged to return to England, having brought himself into serious difficulties by being implicated in the murder of St. Thomas à Becket.

During all this time neither the bull of Adrian IV. nor the confirmatory brief of his successor, Alexander III., had been publicly produced. The English monarch had too much policy not to perceive that the shameless and unfounded aspersions contained in these documents would but produce one general burst of indignation from both clergy and people; nor did he venture to publish them until three years afterwards (1175), when the precarious state of his affairs in Ireland loudly called for some hitherto-untried and desperate effort. In that year Henry II. sent Nicholas, prior of Wallingford, and William Fitz-Adelm to Ireland, with both the bull and confirmatory brief.† They landed at Waterford,

* Giraldus, Hib. Expug. chap. xxxiv.

† The following is the confirmatory brief of Alexander III: "Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearly beloved son, the noble king of England, greeting, grace, and apostolic benediction. For as much as things given and granted upon good reason by our predecessors are to be well allowed of, ratified, and confirmed: We, well considering and pondering the grant and privilege for, and concerning the dominion of the land of Ireland to us appertaining, and lately given by Adrian, our predecessor, and following his steps do, in like manner, confirm, ratify, and allow the same; reserving and saving to St. Peter, and to the Church of Rome, the yearly pension of one penny out of every house, as well in England as in Ireland. Provided also, that the barbarous people of Ireland, by your means, be reformed, and recovered from their filthy life and abominable conversation; that as in name, so in life and manners, they may be Christians, and that, as that rude and disordered Church, being by you reformed, the whole nation may also with the possession of the name, be in acts and deeds followers of the same."

and, having summoned a meeting of the bishops, here these curious documents were for the first time read in Ireland.* They had no effect whatever in healing the wounded feelings of the people, the unsparing rapacity of the invaders having been such as to place the wretched condition of the natives beyond the power of all human endurance. At length a negociation took place at Windsor, between the English monarch and Roderic O'Connor, in which it was stipulated that Roderic, as king of Ireland, should continue in full possession of his ancient hereditary dominions on condition of his paying to Henry a tribute. Roderic's ambassadors on this occasion were Catholicus, archbishop of Tuam, Concors, abbot of Clonfert, and Laurence, his chancellor, together with St. Laurence O'Toole, who happened to be at that time engaged on some ecclesiastical business in England.

It was now generally hoped that the bull of Adrian, as well as the brief of Alexander, would be patiently allowed to rest in oblivion, or, at least, that these documents would not be officially enforced; however, in 1177, Cardinal Vivian, who had been sent to Ireland as legate apostolic, arrived in Dublin, and immediately convened a synod of bishops and abbots. In this synod, the cardinal maintained Henry's right to the sovereignty of Ireland, in virtue of the Pope's authority, and even insisted on the necessity of unqualified obedience from all persons, under pain of excommunication. He likewise allowed the invaders liberty to enter the churches and take from thence whatever provisions the people had, for sake of safety, deposited therein, on condition that a reasonable price should be paid for them to the pastors of these churches.† The cardinal had, it seems, been under some serious obligations to De Courcey and other adventurers, and, most likely, considered all this as a sort of instalment for the large debt of gratitude which it is certain he had owed to them. What kind of impression this singular conduct of the legate had made on the minds of the clergy assembled, history has not thought proper to hand down to us; however, it is certain that the people of Ireland, plundered and outraged as they had been, were but little inclined to pay any attention to this indiscreet exhibition of clerical diplomacy and extravagance.

These proceedings, together with the publication of the documents themselves, had now created such a ferment in the public mind, that the measures contemplated in the late synod of Dublin, were censured and condemned by all. It was well

* Giraldus, l. 2, chap. vi.
† Giraldus, Hib. Expug. l. 2, chap. xvii. ; Ware, Annals, A. 1177.

known that Henry's agents had been actively employed at Rome, and it was equally certain that an imposition, alike gross and mischievous, had been practised on the pontiff. While some, therefore, inveighed bitterly against the cardinal, many were aggrieved at the calumnies which had been cast on the nation, and all felt indignant at the baseness and treachery of the minions by whom those misrepresentations had been so artfully and widely circulated.

Such had been the distracted state of the nation, when in 1179, summonses were issued by Alexander III. for the meeting of the third general council of Lateran. On this occasion the following Irish bishops set out for Rome: Laurence O'Toole of Dublin, Catholicus of Tuam, Constantine O'Brien of Killaloe, Felix of Lismore, Augustin of Waterford, and Brictius of Limerick. These prelates were received in Rome with marked attention, and particularly Laurence O'Toole, whose jurisdiction over the suffragan sees of Glendaloch, Kildare, Ferns, Leighlin, and Ossory was at this time confirmed by Alexander III.* This pontiff, having now an opportunity of conversing with some of the heads of the Irish Church, was at length convinced that, in the confirmatory brief which he had drawn up for Henry, he had been grossly imposed upon, and that the terms employed in that official document were as severe as they had been uncalled for; as a mark, therefore, of his feelings on the subject, he not only put into the hands of Laurence a brief confirmatory of the above-mentioned rights, but moreover appointed him his legate apostolic throughout Ireland. In the discharge of the duties belonging to this apostolic legation, Laurence had to encounter much anxiety and many difficulties. The English ecclesiastics whom Henry II. had sent over, as well to reform "the rude and disordered Church of Ireland, as to convert its barbarous people from their filthy life and abominable conversation,"† were, it appears, with few exceptions, a set of the most incontinent profligates. That characters of this description should have anything to do with the church of his native country, was a heart-rending reflection to the pure mind of Laurence. Anxious, therefore, to remove this crying scandal, with which Irishmen had been hitherto unacquainted, and to afford his holiness himself an opportunity of witnessing the hopeful manner in which the Church of Ireland was to be reformed by Englishmen, Laurence sent one hundred and forty of them, who were convicted of incontinency, to Rome

* Vita S. Laurent., chap. xxiii. † Bull and Brief.

for absolution, although he had, at the time, the power of absolving them himself.*

The see of Dublin had been, at this period, richly endowed; the revenues of which Laurence applied to the use of the poor and afflicted, while he himself led a life of rigorous austerity. To the archiepiscopal see of Dublin, in 1180, belonged Swords, Lusk, Finglass, Clondalkin, Ireland's Eye, Tallagh, and many other places; also the parish churches of St. Thomas, St. Nicholas, St. Werburg, and St. Patrick, in the south suburbs of the city. These ample revenues the saint employed in works of unbounded charity, and during the great famine by which the nation had been then visited for three years, he is said to have afforded daily relief to no less than five hundred persons, besides the crowds of applicants who were constantly pouring in from the country. St. Laurence continued to discharge the duties of his pastoral office and of his legation until his death, which took place in France on the 14th of November, A.D. 1180.†

On the death of St. Laurence O'Toole, Henry II. despatched Jeffery de la Hay, his chaplain, and a clerk of the legate Alexius, to Dublin, with orders that the revenues of the see should be immediately seized on and collected by them into the exchequer.‡ Henry had, at this time, an intention of transferring the dominion of Ireland to his son John. In order, therefore, to prepare the way for his reception, that monarch took care that none but an English ecclesiastic should be appointed to preside over a see of such rank and importance. The person whom he recommended was John Cumin, an Englishman, who besides being learned and eloquent, had also filled an ecclesiastical situation in the royal palace for several years. He was accordingly elected at Evesham, in Worcestershire, on the 6th of September, A.D. 1181, by some of the clergy of Dublin, whom the king had assembled there for that purpose, and the year after was consecrated at Velletri, by pope Lucius III.§ That same year, John Cumin obtained a bull from Lucius III., which conferred some important privileges on the archdiocese of Dublin, and which in aftertimes had occasioned much controversy between the archbishops of that see and the primates of Armagh.‖ Four years had now elapsed between the death of St. Laurence O'Toole and the arrival of his successor, John Cumin, in Dublin, during which time the king's exchequer, as it is

* Vita S. Laurent. chap. xxiii. † See chap. iii. ‡ Ware, Annals, 1180.
§ Ware, Bishops. ‖ See chap. ii. Dublin.

natural to suppose, must have derived no inconsiderable share of benefit. On the following year (1185) John earl of Morton, son of Henry, arrived at Waterford, accompanied by the famous Gerald Barry (Giraldus Cambrensis) as his tutor and secretary.* The new archbishop, John Cumin, as being the first Englishman who had ever been placed over an Irish see, considered it now high time to open his administration by some memorable act of his pastoral care and solicitude. This he did by causing a provincial synod to be held about the middle of the following Lent, in the cathedral of the Holy Trinity (Christ Church), Dublin. The decrees passed at this synod were of a ritual and disciplinary character, most of them had been already sanctioned, either by long-prescribed usage, or by positive acts juridically ratified in many of the previous synodical meetings of the prelates of Ireland. The 13th canon is a publicly recorded and well-merited encomium on the high character of the Irish priesthood; while the 19th, which regarded the payment of tithes, had, notwithstanding the decree of the council of Cashel, continued almost a dead letter; nor were these tithes paid in Ireland except within the pale, or that mere fractional portion in which the English influence had predominated.†

The exemplary chastisement which St. Laurence O'Toole had been obliged to inflict on numbers of the English clergy, for their incontinency and scandalous lives, was not, after all, it appears, sufficient to prevent the evil. They still continued to pour into Ireland, while one party seemed to outstrip the other in unrestrained licentiousness and open debauchery. Such unheard-of profligacy could not but call forth the just reprobation of the synod. Its proceedings having been generally opened by a sermon, on the first day the archbishop himself preached on the sacraments. On the second day Alban O'Mulloy, abbot of Baltinglass and afterwards bishop of Ferns, delivered an impressive and powerful lecture on the subject of clerical continency. In this discourse, the learned O'Mulloy took occasion to dwell on the unsullied character of the Irish clergy, and then, in mixed terms of grief and indignation, he inveighed most bitterly against the English and Welsh clergy who had come into Ireland, upbraiding

* Ware, Annal, Writers.

† The 19th canon provides, "That tithes be paid to the mother churches, out of provisions, hay, the young of animals, flax, wool, gardens, orchards, and out of all things that grow and renew yearly, under pain of an anathema, after the third monition; and that those who remain obstinate in refusing, shall be obliged to pay the more punctually for the future."

them with having polluted the altars of his country, by their filthy and abominable crimes; while, in tears of anguish, he assured them that such crying scandal had never been heard of in the sanctuary of the Irish Church, until aliens and adventurers had been authorized to come in amongst them. This discourse was not without the desired effect; the learned O'Mulloy had scarcely returned from the pulpit, when these English ecclesiastics began, by mutual recrimination, to accuse each other, one endeavouring to show that the other was more criminal than himself, and thus did they publicly expose themselves to the contemptuous disgust and indignant scorn of the Irish clergy. Numbers of them were, on this occasion, convicted; and accordingly, the archbishop suspended them from their ecclesiastical functions and the enjoyment of their benefices.* On the third day, Gerald Barry, by order of the archbishop, preached a sermon, or rather poured forth a torrent of abuse on the Irish clergy, and, in fact, on the whole nation. In this unmeaning tirade, Giraldus made a public display not only of his malevolence, but even of his utter ignorance of ecclesiastical antiquities, and of the customs and manners of the Irish people. Among other matters he accused them of being too fond of indulging themselves over their cups.† With all his prejudices, however, he was obliged, at the stern command of truth, to draw the following admirable character of the Irish clergy: "The clergy (he says) of this country are very commendable for religion, and among the divers virtues which distinguish them, they excel and are pre-eminent in the prerogative of chastity. Likewise, they attend regularly and vigilantly to their psalms and hours, to reading and prayer; and remaining within the precincts of the churches, do not absent themselves from the divine offices, to the celebration of which they have been appointed. They also pay great attention to abstinence and sparingness of food, so that the greatest part of them fast almost every day until dusk, and until they have completed all the canonical offices."‡

The proceedings of this synod served, in no small degree, to check the haughty domineering spirit of Giraldus. The

* Fleury, l. 74 ; Giraldus de rebus a se gestis.

† The prevailing Celtic custom of enjoying some beverage after the principal meal was observed among the ancient Irish, as in fact it is among their descendants to this day. To a person unacquainted with such a national usage, as Giraldus Cambrensis actually had been, it might appear somewhat singular: he does not, however, accuse them of inebriety, as is evident from the term *potores*, which he thought proper to employ on the occasion.

‡ Girald. Top. Hib. d. 3.

disgraceful conduct of his countrymen, and the public exposé which had just been made, worked so strongly on his feelings, that he refused the vacant see of Ferns, which had been then offered to him by his patron prince John, and soon after returned to his own country. It appears that several of the English ecclesiastics had, by this time, found means of obtaining a settlement in that diocese; for which reason, it was the anxious wish of the native clergy, and indeed of archbishop Cumin, that no person but an Irishman of zeal and firmness should be appointed to preside over it. All eyes were now fixed on Albin O'Mulloy, and having been accordingly consecrated,* this determined and religious prelate soon began, by purging his diocese, to teach these new-fashioned English reformers the practical and proper meaning of Irish discipline and of Irish morality.

Albin was not, however, equally successful in his legal proceedings against William, earl of Pembroke and earl marshal of England. This noble adventurer had, by his marriage with Isabel, only daughter of Strongbow, acquired large possessions in Leinster; and these estates became considerably augmented after his appointment as lord deputy, in the place of William Petit, in 1191. In those times ecclesiastical revenue, like every other species of property, was insecure, while the most ancient prescriptive rights had been oftentimes compelled to give way beneath the pressure of arbitrary control or military despotism. It appears that certain manors which had, from time immemorial, belonged to the see of Ferns, and which were usually set apart for the use of the poor, had been seized upon by this opulent nobleman and placed on the roll of his already gorgeous estates. Against this encroachment on the rights of the poor, the bishop of Ferns remonstrated;† and although he had ventured to commence a suit on this proceeding of the deputy, yet the result was a failure; for no tribunal could be found either able or willing to determine such a case by any fair or impartial decision. The earl, however, seems to have soon after regretted the course which had been pursued, and endea-

* It may be proper to remark that Albin O'Mulloy, and also his predecessor Joseph O'Hethe, have been sometimes styled bishops of Wexford. In the charter of the abbey of Dunbrody, to which Joseph had been a witness, he subscribes himself bishop of Wexford; and it is certain that in the bull which John Cumin had obtained from Lucius III. in 1182, this see is called "Episcopatus Wexfordiensis." It is probable that they might have had some intention of translating the see thither, in consequence of the rising importance of the town of Wexford at this time; however, after the death of Albin O'Mulloy, the prelates of this diocese were invariably styled bishops of Ferns

† Mathew. Paris, Hist. Maj.; Ware's Bishops.

voured to make ample reparation, by becoming the patron of various religious and charitable foundations. Albin O'Mulloy continued in the administration of the diocese of Ferns until 1222, in which year he died, after an incumbency of thirty-six years.

In those former angry times, when the fury of the Dane was not to be appeased even by the profanation of the sanctuary, the sacred remains of St. Patrick, St. Brigid, and St. Columbkill had been removed from their shrines by some of the faithful, and deposited in a retired part of the cathedral of Down. The place in which they had been concealed was known but to few, so that after the lapse of many years the hallowed spot could not be exactly ascertained. Malachy was bishop of Down in 1186, having been the third in succession after the great St. Malachy. This pious prelate had been for a long time solicitous to discover the place in which the sacred treasure lay; and to this effect he ceased not to pour forth his humble and most fervent supplications to the Almighty. While in the exercise of one of these acts of devotion, his attention was directed in a supernatural manner, as tradition will have it, to a particular quarter of the cathedral, and he lost no time in having it carefully examined. When the persons employed in removing the earth had proceeded to a certain depth, they found the relics, which they immediately took up and reverently placed in three separate coffins.* John de Courcy, then lord of Down, having been made acquainted with the fact and its circumstances, it was agreed that a formal application should be referred to pope Urban III., for the solemn translation of those sacred remains. Delegates were accordingly despatched to Rome, and their memorial having been received and sanctioned by the pontiff, Vivian, cardinal priest of St. Stephen de Monte Cœlio, was sent over to Ireland, with powers to preside as legate apostolic on this august occasion. The ceremony of the translation took place immediately after the arrival of the legate, and on the 9th of June, the festival of St. Columba, the hallowed remains of St. Patrick, St. Brigid, and St. Columbkill were removed from the place in which they had been so long concealed, and deposited with great solemnity in the same monument,† at the right side of the high altar. This interesting ceremony was

* Office of the Translation, printed in Paris, A.D. 1620; Messingham, Florileg.

† Hence the following distich, forming the response to the eighth lesson of the office:—

"Nunc tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in uno,
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius."

attended by fifteen bishops, besides a great number of abbots, priors, deans, and deacons, and a vast concourse of people. On this occasion, likewise, it was decreed, that henceforth the anniversary of this translation should be celebrated as a solemn festival throughout Ireland.

At the close of the twelfth century (in 1192), Matthew O'Heney, archbishop of Cashel, and successor of Maurice,* was appointed legate apostolic for Ireland by pope Celestine III.

The following eulogy of the illustrious O'Heney is recorded in the Annals of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, A.D. 1206:— "Matthew, archbishop of Cashel, legate of all Ireland, the wisest and most religious man of the natives of that country, having founded many churches, and triumphed over the enemy of mankind by working many miracles, voluntarily abandoned all worldly pomp, and happily went to rest in the abbey of Holy Cross."

The civil history of Ireland, at the close of the twelfth century, is truly awful, but does not, of course, come within the scope of this analysis. From the unsettled state of the nation, neither discipline nor morality had in this age been in any manner ameliorated, notwithstanding the number of its synods and the exertions of its eminent men. During the last thirty years, the Church of Ireland had, moreover, sustained many and serious injuries, particularly in Leinster. These, however, had been partly repaired by the labours of archbishop Cumin and of his suffragan bishops, while at the same time many cathedral churches, and several monastic institutions, were founded, which for piety and learning had, in subsequent times, become deservedly celebrated.

* Giraldus Cambrensis, in a conversation which he had with this prelate, endeavoured to lessen the character of the Irish clergy, by observing that none of them had gained the crown of martyrdom, to which the archbishop replied: "It is true, that although our nation may seem uncultivated and rude, yet they were always wont to pay great reverence to ecclesiastical men, and not to stretch their hands on any occasion against the saints of God. But a people are now come into this kingdom, who know how, and are accustomed, to make martyrs. Henceforth Ireland shall, like other countries, have martyrs."—Typographia, dis. 3, chap. xxxii.

CHAPTER II.

Successors of St. Patrick—Episcopal Sees—Religious Foundations of the Twelfth Century.

Celsus (Ceallach), as has been already stated, continued to govern the archiepiscopal see of Armagh until his death in the year 1129. Notwithstanding the many efforts which had been made by Celsus, the work of usurpation was now resumed, while Mauritius, son of the pseudo-archbishop Domnald, was elected by the monopolizing family and thrust into the see. After this usurper had enjoyed the temporalities, together with the primatial title, for about three years, St. Malachy was prevailed upon, by the legate Gillebert and other prelates, to remove from the see of Connor to that of Armagh. So formidable, however, had the power of this faction become, that the saint could not attempt to enter the city until after the death of the usurper, which took place in 1134.

Malachy was now conducted into the city of Armagh by the clergy, together with many of the neighbouring princes and a vast concourse of people, all of whom were determined to put an end to those abuses by which that ancient see had been so long distracted. In the meantime a person named Niel, a brother (as it is supposed) of Celsus, had been set up by the faction; but this intruder was soon compelled to leave Armagh, and in his flight he took with him the text of the Gospels which had belonged to St. Patrick, together with the celebrated staff or crosier of that apostle, usually called *the staff of Jesus*. After St. Malachy had presided over the see for five years, he resigned, and as has been already noticed, repaired to Down, having appointed as his successor*

Gelasius (Gilla-mac-Liegt), abbot of Derry and archdeacon of that diocese. Gelasius had been present at the synod of Kells, and in 1162 he held a synod at Clane, in the county of Kildare, at which twenty-six bishops and many abbots attended. In this synod several decrees relative to discipline and morals were passed; and among others it was unanimously ordered,

* AA. SS. at 27th March.

† Gilla-mac-Lieg: that is, 'Gilla son of the scholar; his father, Roderick, being distinguished in those days as a learned antiquarian. The name has been latinized Gelasius.

that henceforth no person should be appointed as professor of theology in any of the schools in Ireland, unless he had previously studied for some time at Armagh. Gelasius died on the 27th of March, A.D. 1174, and in the 87th year of his age.

CORNELIUS, abbot of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul at Armagh, was, on the death of Gelasius, promoted to the archiepiscopal chair. This prelate, soon after his consecration, set out for Rome, in which city he died on the year following, and was succeeded by

GILBERT O'CARAN, bishop of Raphoe; from which see he had been translated, after the death of Cornelius. Gilbert died A.D. 1180, and had as successor THOMAS O'CONNOR. This prelate, however, after having presided only four years, withdrew to his favourite retirement and resigned the see to

MŒLIOSA O'CARROL, bishop of Clogher. The incumbency of Mœliosa was but of short continuance. Soon after his translation he undertook a journey to Rome, and died on his way thither, A.D. 1184.

AMLAVE O'MURID, his successor, governed the see but one year, and on his death, in 1185,

THOMAS O'CONNOR, who had resigned the archdiocese to Mœliosa O'Carrol, now resumed the government of it. Thomas continued to preside over the primatial see for sixteen years, and is styled in the annals of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, "a noble and a religious man." He died in 1201, and was interred in the abbey of Mellifont.*

In treating of the episcopal sees we shall commence with that of

LIMERICK.—Although the Danish inhabitants of this city had been converted to the Christian faith in the early part of the eleventh century, nevertheless they enjoyed not the benefit of a resident prelate until the year 1106, about which time Gillebert was unanimously chosen by both clergy and people.† Gillebert had been abbot of Bangor, and was most probably a bishop before the clergy of Limerick had invited him to that city. It has been conjectured by some that he was a Dane, because at that time Limerick had been a Danish town; such, however, is not the fact. That Gillebert was an Irishman, and had received his consecration in Ireland, appears evident from the correspondence which had taken place

* Ware, Harris' Bishops.

† According to Ware and some other writers, St. Munchin had been the first bishop of Limerick in the seventh century. The advocates of this opinion have not, however, been able to produce a single prelate in the see of Limerick, from the days of that saint down to the time of Gillebert in 1106. See cent. vii. c. iii.

between him and St. Anselm, with whom he became acquainted in his travels on the continent. Gillebert, during his incumbency, exerted himself in bringing the liturgical practices of Ireland into one uniform system; for which purpose he composed a treatise entitled *De Usu Ecclesiastico.* In this tract he tells the prelates and priests of Ireland, that in compliance with the wishes of many of them, he has endeavoured to point out the canonical custom in saying the hours and in performing the offices of the whole ecclesiastical order. He has also written another tract, under the title *De Statu Ecclesiæ*, in which he arranges the different gradations of bishops, archbishops, primates, and popes, and the orders of the ostiarii, lectors, exorcists, acolythes, sub-deacons, deacons, and priests, assigning at the same time their respective powers and duties.

It has been already noticed that Gillebert was legate apostolic, which office he resigned in 1139, and during the following year was succeeded in the see of Limerick by

Patrick. This prelate, owing to the influence of the Danes, was sent to England, where he was consecrated by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury. Patrick, at his consecration, made the following profession: "I, Patrick, elected to the government of the Church of Limerick, and now, through the grace of God, to be consecrated bishop by thee, most reverend father Theobald, archbishop of the holy Church of Canterbury and primate of all Britain, do promise that I will pay due subjection and canonical obedience in every respect to thee, and to all thy successors who shall succeed thee canonically."* Patrick was the only bishop of Limerick, and the last of any of the Irish bishops, who had made a profession of obedience to the see of Canterbury. His three successors, Harold, Turgese and Brictius, had been Danes, but were consecrated in Ireland. At length

Donald O'Brian, descended from the royal family of the O'Brians of Thomond, became bishop of Limerick towards the close of the twelfth century.

Derry was in this century raised to the rank of an episcopal see; Flathbert O'Brolchan, abbot of the monastery of Derry, having been appointed its first bishop.† This election

* Ware, Bishops; Usher, Syl.

† From this foundation of the see of Derry in 1158 a difficulty arises, which does not appear to have been as yet satisfactorily explained. It may be recollected that, in the list of the episcopal sees drawn up in the synod of Kells, the see of Derry is marked as one of the suffragan sees belonging to Armagh. Again, in the synod of Rath-Breasail, held thirty-four years prior to that of Kells, the see of Derry is also placed in the catalogue of bishopries; nevertheless, we find in all our annals the foundation of the see of Derry assigned to

took place in a synod held at Brigh-Thaig, in Meath (in 1158), and at which Gelasius and Christian, then bishop of Lismore and legate apostolic, with twenty-five other bishops, were present.* It has been already noticed that St. Eugene had, in the sixth century, fixed his see at Ardsrath, in the now county of Tyrone. This see was afterwards translated to Moghera, eight miles distant, the bishops of which were styled Episcopi Rathlurienses, from St. Luroch, whose principal church had been greatly venerated in that ancient place.† The see of Derry, however, having been now established, this see of Rathlure was soon after annexed to it. In 1164 Flathbert, with the assistance of Mac-Laughlin, king of Ireland, founded the cathedral church of Derry. He died in 1175, and was succeeded by Maurice O'Coffy, a canon of the order of St. Augustine, and heretofore bishop of Rathlure.‡

The see of Aghadoe, in Kerry, appears to have been united to that of Ardfert about the year 1158.§ The history of this see has not been satisfactorily accounted for by any of our annalists. It is generally supposed to have taken its rise from the monastery of Innisfallen. This opinion is apparently confirmed by the fact, that its cathedral had been dedicated to St. Finian,‖ from which saint that monastery derived its foundation. In 1158 the great church of Aghadoe

the synod of Brigh-Thaig, in 1158. If Derry had not been a see until 1158, why was it marked in the list of sees, at Kells, in 1152, or in that of Rath-Breasail in 1118? Dr. Lanigan is of opinion that Cencius Camerarius (Honorius III., from whom Keating, Ware, and others have taken their list) must have made a mistake in the catalogue of the episcopal sees which he drew up in his work entitled *Census Camerales* (chap. xxvii. n. 106). But how is it probable that this mistake could occur, not only with respect to the list furnished by the synod of Kells, but likewise with that which had been drawn up at the synod of Rath-Breasail? It is moreover certain, that Cardinal Paparo had, on his return to Rome, brought with him a catalogue of the episcopal sees of Ireland, as determined upon at the synod of Kells; and it is equally certain, that Cencius Camerarius had access to that authentic genuine document. The probability is, that in these synods of Rath-Breasail and Kells, and particularly in the latter, it had been agreed upon, to raise Derry to the rank of an episcopal see, altogether distinct and independent of the ancient bishopric of Rathlure (or Ardsrath), the prelates of which had jurisdiction over the district of Derry, and considerable influence with the princes of the north of Ireland. Maurice O'Coffy, who was bishop of Rathlure (or as it had been also called, Kinel-Eogain) at the time of the council of Kells, was a prelate greatly esteemed, as well by the same dynasts as by the clergy of that extensive district. Owing, therefore, to the influence of these prelates, and perhaps to some unavoidable local circumstances, the actual consecration of a bishop for Derry might have been postponed until 1158. Hence we find that after the resignation of Flathbert, first bishop of Derry, the see of Rathlure was annexed thereto, and the same Maurice O'Coffy, having removed to Derry, became in fact the regular and sole bishop of the union.

* Tr. Th. p. 309. † Ware, Bishops. ‡ Ware's Bishops.
§ Harris' Bishops. ‖ Smith, Hist. of Kerry, p. 67.

was completed by Auliffe-mor, son of Aengus O'Donoughue and prince of that territory. It appears that the diocese of Ardfert comprised the northern part of Kerry, while the southern part belonged to that of Aghadoe.*

Before the close of the twelfth century, several of the minor sees had been discontinued and became united to others. The ancient see of Roscrea was united to that of Killaloe in 1195; and about the same time the see of Inniscatthy became united to that of Limerick, while its possessions were divided between the sees of Limerick, Killaloe, and Ardfert.† The sees of Ardcarn, Dumclive, and Roscommon, were annexed to Elphin. The diocese of Cong became united to Tuam; while the ancient sees of Kells, Slane, Duleek, Ardbraccan, Trim, Skrine, Fore, and Dunshaughlin were all merged in and united to Meath.

Dublin.—On the death of Samuel O'Haingley, in 1121, Celsus, who was then archbishop of Armagh, had, by the consent of many of the Irish and Danes of Dublin, been appointed their bishop ‡ This step was taken for the purpose of bringing that see under the jurisdiction of the primate of Ireland, and of putting an end to the authority of the see of Canterbury. It is probable, however, that Celsus did not undertake the government of the diocese of Dublin; for it appears that a great majority of the burgesses and clergy of the city opposed this appointment and elected Gregory, who was not as yet a deacon, for their bishop.§ In this election the Danish inhabitants had been assisted by Turlogh O'Connor, king of Connaught, to whom Dublin was at that time subject. According to custom, Gregory was sent by the Danish electors to Canterbury, on which occasion he was furnished with a letter from Turlogh O'Connor to Henry I., king of England. Gregory, on his arrival, was ordained deacon and priest by Roger, bishop of Salisbury, and shortly after was consecrated bishop by Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury. The consecration took place at Lambeth, on the 2nd of October, 1121, at which he made the following profession of obedience: "I, Gregory, elected to the government of the Church of Dublin, which is situated in Ireland, and to be consecrated by thee, reverend father Ralph, archbishop of the holy Canterbury and primate of all Britain, do promise that I will observe, in every respect, canonical obedience to thee and all thy successors."‖ Gregory had governed the see for thirty-one years when he received the pallium from Cardinal Paparo,

* Harris' Bishops. † Rochfort's Constitutions (ap. Wilkin's Concilia, vol i).
‡ Four Masters. § Tr. Th. p. 309. ‖ Ware, Bishops.

in the synod of Kells, and thus became the first archbishop of Dublin. His death occurred in 1161, in which year he was succeeded by the holy abbot of Glendaloch,

Laurence O'Toole. The name of this distinguished prelate has been here inserted, in order to notice the regular chain of succession, while the history of his administration as abbot of Glendaloch, and afterwards as archbishop of Dublin, shall be reserved for the third chapter.

John Cumin (or Comin), the successor of St. Laurence O'Toole, arrived in Dublin on the 8th of September, A.D. 1184. This prelate, after having been consecrated by Lucius III., obtained from that pope a bull, dated 13th April, A.D. 1182, by which the pope decrees: "That no archbishop or bishop do presume to hold meetings in the diocese of Dublin, or to treat of the ecclesiastical causes and affairs of said diocese, without the consent of the archbishop of Dublin, if he (the archbishop of Dublin) be actually in his bishopric or see, unless such other prelate be enjoined so to do by the Roman pontiff or his legate."* From this bull of Lucius III., or rather from the more ample one of Honorius III., in the thirteenth century, arose the famous controversy regarding the primatial rights, which had so long subsisted between the sees of Armagh and Dublin. The manifest object of this bull was to exempt the see of Dublin from the exercise of that extensive and, in fact, arbitrary power which the archbishops of Armagh had, by ancient immemorial usage, claimed and enjoyed. It appears that in those former times, when the primate of Armagh had been the only archbishop of Ireland, he made a visitation of each diocese of the kingdom whenever he thought proper, and took into his own hands the uncontrolled management of their internal concerns; in short, he enjoyed a more ample plenitude of power and jurisdiction than the canon law of the twelfth century had allowed to any primate. This bull, therefore, protects the see of Dublin from the extensive jurisdiction of Armagh, but by no means renders it independent of that see; nor does it encroach on the primatial privileges established in the synod of Kells, and particularly in the case of appeals made to, and to be decided by, the primate in his ordinary ecclesiastical court at Armagh.

* The following are the words of the original: "Sacrorum quoque canonum authoritatem sequentes statuimus, ut nullus archiepiscopus vel episcopus absque assensu Dubliniensis archiepiscopi, *si in episcopatu fuerit, in diocesi Dubliniensi* conventus celebrare, causas et ecclesiastica negotia ejusdem dioecesis, nisi per Romanum Pontificem vel legatum ejus fuerit eidem injunctum, tractare presumat."

The obvious meaning, therefore, of the bull of Lucius III. is, that while there is an archbishop of Dublin actually presiding over that diocese, no other prelate, not even the primate, shall attempt to hold meetings or discuss its affairs *within the diocese of Dublin*, except the pope or his legate shall authorize him so to do; nevertheless, it by no means follows that such appeals may not be received and juridically decided by the archbishop of Armagh or primate in his own ecclesiastical court. It does not appear, however, that any of the primates of the twelfth century had remonstrated against this limitation of their prerogatives; the controversy on that subject, being of a much later date, emanated from the more ample exemptions contained in the bull of Honorius III.*

Archbishop Cumin, in 1190, commenced the foundation of the church of St. Patrick in Dublin, on the site of the old parochial church, situated at the extremity of the south suburbs of the city. It had at that time been constituted a collegiate church, with thirteen prebends annexed to it, which number was afterwards increased to twenty-two. The charter of the archbishop is in these words: "We decree, God willing, with the approbation of the holy see of Rome and our prince John, earl of Morton, to make St. Patrick's Church in Dublin a prebendary, and to institute therein a college of clerks, of good life and learning, who, by their virtues and conversation, may give example to others."† This stately edifice was erected into a cathedral during the incumbency of his successor, Henry de Loundres.

The fashion of building churches of stone having now become very general in Ireland, several cathedrals date their foundation from this century. Among these the following may be briefly noticed:

The cathedral of St. Patrick in Down had been rebuilt, 1137, by St. Malachy, and about forty years afterwards was enlarged and beautified by Malachy III. bishop of Down, in which work he was munificently assisted by John De Courcey. In 1183, De Courcey removed the secular canons from the cathedral, and in their place introduced Benedictine monks, whom he brought from the abbey of St. Werburg, in Ch[illegible]. At that time also, this church, which had been before consecrated to the Holy Trinity, was now dedicated to St. Patrick.

The cathedral of St. Mary in Tuam was founded about the year 1152 by Edan O'Hoisin, first archbishop of Tuam, and Tirdelvac O'Connor, king of Ireland.‡ Edan was interred

* See cent. xiii. chap. i. † Ware's Annals. ‡ Ware's Antiq. c. xxix.

in this cathedral in 1161, and on his tomb was an Irish epitaph, in which he is called "comorban, or successor of St. Iarlath." Many of his successors had been benefactors to this church, and particularly Thomas O'Conor, in 1260, by whom a new choir was erected, and the church was considerably enlarged.

The cathedral of St. Columba in Derry, called in the Ulster Annals the great church of Derry, was founded in 1164 by Maurice Mac-Laughlin, king of Ireland.* About that time Maurice O'Coffy, bishop of Ardstrath, removed to Derry, and afterwards effected a union of both sees. Flathbert O'Brolcan, bishop of Derry and abbot of St. Columba, had been a particular benefactor to this church.

The cathedral of St. Patrick in Cashel was erected and endowed by Donald O'Brian, king of North Munster, about the year 1170. This munificent prince bestowed large revenues on the see of Cashel, which were afterwards augmented by the donations of his son Donagh. This spacious and splendid cathedral having been completed, the former church of Cormac was converted into a chapter-house, on the south side of the choir. Richard O'Heden, archbishop of Cashel in 1420, was a munificent benefactor to this church; in that year he repaired and beautified the cathedral, and erected a hall for the vicars-choral, to whom he made over the lands of Grange-Connel and Thurles-beg.†

The cathedral of St. Mary in Limerick was founded by Donald O'Brian, king of North Munster, about the year 1170. During the incumbency of Brictius, in 1194, the following charter was granted by the founder: "Donnald, king of *Lumneach* (Limerick), to all the faithful of God, both present and to come, greeting. Know all, that I have given to Brictius, bishop of *Lumneach*, and to his successors, and to the clergy of St. Mary's of *Lumneach*, in free and perpetual alms, the land of Imungran (Mungret) and the land of Ivamnacham, from the Arch of Imungram to the land of Imalin, and from the ford of *Ceinu* to the river *Sinan*, with all its appurtenances; and in confirmation hereof I set my seal, witness Matthew (O'Heney), archbishop of Cashel, and Ruadri O'Gradei."‡ About the close of the [illegible] O'Brian, bishop of Limerick, appointed prebends to the dean and chapter, while their number was [illegible] Hubert de Burgo, bishop of that see in 1250.

The cathedral of St. Canice in Kilkenny.—This episcopal

* Ware's Antiq. c 29. † Id. ‡ Id.

see, which had first been at Saigar in Ely O'Carol (King's County), was removed to Aghaboe in Upper Ossory, about the middle of the eleventh century, and from thence was, in 1178, translated to Kilkenny by Felix O'Dullany, then bishop of Ossory.* At this period, also, the spacious and beautiful cathedral of Kilkenny was founded by that prelate, and dedicated to the holy abbot St. Canice.† This venerable pile, having braved the storms and unsparing fury of angry times, stands in the nineteenth century an existing monument of the architectural skill, but much more of the piety and zeal, of our happy and religious forefathers. The cathedral, which is purely Gothic, was not, however, finished until the time of bishop St. Leger, in 1286, and about thirty years afterwards Richard Ledred, of the order of St. Francis, and bishop of Ossory, repaired and beautified the interior of the church with polished marble and windows of curious workmanship. But that which renders this cathedral particularly admired, and not to be equalled by anything of this sort in the kingdom, is its grand and lovely situation. It stands on an eminence of easy and gentle ascent, having its base washed by the waters of the winding Nore. The ancient and historically-famed city of Kilkenny, with its abbeys, towers, and castles, in ruins—the pride of former days is distinctly presented to the view, while the commanding prospect of the surrounding country, rich and luxuriant as it is, serves at once to embellish and complete the scene. At a short distance from the church stands one of those round towers for which Ireland is remarkable, and which have given rise to so much discussion among our antiquarians.‡

From the twelfth century may likewise be dated the foundation of several splendid monasteries, belonging either to the Cistercians or to the Canons Regular of St. Augustin. The former of these monastic communities had been introduced into Ireland by St. Malachy, and the latter either by that saint or by Imar, his master, at Armagh. The Canons Regular

* In assigning the above date for the translation of this see to Kilkenny, the chronology of Ware has been followed. Ussher, however, refers to a catalogue of bishops of Ossory (Pr. p. 957), from which a contrary statement appears: the words of this catalogue are—"A. D. MCCII. obiit Reverendus Pater Felix O'Dulane, Episcopus Ossoriensis, cujus Ecclesia Cathedralis *tunc erat apud Aghboo in Superiori Ossoria.*" Should this document be correct, it would follow that the translation of the see had not taken place until after the death of Felix O'Dulany, unless, perhaps, that this prelate might have continued to reside occasionally at Aghaboe, the building of the cathedral at Kilkenny not having been at that time completed.

† Ware's Antiq. ‡ See cent. vi. c. ii.

of St. Augustin, having united the active with the contemplative life, approached nearer than any other order to the ancient monastic institutions of Ireland;* and hence this invaluable body spread most extensively throughout the kingdom. The following monastic foundations of the twelfth century may serve to give us some idea of the religious spirit of those times.

PRIORIES OF THE CANONS REGULAR OF ST. AUGUSTIN.

The priory of Sts. Peter and Paul at Armagh was refounded by Imar, the saintly and learned master of St. Malachy.† Some authorities, however, ascribe its original foundation to Imar, and consider it as an institution altogether distinct from the ancient monastery, which had continued to flourish here since the days of St. Patrick. Whatever variety of opinion may arise on the subject of its foundation, it is at all events certain that its church, having been erected by Imar, was consecrated in 1126, and that it had been the first establishment in this country into which that religious community designated *Canons Regular of St. Augustin*, had been introduced. In process of time it became amazingly enriched, and among other tokens of patronage, it received from the monarch Roderic O'Conor, an annual pension for the purpose of having a public school attached to it. Notwithstanding the furious attacks which on sundry occasions it had sustained from De Courcy, Fitz-Adelm, De Lacy, and other adventurers, this venerable priory was upheld until the era of general confiscation had been ushered in under Henry VIII. Its possessions, which were immense, and of which a brief outline has been already given,‡ were subjected to three formal inquisitions: the first in 1539, under Henry; the second in 1557, under Elizabeth, and the third under James I., in 1603.§ In May, 1612, this priory and its possessions were granted to Sir Toby Caulfield, at a rent of five pounds Irish.‖

The priory of Selsker at Wexford, under the invocation of SS. Peter and Paul, had, according to the most approved opinion, been founded by the Danes in the early part of the twelfth century, for Canons Regular of St. Augustin: while the Roches (de Rupe) a noble and an influential family, have been numbered among its most munificent benefactors.¶ In subsequent times it had been peculiarly patronized and especially by Henry IV. and by Sir John Talbot, afterwards Lord

* See cent. v. p. 22. † Ware's Antiq. c. xxvi. ‡ See cent. v. c. ii. p. 39.
§ King, p. 233, 333. ‖ Lodge, v. 3, p. 86. ¶ Ware's Mon.

Talbot of Furneval and Wexford. The prior of Selsker sat as a baron in parliament. The first inquisition, taken in the 31st year of the reign of Henry VIII., found in the possession of the last prior, John Heygarne, four orchards, two parks, fifteen messuages, with their gardens, and the rectories of St. Patrick, SS. Peter and Paul, and St. Tullogh in the town of Wexford; two hundred and sixty acres of land and eighteen capons, together with the rectories of Kilmachree, Killane, St. Margaret, Ballynane, Slaney, Killuske, and various others in the county of Wexford. In the first year of Edward VI. this priory and the greater part of its possessions were granted to John Parker, in capite, at the annual rent of fifteen shillings.*

The priory of Knock, in the county of Louth, was founded by Donogh O'Carrol, prince of Oriel and Edan, O'Kelly, bishop of Clogher, in 1148, for Canons Regular of St. Augustin† Property to a considerable amount had been bequeathed to this priory by the founders and by other Irish benefactors; nevertheless, in 1417, the prior, James Lockard, was punished by a fine, for having allowed John Mac Kennavan, *a mere Irishman*, to make his profession in this establishment;‡ an event which, with many others of a similar import, may enable us to form some idea of the anti-national spirit of those times. An inquisition was instituted in the 31st of Henry VIII., when the possessions were found to consist of one hundred and twenty acres of arable land in Knock, and three hundred and fifty acres in other parts of the county. These, with the tithes of Grange, Castlering and other townlands, were conferred by James I. on Sir John King.§

The priory of Ferns was founded in the year 1161. The ancient abbey of Ferns, after having flourished for more than five centuries from the date of its erection by St. Aidan, was set on fire, together with the town of Ferns, by Dermod Mac Morogh ‖ That prince, desirous of making some public atonement for his glaring acts of profanation, caused the abbey to be re-built for Canons Regular of St. Augustin, and endowed it with six extensive townlands. Dermod, after having lived to an advanced age, died in 1171, and was buried in this priory. From the munificent grants which had, at subsequent periods, been conferred on this foundation, it became an invaluable asylum for the poor, and continued its works of charity until the 31st of Henry VIII. In that year the

* Aud.-Gen. † Ware's Mon. ‡ King, p. 216
§ King, p. 264. ‖ AA. SS. p. 223

following lands, parcel of its possessions, became merged in the general confiscation: one hundred and twenty acres in the town, called Abbot's-garden; one hundred and twenty acres in Moghane; one hundred and twenty-six in Ballimore; two hundred and twenty acres in Ballyntogher, and other places, together with the tithes and alterages of the same. In the 26th of Elizabeth, a lease of this priory was given to Thomas Masterson, at the annual rent of £16 1s. 2d.*

The priory of All Saints, on Hoggin Green, now called College Green, in Dublin, was founded in 1166 by Dermod Mac Morogh, for Canons Regular of the Congregation of Arouasia.† This priory had been richly endowed by the founder and by Theobald Butler, lord justice of Ireland in 1247. Its priors were lords of parliament, the last of whom was Walter Handcock. In 1538, a grant of this priory and of its possessions, consisting of one thousand seven hundred acres of arable and pasture land, three hundred acres of wood and moor, with their appurtenances, in Rathdrum and Ballynegunnagh, and the rectories of St. Paul, Tachto, Rathdrum and St. Saviour at Glendaloch, was made to the city of Dublin, at the annual rent of £4 4s.‡ The priory of All Saints was granted in 1590 for an university, and accordingly, the ancient building having been demolished, the present college was erected on the site thereof.§

The priory of St. Thomas (Becket) was erected by William Fitz-Adelm, for Canons Regular of the order of St. Victor, on the site now called Thomas Court, in Dublin, about the year 1177. This abbey became in after times splendidly endowed, the prior of which was a lord of parliament. In 1534, the last prior, Henry Duffe, made a surrender of the establishment, and received an annual pension of £12. By the second scrutiny, instituted in the 31st of Henry VIII, the prior was seized of the manor and two hundred acres of arable land in Kyll, three hundred and twenty acres in Arthurstown and Alliston, together with the tithes of eight townlands, all situated in the county of Kildare. The possessions of this priory were granted to several persons, and particularly to William Brabazon, ancestor to the earl of Meath.‖

The priory of Kells, in the barony of [illegible] of Kilkenny, was founded, under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, by Geoffry Fitz-Robert, for Canons Regular of St. Augustin, in 1193. This foundation was confirmed by Felix O'Dullany, bishop of Ossory, and by various charters

* Aud.-Gen. † Harris' Collect. ‡ Aud.-Gen.
§ Ware's Annals. ‖ Lodge, vol. i.

during the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, and other monarchs.* The prior of Kells sat as a baron in parliament. Its last prior was Philip Holegan, under whom, in the 31st of Henry VIII, its possessions had been surrendered: viz., forty-five messuages and two hundred and ten acres of arable land in Kells, together with thirty-three messuages, three water-mills, and eleven hundred acres of wood and arable land in Desert, Grange, and other parts of the county of Kilkenny, and the rectories of Kells, Knoctopher, Kilmaganey, Burnchurch, and twelve others, all situated in the said county. This priory, and six carucates of land, with the rectory of Kells, were granted, in capite to James earl of Ormond.†

The priory of SS. Peter and Paul, in Clare, was erected for Canons Regular by Donald O'Brien. In 1620, this priory, with nine rectories, were granted to Donogh, earl of Thomond.‡

The priory of Kilrush, in the county of Kildare, was founded at the close of the twelfth century, for Canons Regular, by William, earl of Pembroke. At the suppression, it was granted to the earl of Ormond.§

The priory of Naas was founded about the same period by a baron of Naas, for Canons Regular. This priory, with its possessions, was granted by Elizabeth to Richard Mannering.‖

The priory of Inisneganagh, in the Shannon, near Thomond, had for its founder Donald O'Brien, at the close of the twelfth century. In 1609 a grant of it was made to Donogh, earl of Thomond.¶

The priory of St. Mary, in Navan, county of Meath, was founded for Canons Regular, by Jocelin de Angulo or Nangle. This priory and three hundred and sixty acres of land were granted at an annual rent to Robert Dillon.**

The priory of Colpe, in the county of Meath, had Hugh De Lacy for its founder. Its property, which consisted mostly of tithes in various counties, became merged in the general confiscation.

The priory of Ballybogan (De Laude Dei) county of Meath, was founded for Canons Regular, by Jordan Comin at the close of the twelfth century. This establishment was surrendered in the 19th of Henry VIII, when its possessions were found to consist of five thousand two hundred acres of arable and pasture land in various counties. The priory, with various parcels of its possessions, was granted to Sir William Birmingham, at an annual rent of £4 3s. 4d.††

If to these may be added a considerable number of the

* Dugdale, vol. ii. † Aud.-Gen. ‡ Rolls. § Aud.-Gen.
‖ Harris' Collect. ¶ Rolls. ** Aud. Gen. †† Aud.-Gen.

ancient monastic foundations of the kingdom, which about this period had adopted the rule of the Canons Regular of St. Augustin, it may be seen to what an extent this learned body had diffused itself over Ireland, before even the commencement of the thirteenth century.

ABBEYS OF THE CISTERCIAN ORDER FOUNDED IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

The abbey of Mellifont, in the barony of Ferrard and county of Louth, was founded for Cistercian monks in 1142, by Donogh O'Carrol, king of Oriel, and was supplied with monks by St. Bernard, from the abbey of Clairvaux.* Mellifont was the most ancient monastery of the Cistercian Order in Ireland, having for its first abbot Christian O'Conarchy, afterwards bishop of Lismore and legate apostolic. In 1157 a synod was held here for the purpose of consecrating the church, and at which, besides the legate, several princes and bishops of the kingdom attended.† Among other offerings made on this occasion was one from the celebrated Dervorgill, wife of O'Rouarc, prince of Breffny. She gave sixty ounces of gold, with a chalice of the same metal for the high altar, and presented furniture for nine other altars. The abbots of Mellifont sat as barons in parliament; the last of whom, Richard Conter, received on its suppression in 1540, an annual pension of £40 for life. According to the last inquisition, the possessions consisted of one hundred acres, being the demesne land, five water-mills, eight messuages, and two hundred and fifty-five acres of land in the Sheep-Grange, together with seventy-two messuages, and two thousand acres in the county of Louth. The property in the county of Meath amounted to one hundred and eighty-one messuages, and two thousand five hundred and ninety-six acres of arable and pasture land, besides the tithes of various rectories in both counties. These extensive possessions, belonging to the abbey, were granted to Sir Gerald Moore.‡

The abbey of St. Mary, in Dublin, was erected by the Danes, but the date of its foundation has not been accurately ascertained. Some annalists mark it at the year 948, yet this statement cannot be consistently admitted. It was certainly in existence in the eleventh century, and it is equally undeniable that the Cistercians had been introduced here in the year 1139.§ The abbot of St. Mary's sat as a baron in parliament, while the establishment, from the bequests of princes,

* Clynn. Annals. † Four Masters. ‡ Harris' Tab. § Annal. ejusdem Mon.

prelates and others, became exceedingly rich. William Laundy, the last abbot, received in 1540 an annual pension of £50, at which period one thousand nine hundred and forty-eight acres, parcel of its property, situated in the counties of Dublin and Meath, had been confiscated. A considerable part of the possessions had been consigned to Maurice, earl of Thomond, and to James, earl of Desmond. In 1543, the abbey was granted to James, earl of Kildare; but on condition that he and his heirs would forfeit it, should they attempt at any time to confederate with the Irish.* This abbey was, however, in the twenty-fourth year of Elizabeth, presented to Thomas, earl of Ormond, in common soccage, at the annual rent of five shillings, Irish money.

The abbey of Bectiff, in the barony of Navan and county of Meath, was erected in 1146 by Mac Laughlin, king of Meath, for Cistercians. The abbot of Bectiff was a lord of parliament. In the 34th of Henry VIII. the possessions, amounting to twenty messuages and one thousand two hundred acres of arable and pasture land in the county of Meath, became involved in the common confiscation.†

The abbey of Baltinglass (de Valle Salutis) in the barony of Talbotstown, county of Wicklow, was founded in 1151, for Cistercian monks, by Dermod Mac Morogh, king of Leinster.‡ In the year 1380 it was enacted in parliament, "that no mere Irishman should be allowed to make his profession here." The abbot of Baltinglass sat as a baron in parliament. Its last abbot was John Galbally, in 1536. By an inquisition taken in the 33rd of Henry VIII., the possessions were forty acres of pasture, one hundred of wood, a mill and watercourse in Baltinglass, together with thirty messuages, and seven hundred and twenty acres of arable and pasture land in various parts of the counties of Wicklow and Kildare. This abbey and its possessions were granted to Thomas Eustace, viscount Baltinglass; and by the 30th of Elizabeth, a second grant was made to Sir Henry Harrington, to hold in capite for ever, at the annual rent of £11 19s., Irish money.§

The abbey of Nenay, in the barony of Poble O'Brian, and county of Limerick, was founded by Donald O'Brian, for Cistercians, A.D. 1151. The abbot was a baron of parliament. At the suppression, this abbey, with nine townlands, parcel of the possessions, was given to Sir Henry Wallop.‖

The abbey of Odorney (called Kyrie Eleison), in the

* Lodge, vol. i. † Chief Remem. ‡ Ware's Antiq.
§ Aud. Gen. ‖ Id.

barony of Clanmaurice, and county of Kerry, was founded for Cistercians in 1157. The abbot was a baron of parliament. In 1537 a grant was made of this abbey to Edmund, lord Kerry, then created baron of Odorney. By the 39th of Elizabeth, a parcel of the possessions was granted to the provost and fellows of Trinity College, Dublin.*

The abbey of Newry (De Viridi Ligno), in the county of Down, was erected in 1156 for Cistercians, by Murtogh Mac Laughlin, king of Ireland. Edward III. seized on the lands of this abbey, alleging "that the community had been mere Irish."† The last abbot was John Prole. This abbey was granted by Edward VI. to Sir Nicholas Bagnal.‡

The abbey of Fermoy (De Castro Dei), county of Cork, dates its foundation from the year 1170. In the 33rd of Elizabeth this Cistercian abbey, with eighteen townlands on the south side of the Blackwater, was granted to Sir Richard Grenville, at a rent of £15 18s. 4d.§

The abbey of Boyle, in the county of Roscommon.—The Cistercians of Grelacdinach removed here in 1171. Tomultach Mac Dermot was its last abbot. By the inquisition under Elizabeth, its possessions amounted to two thousand three hundred and fifty acres in various counties. Elizabeth made a grant of this abbey and of its possessions to Patrick Cusack. In 1603 a second grant of this abbey was made to Sir John King.‖

The abbey of Maur (De Fonte Vivo), at Carigiliky, in the West Carbery, county of Cork, was founded by Dermod Mac-Cormac-Mac-Carthy, king of Desmond, for Cistercians, in 1172. This abbey, and fourteen townlands, with several rectories, were granted, in the 30th of Elizabeth, to Nicholas Walsh, at the annual rent of £28 6s. 6d.¶

The abbey of St. Mary, Monaster-evan (De Rosea Valle), in the county of Kildare, was founded for Cistercians by Dermod O'Dempsey, prince of Ophaly, in the year 1178. In 1297 the abbot was accused of having received many of the Irish into this monastery; he was acquitted by the jury, but was fined half a marc, because, as the court stated, "he did not raise the hue-and-cry against them." The abbot of Monasterevan sat as a baron in parliament. At the time of the general suppression, this abbey was granted to George, lord Audley. It was afterwards assigned to Adam Loftus, viscount Ely, and finally fell into the possession of the earl of Drogheda.**

* Chief Remem. † King, p. 135. ‡ Aud. Gen. § Id.
‖ Lodge, vol. v. ¶ Aud.-Gen. ** King, p. 377.

The abbey of Ashro (De Samario) near Ballyshannon, county of Donegal, was founded by Roderic O'Canavan, prince of Tir-connel, for Cistercians, in 1179. In the 31st of Elizabeth, the possessions, amounting to fifty-three quarters of land and the tithes of eleven townlands, became merged in the general confiscation.*

The abbey of Jerpoint, in the barony of Knoctopher and county of Kilkenny, was founded for Cistercians in 1180, by Donald, prince of Ossory. The founder and Felix O'Dullany, bishop Ossory, were interred in this abbey. Although this extensive foundation had been splendidly endowed by Donald and other chieftains of Ossory, it had not, however, been exempted from the illiberal enactments of the fourteenth century. In 1380 it was ordained by parliament that "no mere Irishman should be permitted to make his profession in this abbey." The abbots of Jerpoint were lords of parliament, the last of whom was Oliver Grace. By an inquisition taken in the 31st of Henry VIII., the possessions consisted of fifteen messuages and two hundred and twenty-four acres of arable and pasture land in Jerpoint, together with four water mills, forty-three messuages and one thousand three hundred and twenty acres of land in various parts of the county; also the rectories of Jerpoint, the Rowre, Blancherstown, and fourteen others, all situated in the county of Kilkenny. The possessions were granted to James, earl of Ormond, to hold in capite, at the annual rent of £49 3s. 9d.†

The abbey of Middleton (De Choro), in the barony of Imokilly and county of Cork, dates its foundation from the year 1180. In the sixteenth century, this Cistercian abbey became numbered among the ruins of the country.

Black Abbey, of St. Andrew de Stokes, in the Ardes, county of Down, had for its founder John De Courcey, in 1180. It was a Benedictine monastery, and was granted, together with various townlands, by James I. to viscount Clandeboys.‡

The abbey of Iniscourcey, situated in a peninsula in the county of Down, was erected for Cistercians by John De Courcey in 1180, immediately after the adventurer had demolished the ancient abbey of Carrig. By the enactments 1380 "no mere Irishman had been allowed to make his profession in this abbey." In the sixteenth century it was given, with eleven carucates of land, to Gerald, earl of Kildare.§

The abbey of Holy Cross, in the barony of Eliogurty

* King, p. 403. † Aud.-Gen. ‡ Harris' Tab. § Aud.-Gen.

and county of Tipperary, was founded in 1182, by Donald O'Brian, king of North Munster, in honour of the Holy Cross, for monks of the Cistercian Order. Its abbot was styled earl of Holy Cross: he was a lord of parliament and vicar-general of the Cistercians in Ireland. The last abbot was William O'Dwyre. In the 5th of Elizabeth, the abbey and two hundred and twenty acres of land in Holy Cross, twenty acres in Thurles, and one hundred and eighty acres in other places, parcel of its possessions, were granted to Gerald, earl of Ormond.* The architecture of this abbey was uncommonly splendid. The very ruins, which to this day occupy a considerable space, may serve to point out the former greatness of this once celebrated establishment. Its steeple, supported by an immense Gothic arch, with a display of ogives springing diagonally from the angles, has been greatly admired. The choir is forty-nine feet broad and fifty-eight feet long, with lateral aisles. On the south side of the choir are two chapels, intersected by a double row of Gothic arches; and on the north-side are two other chapels, finished in the same style as the former. The river Suir flows near the base of these extensive and awfully-magnificent ruins.

The abbey of Dunbrody (Portus Sanctæ Mariæ), in the barony of Shelburne and county of Wexford, was founded in 1182. Hervey de Monte Morisco, seneschal of the estates belonging to Strongbow, made a considerable grant of lands to St. Mary and to St. Benedict, and to the monks of Bildewas, in Shropshire, for the purpose of erecting an abbey here for Cistercians; Felix O'Dullany, bishop of Ossory, being one of the witnesses of the charter. Hervey, the founder of this abbey, became soon after a monk in the monastery of the Holy Trinity, in Canterbury. In 1380, it was enacted "that no mere Irishman be suffered to profess in this abbey." The abbot of Dunbrody sat as a baron in parliament. Alexander Devereux, the last abbot, surrendered the establishment in 1539, after having first provided for his relations by the sacrilegious plunder of its possessions.† By an inquisition taken in the 37th of Henry VIII., this abbey was found to possess sixty acres of pasture and an extensive grange in Dunbrody, one hundred and twenty acres in Battlestown, eighty acres in Duncannon, sixty acres in Clonard, and eleven hundred and thirty acres of arable and pasture land in various parts of the county of Wexford; besides immense possessions in Connaught and in the counties of Limerick and Waterford.

* Aud.-Gen. † See cent. xvi. c. 1.

In 1546 these possessions were granted to Osborne Itchingham, at the annual rent of £3 10s. 6d.; while in the 20th of Elizabeth, the lands and rectories belonging to this abbey in the county of Limerick, were conceded to Robert Callan.*

The ruins of the abbey of Dunbrody, rising in awful grandeur just at the conflux of the rivers Suir and Barrow, present a truly picturesque and magnificent appearance. These ruins, including the cloister and church, are perhaps the most complete, and at the same time the most extensive, of any in the kingdom. At the west-end stood the porch, adorned with filigree open-work cut in stone, while the immense Gothic window which rises above it, displays an amazing specimen of curious and splendid architecture. The chancel and the walls of the church are entire; within it are three chapels, vaulted and groined; while the aisles are separated from the nave by a double row of arches, with a moulding which reclines on beautiful consoles. The tower also is complete, and the arch on which it rests is, for its curious and expansive curviture, universally admired.

The abbey of Leix, in the barony of Cullinagh, Queen's County, was founded for Cistercians in 1183, by Cnoghor O'More. By an inquisition taken under Edward VI., the property consisted of three hundred acres of land in the town of Abbbeyleix, and nine hundred acres in various parts of the county. In the 5th of Elizabeth this abbey, with parcel of its possessions, was consigned to Thomas, earl of Ormond, at the yearly rent of £6 16s. 8d.†

The abbey of Inislaunaugh (Surium), in the barony of Offa and Iffa, county of Tipperary, was founded, or as some assert, re-founded, by Donald O'Brian, king of North Munster, for Cistercians, in 1184. In the 19th of Elizabeth, the possessions, consisting of one thousand nine hundred acres of land, in the counties of Tipperary and Waterford, were given to Cormac Mac Carthy, at an annual rent of £24 Irish.*

The abbey of Kilcumin, in the barony of Kilnelongurty, county of Tipperary, was founded for Benedictines, by Philip of Worcester, in 1184. It was a cell to the Benedictine house at Glastonbury, and during the reign of Henry VIII. became a ruin.

The abbey of Knocmoy (De Colle Victoriæ), in the barony of Tiaquin, county of Galway, was founded by Cathal O'Connor for Cistercians, in 1190. Hugh O'Kelly, the last abbot, after having acknowledged the supremacy of Henry

* Aud.-Gen. † Chief Remem. ‡ Aud.-Gen.

VIII., obtained a grant of it, but enjoyed it only a very short time when his career on this earth terminated. The property, situated in the counties of Galway and Sligo, was extensive. In 1620 Valentine Blake held the abbey and a considerable part of the possessions.*

Gray Abbey (De Jugo Dei), in the barony of Ardes and county of Down, was founded by Africa, wife of John De Courcey, for Cistercians, in 1193. This abbey, with sixteen carucates of land, parcel of its possessions, was granted to Gerald, earl of Kildare.†

The abbey of Athlone, to the west of the Shannon, was founded for Cistercians in the twelfth century. At the suppression, it was granted to Sir Richard Bingham.‡

The abbey of Corcumroe (De Petra Fertili), in the barony of Burren and county of Clare, was founded for Cistercians by Donald O'Brian, king of north Munster, in 1194. This abbey, with eleven quarters of land, was granted to Sir Richard Harding.§

From this century likewise must be dated the foundation of several commanderies, belonging to the Knights Templars and Hospitallers in Ireland.

The priory of Kilmainham,‖ near Dublin, was founded under the invocation of St. John the Baptist, about the year 1174, for Knights Templars, by Richard, surnamed Strongbow. A circumstantial account of this establishment, and of many others, shall be reserved for the sixteenth century.¶

The commandery of Clontarf, county of Dublin, was erected during the reign of Henry II. for Knights Templars. Sir John Rawson, prior of Kilmainham, obtained in 1541 an annual pension, paid to him out of the lands of this commandery.**

The commandery of St. John and St. Brigid, Wexford, was founded for Knights Hospitallers, in the twelfth century, by William Mareschal, earl of Pembroke. Before the suppression of the Templars, this was the grand commandery of the Hospitallers in Ireland; a title which was afterwards transferred to Kilmainham. The possessions of this preceptory were confiscated in 1540.

The commandery of Kilsaran, in the barony of Ardee and county of Louth, was erected for Knights Templars, by Maud De Lacy, in the twelfth century. The possessions were made over to the crown in 1541.

* Lib. Inquisit. † Aud.-Gen. ‡ King. p. 258. § Aud.-Gen.

‖ It was anciently called Kil-Magneud, St. Magneud having been abbot here in the seventh century.

¶ See cent. xvi. chap. ii. ** Ware, Antiq.

The commandery of Killure, in the barony of Gualtiere and county of Waterford, dates its foundation from the twelfth century. In the 25th of Elizabeth it was granted to Nicholas Aylmer.

The commandery of Kilbarry, in the barony of Middlethird and county of Waterford, was founded about the same period for Knights Templars. In the sixteenth century it became numbered among the general confiscations.

The commandery of Kilclogan, in the barony of Shelburne and county of Wexford, was founded for Knights Templars by O'More, in the twelfth century. In the 30th of Elizabeth, this preceptory was granted to Sir Henry Harrington, at the annual rent of £35 6s. 8d.*

The commandery of Ballyhack, in the county of Wexford, dates its erection from the same period. It was subject to that of Kilclogan, and became merged in the same confiscation.

The commandery of Tully, in the county of Kildare, was founded for Knights Hospitallers, in the twelfth century. This preceptory, with three hundred acres of land, and various rectories, was conceded to Sir Henry Harrington, at the annual rent of £21 6s. 8d.†

The commandery of Castle Buy, in the Ardes, county of Down, was erected for Knights Hospitallers by Hugh De Lacy, in the twelfth century. During the sixteenth century it became a ruin.

The commandery of Kilmainham-beg, in the barony of Kells, and county of Meath, was founded in the reign of Richard I., for Knights Hospitallers, by Walter De Lacy. In the 33rd of Elizabeth, this commandery was granted to Sir Patrick Barnwall, at the annual rent of £63 12s. 2d.‡

Many of the establishments founded by Irish princes are placed in this catalogue, and abundantly prove, that in Ireland religion had patrons of her own, without seeking for the aid of foreigners. A great number of monastic foundations had, no doubt, been richly endowed by some of the English at this period, but the enactments which in after years had been passed, and particularly under Edward II., rendered it impossible for Irishmen to derive any benefit from these establishments. Whatever might have been the motives which influenced De Lacy, De Courcey, and other leaders, to signalize themselves in this respect, it is certain that they were, at the very same time, everywhere enriching themselves with the

* See cent. xvi. chap. ii. † Aud.-Gen. ‡ Id.

plunder of Church-property. The testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis on this subject shall conclude this chapter. After having stated that Robert Fitz-Stephen, Hervey De Monte Morisco, and John De Courcey had not deserved to enjoy legitimate offspring, Giraldus adds: "This is not to be wondered at; for the miserable clergy are reduced to beggary in the island. The cathedral churches mourn, *having been robbed by the aforesaid persons*, and by others along with them, of those lands and ample estates which had been formerly granted to them faithfully and devoutly. Thus, the exalting of the Church has been changed into the despoiling or plundering of the Church."* And again: "The greatest disadvantage of all was, that while we conferred no advantage on the Church of Christ, in our new principality, we not only did not think it worthy of any important bounty, or of due honour, but even after having taken away its possessions, we have employed ourselves either in mutilating or in abrogating its former dignities and ancient privileges."†

CHAPTER III.

Religious and Literary Characters of the Twelfth Century—General Observations.

Since the days of the early fathers of the Irish Church, there has not appeared a greater or a more distinguished supporter of religion than

St. Malachy.‡—This holy man was of the ancient and noble family of the O'Morgairs, and was born at Armagh about the year 1095. At a very early age, Malachy formed the determination of renouncing the world, and of consecrating himself to the service of religion; for which purpose he repaired to Imar, an austere and saintly man, at that time residing in a cell near Armagh. The extraordinary progress which he had made in this school of Christian perfection, soon attracted the notice of Celsus, who was then primate of Ireland. Malachy was ordained priest by this prelate, although he had not at the time attained the canonical age; and was immediately after appointed his vicar, with full powers for

* Proemium to the second edition of "Hibernia Expugnata."

† Hiber. Expug. l. 2, chap. xxxv.

‡ His original name was Maolmaodhog; that is, servant of Maidoc, or of St. Aidan, bishop of Ferns. This name has been latinized into Malachy.

effecting such reforms in morals and discipline, as the Church of Armagh might, at that time, seem to require. With a view to accomplish these important objects, Malachy commenced by establishing the custom of singing the canonical hours in all the churches of the diocese, and succeeded in substituting the Roman office and liturgy, in place of the one (Cursus Gallorum) generally used by the Irish clergy.* Before this time, the usual mode of contracting marriages in Ireland had been by espousal, or as theologians express it, *sponsalia de futuro*, and which, attended with certain conditions, was as valid as the matrimonial contract now used *(de præsenti)*.† This espousal was accompanied by the sacerdotal benediction, and when the time specified by the parties had elapsed, the marriage became ratified and binding, without their having had recourse to the contract *de præsenti*. This custom of celebrating the marriage contract was not in those days confined to Ireland: it prevailed very generally in other countries until the time of the council of Trent, when it was prohibited as well by the canons of that general council, as by the civil laws of several Christian states. Neither was that impediment observed at this period in Ireland, by which marriage was prohibited within the seventh degree of consanguinity or affinity. Considering the system of clanship which then prevailed in this country, and the practice of marrying chiefly within their septs, this canonical rule could not, without much inconvenience, be adopted here, and, in fact, it had, after some time, been found so difficult to observe it anywhere, that it was soon after deemed necessary to have it modified, by limiting the prohibition within the fourth degree, both of consanguinity and affinity. However, Malachy succeeded in introducing these canonical impediments all over the diocese of Armagh; in like manner, the marriage contract *de præsenti* was, at least in that part of Ireland, now substituted instead of the espousal, which had been usually practised in preceding times.

In 1123 the saint repaired to Lismore, for the purpose of acquiring a still greater knowledge of the Scriptures and of ecclesiastical discipline, under the venerable Malchus, then

* See Appendix III.

† That this practice was observed in Ireland, even so late as A. 1566, is attested by Good, an English priest. This man conducted, at that time, a school in Limerick, where he was hospitably received and cherished by the inhabitants; but these favours he afterwards repaid with low scurrility and base ingratitude. However, on the subject of Marriage, he says—"Extra oppida raro matrimonia contrahunt, nec de præsenti, sed de futuro promittunt."—Ap. Camden.

bishop of that see. It has been already stated, that after he had been called home from this retreat, he was consecrated by Celsus, and placed over the then vacant see of Connor. This diocese, being contiguous to Armagh, had, it appears, suffered more from the scandalous proceedings of the pseudo-archbishops than any other, and was, when Malachy had been placed over it, in a state of the most deplorable disorder. The ministers of the altar were but few, confessions were neglected, neither preaching nor the other public duties of the Church had been observed; in short, the sacraments, and all the sacred obligations of religion, seemed to have been almost universally abandoned. A reformation was, however, soon effected: Malachy went amongst them, and admonished them both publicly and privately; he rebuilt churches, ordained clergymen, had the word of life announced to the faithful, the confessional was attended, the sacraments were frequented, and in a very few years, he had the consolation of seeing around him a people orderly and religious, and, in every respect an example for the rest of the community.* It is generally considered that this is the portion of the Irish Church to which St. Bernard alludes in his life of St. Malachy, and which that venerable writer represents as being at the time immerged in a state of actual barbarism. It is evident that he could not have applied the terms generally; for in the rest of Ireland, religion was enforced and practised, while the different sees in each of the provinces had been governed by bishops who, for piety and learning, ranked foremost amongst the prelates of the Christian Church at this period. In 1132, Malachy consented to undertake the government of the archdiocese of Armagh. Various were the difficulties to which he had been exposed, before he succeeded in rescuing this see out of the hands of those powerful persons by whom it had been so long usurped. For the history of these proceedings, together with his retiring to the see of Down, his journey to Rome, and his return as legate apostolic to Ireland, the reader must be referred to the detail already given in the first chapter.

The responsibility arising out of the various duties of this important and arduous commission, had now called forth all the zeal and energy of the saint. He made a visitation of the provinces, correcting some, encouraging others, and instructing all. These journeys were always performed on foot, and although he had been invited and courted by the great, he nevertheless preferred to take up his abode in such of the

* S. Bernard, Vita S. Mal. chap. vi.

monasteries as were most remarkable for poverty and religious discipline. During his sojourn in these retreats, the saint contented himself with the humble fare of the establishment, and performed all the duties of the institute, so as to edify and encourage every member of the community.* St. Bernard in his circumstantial and beautiful life of St. Malachy, relates an occurrence which had then taken place at Cork, in nearly the following words:—About this time the see of Cork became vacant; but the clergy had not yet determined on the person whom they should select for promotion to the episcopal chair of that ancient diocese. When the saint had arrived in that city, he was consulted on this subject, and the appointment to the vacant see was now placed exclusively in his hands. Malachy, however, thought not of selecting any one of the nobles, or of the rich and powerful—all these he passed over; while, in the presence of the clergy and people, he presently named a man both poor and humble, and a stranger in that part of the country, but with whose merits he had been already acquainted. Messengers having been immediately despatched, it was soon discovered that this person had been confined to his bed, and was in so weak a condition, that he could not possibly appear before them unless he had been carried out by others. "Let him arise in the name of the Lord," observed the saint, "I command him: by his obedience shall he be restored to health." The humble individual, deeming himself unworthy to be exalted to such a station, yet willing to obey the order of the saint, made an effort to arise from his bed, when at once he found his strength returning, and was able to walk to the church with facility and firmness. Having appeared before the assembly, he was placed in the episcopal chair amidst the congratulations of both clergy and people, and was soon after consecrated bishop of Cork.† It is generally supposed that this pious bishop was Gilla Aeda O'Mugin, who had been about this time abbot of St. Finbar's, and from whom that ancient foundation had derived the name of Gill Abbey. This opinion is strongly confirmed by the fact, that the abbey of Finbar had been rebuilt in this century for strangers from Connaught, the country of St. Finbar himself; and it is, moreover, certain that the newly-elected prelate was a native of that province;—a circumstance explanatory of and corresponding with the term *stranger*, so distinctly marked in the text of St. Bernard. While Malachy had been stationed at Down, his brother, Christian (Gilla-Criost, bishop of Clogher,

* S. Bernard, Vita, chap. xii. † S. Bernard, Vita, chap. xiii.

died: this saintly and learned prelate is also greatly extolled by St. Bernard, and most honourable mention has been made of him in almost all our annals.

After the synod of Holmpatrick, in 1148, Malachy proceeded on his second journey to Rome, for the purpose of obtaining the palliums: however, when he had reached Clairvaux, he was seized with a fever after having celebrated Mass, on the festival of St. Luke. St. Bernard and his community were greatly affected; and when the brethren who had accompanied Malachy from Ireland, encouraged him, and prayed that he might not be taken from them, he observed: "Malachy must die this year; behold the day is approaching, which, as you well know, I always wished should be my last." In fact, the saint had often expressed a desire of terminating his mortal career in the monastery of Clairvaux, and hence it was, that in his former interview with the pope, he earnestly implored that he might be permitted to resign his bishopric in Ireland; a request which could not at that time be granted. On finding the last night of his life approaching, he addressed the brethren with the greatest possible cheerfulness, and having received the last sacraments, the saint raised his eyes to heaven and said: "O God! preserve them in thy name, and not only these, but likewise all those who, through my ministry, have bound themselves to thy service." Then, to use the words of St. Bernard, placing his hands on the head of each, and blessing them all, he desired them to go to rest, whereas his hour was not yet come. About midnight the whole community assembled, and several abbots were in attendance with St. Bernard and the brethren to watch his exit. Shortly after he expired, in the 54th year of his age, on the 2nd of November, A.D. 1148, in the place and at the time which he had long ardently desired. His death resembled sleep: so placid and cheerful was his countenance. When the body was conveyed to the church, St. Bernard observed a boy, one of whose arms had been withered; he called him forth and desired him to apply the arm to the hand of St. Malachy; the boy obeyed, and was instantly cured. St. Bernard preached the funeral oration, In the life already mentioned, he has given an authentic account of a number of miracles which had been wrought by means of our saint, both during his life and after his death. St. Malachy was canonized by pope Clement III., A.D. 1192.*

* Mabillon, Chron. Bernard, Col. 10.
† Four Masters ap. Tr. Th. p. 309. Lorcan has been latinized into Laurentius.

St. Laurence O'Toole (Lorcan O'Tuathal†) was of the illustrious house of the O'Tooles, princes of Imaly, in the now county of Wicklow. When Laurence had been about ten years of age, he was given as a hostage by his father to Dermod Mac-Morogh, then king of Leinster. This wicked prince treated Laurence with great cruelty; however, he was soon after restored to his parents, and committed by them to the care of the venerable bishop of Glendaloch, for the purpose of being instructed in learning and piety. Laurence continued under the guidance of this good prelate, and made such progress in religious acquirements, that, at the age of twenty-five, he was elected abbot of the monastery of Glendaloch, which, it must be remarked, had at that time been distinct from the bishopric. The wealth of this abbey being then very considerable, was employed by Laurence in relieving the poor, and particularly during the famine which had, at that period, raged throughout all this district. Some years after, on the death of the bishop of Glendaloch, Laurence was unanimously chosen his successor; this dignity he, however, declined, alleging that he had not yet attained the age required by the canons. Harris, in treating on this occurrence, says: "He declined the see, because he could not have the opportunities of exerting his strong disposition to charity when bishop of Glendaloch, as he had when abbot, the revenues of the bishopric being much inferior to those of the abbey."

Upon the death of Gregory, archbishop of Dublin, in 1161, Laurence was chosen by the electors of that diocese, but persisted for a long time in refusing to comply with their entreaties. He was, however, at length prevailed upon to submit, and was accordingly consecrated in Christ Church, Dublin, by Gelasius, the primate, accompanied by many bishops and a great number of the clergy.* The ardent attachment which he had always evinced for regular discipline, could not, even in his present situation, be dispensed with. Accordingly, on his accession to the see, Laurence induced the canons of Christ Church, who had been at the time secular canons,† to become canons regular of the congregation of Aroasia. To the

* Vita S. Laurent. chap. x.

† These canons had been, in all probability, that description of ecclesiastics known in this age by the name of Culdees or Colidei, that is, persons living in community; *Ceile*, in Irish, meaning *together*, and *Dae*, a *man*. The Culdees were secular clergymen; they lived in community, and were bound to the observance of certain rules. In many countries they formed the canons of cathedral churches, particularly in France and in Scotland; in which latter kingdom they became a numerous and an influential body.

observance of all the rules appertaining to this institute, Laurence had most strictly attended: he wore the habit, beneath which he always used a hair shirt, observed silence at the stated hours, attended along with his canons at the midnight office, and practised various austerities which were not in any manner enjoined by the rule. His charity to the poor was unbounded; amongst whom he took care to have the greatest portion of the revenues of his church distributed. In 1167, Laurence attended the great convention of the clergy and princes of Lethcuin, or the northern half of Ireland, when Roderic O'Conor was recognized as monarch, and several enactments were passed relative to the political state of the country.

At this eventful crisis, Laurence had been providentially raised up for the succour of his afflicted countrymen. He had presided scarcely nine years over the archiepiscopal see, when Strongbow arrived with his army under the walls of Dublin. The siege was obstinate and dreadful, but at length the city was taken by storm. Amidst the indiscriminate slaughter which ensued, the good bishop exposed himself in all directions for the safety of his flock, and by his interference several of the churches had been secured from pillage and sacrilege. During this and the following year (1171), the excessive cruelties perpetrated by the followers of Strongbow, Raymond le Grose, and others, had enkindled the indignation of every good and virtuous man. Laurence could no longer continue an inattentive observer of these atrocities; he therefore encouraged Roderic O'Conor and other princes to unite for the total expulsion of the invaders, and applied also for assistance to Godred, king of Mann. Roderic accordingly appeared with a powerful army before Dublin, while at the same time the harbour was blockaded by a fleet of thirty ships sent by Godred. The siege continued for nearly two months, during which time Strongbow and his forces had been reduced to such distress that they seemed willing to capitulate. By the consent of the Irish princes, Laurence was the person appointed for arranging the terms; accordingly, in the name of the Irish nation, he announced to Strongbow and to his adherents, that they should surrender all the places which they had then occupied, and depart the kingdom on a certain determined day.* These terms, as might be expected, were far from being agreeable, while, in the meantime, the Irish, too confident of success, carried on the siege with great negligence.

* Leland, b. i. chap. ii.

Thus circumstanced, Strongbow resolved on making a desperate effort. At a moment when the besiegers were off their guard, he made a sudden and a vigorous sally from the gates with a chosen body of knights and infantry; the Irish army having been thus taken unawares were dispersed and routed, while Roderic, who was at the time bathing in the Liffey, had, with great difficulty, effected his escape. From this period the English saw the necessity of acting, at least, with more policy towards the people of Dublin.

While Strongbow, by an unexpected turn of fortune, had thus compelled the Irish troops to raise the siege of Dublin, his associates were, in some places, far from being similarly successful. The castle of Ferry-Carig, a strong fortress situated near the town of Wexford, had been for some time in the possession of Fitz-Stephen. This fortress, from its natural position, had been considered impregnable; it was, moreover, strongly garrisoned, but from some mismanagement of the governor, its supply of provisions was too limited to meet the exigencies of a tedious siege. The Danes of Wexford, encouraged by the distress to which Strongbow was reduced, had now come to the resolution of storming the castle, and in this enterprise they were assisted by Donald, an illegitimate son of Dermod Mac-Morogh. In the meantime a report was industriously circulated that Strongbow had been compelled to capitulate, and that Dublin was in the hands of Roderic O'Conor;* Fitz-Stephen, perceiving that the rumour of this disastrous occurrence had made its way into the garrison, and believing it to be a fact, immediately surrendered the castle, which was accordingly occupied by the besiegers without striking a blow.†

* Ware, Annal, at A. 1171.

† The surrender of this castle has given rise to a piece of barefaced calumny, invented by Giraldus Cambrensis, and afterwards retailed by some of his interested imitators. According to this story, Joseph O'Hethe, bishop of Ferns, and Malachy Byrne, bishop of Kildare, came to the fortress and took an oath in the presence of the governor that Dublin had been stormed by Roderic O'Conor, and that Strongbow and his forces had been cut to pieces. Thus, say they, by perjury and stratagem was Fitz-Stephen prevailed upon to accept the terms of the besiegers and surrender the castle. The reader [illegible] that the only authority on which this statement rests, is that of Giraldus Cambrensis (Hib. Expug. lib. 1. c. xxv.); an authority upon which, as to events of this description, no intelligent man could set the least value. Hence it is that Ware, whose judgement cannot be questioned, has passed it by as unworthy of notice. The fact is, Giraldus was ashamed of the cowardly manner in which the garrison had surrendered; he accordingly invented this story for the purpose of removing the disgrace which (as he had reason to suppose) might otherwise attach to the character of his friend Fitz-Stephen and of his countrymen.

The following year (1172) Laurence, assisted by Strongbow, Fitz-Stephen and Raymund, enlarged Christ Church and built the choir and belfry, annexing also three new chapels to the cathedral. Laurence, with other prelates, set out for Rome, in order to attend at the council of Lateran, and shortly after returned to Ireland, as legate apostolic for that country. These events, together with the moral reformation which he had made in Dublin, have been already noticed in the first chapter.

In the year 1180, Laurence undertook a second journey to England, for the purpose of settling some affairs between Roderic O'Conor and the English monarch. On this occasion Henry acted the part of a cruel and undisguised tyrant; he not only refused to come upon any terms of accommodation, but had even given orders that Laurence should not be allowed to return to Ireland. Thus deprived of liberty, the saint retired to the monastery of Abingdon, where he continued to reside for three weeks. In the meantime Henry went over to Normandy, while Laurence was still anxious to effect a reconciliation between him and Roderic O'Conor. The saint, accordingly, set out for France, but when he had reached the frontiers of Normandy, he was seized with a fever, and was obliged to take up his abode in the monastery of Augum (now Eu) belonging to the Canons Regular of St. Victor.* Foreseeing that his end was approaching, he made his confession and received the holy Viaticum. Having been admonished by some of the brethren to make a will, he answered: "God knows that I have not, at present, as much money as one penny under the sun." The holy exile reflected with sorrow on the calamities of his native country; and shortly before his death, he lamented its sad and fallen state, saying in the Irish language: "Ah! foolish and senseless people! what are you now to do? who will alleviate your misfortunes? who will relieve you?" Soon after he expired, on the 14th of November, A.D. 1180, and was interred in the church of Augum; the funeral obsequies having been attended by great numbers, among whom was the pope's legate, Cardinal Alexius. St. Laurence was canonized by Honorius III., in the year 1226. Some of his reliques were sent to Christ Church, Dublin, and some to various places in France.†

Marian O'Gormian, the celebrated hagiologist, flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. Marian was a Canon Regular of St. Augustin, and in 1172 was constituted prior of

* Vita S. Laurent. chap. xix. † Vita S. Laurent.; Hoved.

the celebrated establishment of Knock, near Louth. He has written in Irish verse a martyrology, comprising not only Irish saints, but also those of other countries. This work has been greatly admired, both for its accuracy and the elegance of its diction; a great portion of it, however, has been extracted from the ancient martyrology usually called that of Aengus. There appears a diversity of opinion with respect to the date of its publication. Colgan, after passing some handsome encomiums on this martyrology, is of opinion that it had been composed during the incumbency of Gelasius, archbishop of Armagh, in 1167; Ware marks its publication at 1171: it is evident, however, from the names of certain saints inserted therein, that it must have been published some time after the year 1174. Marian continued at the priory of Knock, which he adorned by his virtues as well as his learning. He died A.D. 1181.*

Congan, a Cistercian and abbot of Inislaunaugh (Surium) flourished in 1140. This eminent man became, in the twelfth century, the reviver of monastic discipline in the south, and for his learning and exalted virtues, obtained a very high rank among his contemporaries. The opinion which St. Bernard had entertained of Congan's talents and acquirements, was very great, and with his assistance, in collecting materials, that holy writer had been enabled to compile his comprehensive and much-esteemed life of St. Malachy. Among other matters, St. Bernard, in the preface to that work, observes: "In compliance with your commands, my reverend brother and sweet friend, abbot Congan, and in obedience to the wishes of the whole Church of Ireland, requesting, as appears from your letter, a plain history without the embellishments of eloquence, I will undertake it, and endeavour to be clear and instructive, yet not tedious. I am satisfied as to the truth of the narrative, having received my information from you, whom I cannot suspect to relate anything of which you had not certain knowledge." Hence it appears that the materials for the work had been furnished by Congan, and consequently the scandalous abuses alluded to by St. Bernard, must have been those which occurred in particular districts of Ulster; the congregations in the south, and especially in Congan's locality, having been at that period both orderly and edifying. Congan has also published the Acts of St. Bernard, and several epistles addressed to that saint.† He died about the year 1162.

It is impossible to contemplate the historical events of the

* AA. SS. p. 737 † Ware's Writers.

twelfth century without awakening, at least, some of those sympathies which our common nature has settled for repose in the human heart. Considering the number of eminent prelates by whom the Irish Church had been then governed, and the many national synods which had been held even down to the council of Kells in 1152, it may with great truth be said, that in the Christian world it would, at that period, be difficult to find any one national Church, in which morality and discipline had been more zealously inculcated than in the Church of Ireland. At the very opening of the century, we find a legate apostolic in Ireland; and this important office had been confided, not to a foreign ecclesiastic, but to a native prelate, Gillebert, bishop of Limerick. In this commission Gillebert was succeeded by St. Malachy, and by the learned Christian, bishop of Lismore; and so high did the character of the Church of Ireland rank at this time, that the number of the archiepiscopal sees was increased, and Cardinal Paparo is despatched by pope Eugene III. with four palliums, which in the national council of Kells, he distributed to the four archbishops of Ireland. Strange, however, and indeed almost incredible is the fact, that this Church, so highly honoured, so pre-eminently supported, was in a few years after, together with the whole Irish nation, surrendered into the hands of a stranger. It is moreover remarkable, that at this very period the Church of Ireland had been governed by prelates of no ordinary character: by Gelasius, its primate; by St. Laurence O'Toole; Christian, bishop of Lismore and legate apostolic; Catholicus, of Tuam; men whose superiors in piety and learning it would be difficult to find in any other national Church at this age. It is self-evident, that Alexander III. must have been grossly imposed upon by the enemies of Ireland; at all events, Henry II. had scarcely received the bull and the brief into his possession, when he began to exhibit splendid proofs of his superior qualifications as a Church-reformer, by encroaching on the ecclesiastical property of England, and by being, at length, implicated in the cold-blooded murder of St. Thomas (à Becket), archbishop of Canterbury.

The regulations ordained in the synod of Cashel, amounting to eight, have been already noticed; but in vain do we look among them for any one single decree, or even an expression, indicating that the Irish Church had been then considered by the prelates assembled, to be either in a rude or a disordered state. Among these decrees, however, the third, fourth and fifth are worthy of notice; they serve to mark out in the clearest light, the ingenious artful policy of the

English monarch. Henry's grand aim was, to conciliate the clergy, and by all means to bring them over to his interest. Accordingly, by the fourth and fifth decrees of the synod of Cashel, the possessions of the Church are declared free from temporal exactions, and the clergy are exempted from what was termed *Erie*. While the third decree, by which "the faithful were to pay tithes," was inimitable and formed the climax. But what necessity for recurring to the decrees of the synod of Cashel, as specimens of Henry's great solicitude for Church reformation? Was he reforming the Church when he banished St. Laurence O'Toole from his diocese and his country? Was he reforming the Church when he allowed De Courcey, Fitz-Stephen, and others, to pollute and plunder the sanctuaries of Ireland, from one extremity of the country to the other? These are facts, and they might, did space permit, be supported by numberless others, deduced as well from the ecclesiastical as the civil history of those melancholy times.

It has been asserted by some writers, that Ireland had been brought under subjection to England by means of the bull of Adrian IV., and by the influence of the prelates assembled at Cashel. This, however, is an erroneous opinion; for, as we have seen, MacCarthy of Desmond, and O'Brian of Thomond, did surrender and deliver up the keys of their respective capitals, Cork and Limerick, to Henry II., shortly after his landing; while their example was immediately followed by Fitz-Patrick, O'Ruare, and other petty princes. The fact is, neither the bull of Adrian nor the brief of Alexander was read or produced at the council of Cashel, although Henry had both these documents in his possession for years previously. That prince had too much policy to do an act of such imprudence. The whole tenor of them, and even the very expressions employed, particularly in the brief, would have only served to irritate the feelings of both the prelates and the other ecclesiastics who had attended that synod. The subjection of Ireland, therefore, cannot be attributed to these documents, nor to the influence of the clergy. The real cause, the self-evident and only cause of this event, was the jealousy and the consequent dissensions which, at that time, subsisted between the princes of Ireland themselves. Henry undertook "to reform the rude and disordered Church," but his vassals, Strongbow, De Courcey, and the other invaders, found out a way of their own for reforming "the barbarous people of Ireland," by robbing them of their property, by defiling their houses, profaning their sanctuaries, and covering the whole

face of the country with blood. These and similar topics, however, come more immediately within the scope of civil history. The Church of Ireland has had also her share in these sufferings, and has passed through an ordeal of trials and persecutions, such as cannot be found in the annals of any other nation. These and other ecclesiastical events, the history of subsequent centuries shall clearly and faithfully elucidate.

THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Events connected with the administration of Archbishop Comin—Foundation of the Churches of St. Audoen and St. Werburg—Promotion of English Ecclesiastics—Henry De Loundres, archbishop of Dublin and lord justice of Ireland—Union of the sees of Dublin and Glendaloch—Collegiate Church of St. Patrick erected into a Cathedral—Baneful effects of the Tithe System—David, bishop of Waterford, slain—Contention between the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's and the Prior and Canons of Christ Church—Stephen De Fulburn, bishop of Watertord and lord justice of Ireland—Endeavours to obtain the benefit of the English Laws for the Irish Nation—Contributions raised by the Irish Church during the pontificates of Innocent III. and Gregory IX.

John Comin was the first Englishman who had been promoted to an episcopal see in Ireland. When the government of the archiepiscopal diocese of Dublin had, by means of Henry II., been placed in the hands of this prelate, there were reasonable grounds for presuming that the rights of that see would have been respected, and its temporalities secured from the rapacity of those who had already made themselves notorious among the now domineering English adventurers. These expectations were, however, far from being realized. Scarcely had Hamo De Valoniis been appointed justiciary of Ireland, when the work of plunder commenced.* This needy and insatiable governor had, in the very outset of his administration, cast a longing eye on the rich ecclesiastical property attached to the see of Dublin. In defiance of religion and of all law, the governor Hamo seized upon considerable portions of land lying in the direction of Swords and Finglass, assigning no other reason than his own supreme will, and that the embarrassed state to which the English government was then reduced, had rendered such a step indispensable. Against this injustice archbishop Comin remonstrated, but without effect; one act of oppression was followed by another, until the archbishop was at length obliged to have the vestments, chalices, and sacred furniture removed from the cathedral, and caused

* Hoveden, p. 39; Tirrel, vol. ii. p. 569.

the crucifixes in the church to be covered with thorns, and laid prostrate in the sanctuary.* The justiciary, however, was not to be controlled in his sacrilegious career; while the archbishop, after having publicly excommunicated Hamo, and all those who had along with him been concerned in the plunder of the church, put the whole diocese under an interdict, and repaired to England for the purpose of laying his complaints before the king. In such a court the influence of the governor was sure to be successful, and the archbishop, after a delay of some months, returned to Ireland without obtaining redress.

While these acts of oppression, thus suffered with impunity, had served only to give a keener edge to the avarice of Hamo De Valoniis, a new opportunity of adding to his wealth presented itself soon after in another quarter. The see of Leighlin having become vacant, the chapter elected John, a Cistercian monk, and abbot of the monastery of Monasterevan, which election was confirmed by Matthew O'Heney, archbishop of Cashel, and at that time legate apostolic for Ireland. The justiciary, however, interfered, and opposed the consecration of John; in the meantime taking into his own possession not only the temporalities of the church of Leighlin, but even the property of the canons themselves. In this violent state of affairs, John was recommended by the legate to proceed without delay to Rome, and submit to pope Innocent III. a full and fair report of these unwarrantable proceedings. John accordingly set out from Ireland, having been furnished with letters from the chapter, from the archbishops of Armagh and Cashel, and from the bishops of Kildare, Ferns, and Ossory. His reception in Rome was most flattering. The pope himself consecrated him bishop of Leighlin, and on his departure gave him a letter, directed to the chapter, clergy, and people of that diocese, in which he tells them, that having ordained John their bishop, he now sends him back to his see and orders them to obey him. The repeated acts of sacrilege and plunder which have been already stated, drew from Innocent III. a strong and a severe letter, addressed on this occasion to [illegible] England. In this letter his holiness remonstrates, in the language of firmness and reproof, on the outrageous conduct of the justiciary, and requires that the property taken from the church and canons of Leighlin should be instantly restored.† Hamo De Valoniis was soon after recalled, having first

* Hoveden; Ware Annals, p. 36. † Epist. 361. Edid. Baluazzii

enriched himself by the plunder and ruin of private families, but much more by his unheard-of and repeated invasions on the property of the Church.

Nothing can so clearly depict the spirit of the adventurers, at this period, as the eager avidity with which they had endeavoured to get themselves promoted to the most amply-endowed sees, according as any of them should happen to become vacant. Upon the death of Thomas O'Conor, archbishop of Armagh, in 1201, no less than three Englishmen appeared as candidates; every one of whom pretended to have been duly elected. Simon Rochford, bishop of Meath, and Ralph le Petit, archdeacon of the same diocese, maintained that they had been canonically elected by the chapter; while the third candidate, Humphry De Tichull, rested his claim on the appointment and sanction of king John. During this contest, which had been conducted with much warmth, they appeared to have set little value on the humble pretensions of Eugene, an Irish ecclesiastic, and who was, in reality, the person regularly and validly elected. There being but little chance of having the controversy satisfactorily settled at home, and particularly as the king himself had so prominently interfered in the business, the whole proceedings were, of course, referred to the Holy See. This hitherto apparently difficult and contested case, having been now submitted to an unprejudiced tribunal, was almost instantly decided, and Eugene was declared by pope Innocent III. to be the person canonically elected. He was accordingly consecrated archbishop of Armagh, while directions were given to have the possession of the temporalities forthwith placed in his hands. This decision tended only to irritate still more the naturally violent disposition of the English monarch, and in a moment of excitement, he causes letters patent to be addressed to all the suffragan bishops of Armagh, commanding them, under pain of his displeasure, to show no kind of obedience to the newly-consecrated metropolitan.* Nor was John's anger in the least abated on the death of Tichull, his favourite candidate, an event which took place soon after; he still persisted in his opposition to the primate, and proceeded so far as to confirm the election of Ralph, archdeacon of Meath. These unwarrantable proceedings, in which all order and discipline had been set at defiance, must have led to the worst consequences, had not the king been obliged to embark for France, where his dominions were invaded, and his sovereignty in that

* Pryn. vol. ii. p. 240.

country reduced by his rival Philip to the very brink of ruin. While John had been in this humbled state, a reconciliation was happily effected between him and the primate Eugene, and the see of Armagh was once more permitted to enjoy some share of repose. Eugene continued to govern the primatial see until his death in 1216. He died at Rome, the year after the termination of the fourth council of Lateran, at which he attended; but his memory has been honourably recorded in the annals of St. Mary's Abbey, near Dublin, in which, agreeably to the concise language of the annalist, he is styled "a man of singular honesty and of a holy life."

Although these English ecclesiastics, who had thus early aspired to the primacy of Armagh, had, on this occasion, met with disappointment, the same must not be said with reference to other sees. The reader may form some idea of the readiness with which they had been patronized from the fact, that scarcely had the first five years of this century passed over, when there appears not less than eight of the ancient and most respectable sees of Ireland placed under the administration of English prelates. Following the order of chronology assigned to each respective consecration, these sees are: Dublin, Connor, Meath, Ossory, Leighlin, Down, Waterford, and Cork.* Nor must it be forgotten, that even in the very opening of this century, the priors and abbots of almost all the great monasteries throughout the kingdom were unexceptionably Englishmen.

It is, however, but just and proper to admit, that many of the prelates already alluded to had been learned and worthy men, and by their zeal and activity contributed much to advance the interest of religion in their respective sees. Among these prelates, may, with great propriety, be noticed the bishop of Meath, Simon Rochford (De rupe forti), who had been advanced to that see (then termed Clonard) and consecrated in 1191. Simon Rochford, soon after his promotion, founded a priory of regular canons of the order of St. Augustin, at Newtown, near Trim, and erected the church of this priory into a cathedral, which he dedicated in honour of SS. Peter and Paul.† He then removed the see from Clonard, in which the former cathedral stood, to Newtown; and from that period, this ancient and extensive diocese was invariably known by the name of the diocese of Meath.

* The names of the prelates consecrated for the above sees are: John Comin, consecrated archbishop of Dublin, 1182. Reginald, consecrated for Connor, 1183. Simon Rochford, for Meath, 1194. Hugh Rufus, for Ossory, 1202. Herlewin, for Leighlin, 1102. Ralph, for Down, 1202. David for Waterford, 1204, and Reynald, for Cork, 1205.—Ware, Bishops; Wilkins, vol. ii.

† Ware Bishops, at Meath.

Hugh Rufus, who was consecrated bishop of Ossory in 1202, has been mentioned with great respect by all the Irish annalists. He was an English Augustinian canon, and the first prior of the abbey of Kells, in the county of Kilkenny. During the incumbency of this prelate, which includes a period of sixteen years, several parochial churches had been erected throughout the diocese of Ossory: among these it may be proper to notice the parish churches of Gowran, Rathdowney, Castlecomer, Callan, Burnchurch, Dunmore, and Lisdowney.* By means of this decidedly useful prelate, were likewise founded the priory of canons regular at Inisteague, and the beautiful abbey of St. John, in the city of Kilkenny.

Herlewin, an English Cistercian, and bishop of Leighlin, had also been a distinguished promoter of learning and religion. He was a great benefactor to the celebrated abbey of Dunbrothy, in the county of Wexford, a considerable part of which he built, having first endowed it with large revenues for the poor, and in the church of which he was interred, A. D. 1216.

But the most efficient and eminent prelate in those times was John Comin, archbishop of Dublin. Notwithstanding the infamous conduct of the justiciary Hamo, and the annoyance to which this good prelate must have been for so long a time subjected, his exertions in promoting the welfare of the citizens of Dublin, as well as the interest of his see, continued unabated. At length, however, Hamo de Valoniis was recalled, and in compensation for the injuries he had done to the see of Dublin, he made a grant of twenty plough-lands to the archbishop and to his successors.†

Besides the collegiate church of St. Patrick, which the archbishop himself had caused to be erected,‡ several new parish churches had, about this time, been founded in the city of Dublin. St. Audoen's was built by the Normans at the close of the reign of Henry II., and was dedicated by them to St. Audoenus (Owen), archbishop of Rouen, in Normandy The parish church of St. Werburg seems to have been erected at a period somewhat later, but, however, in the commencement of the reign of king John, and during the incumbency of archbishop Comin. At that time, the city of Dublin, with the adjacent territory, was visited by a dreadful pestilence, in which vast multitudes of the inhabitants had been swept off, so that Dublin presented the appearance rather of a town in ruins, and deserted by its inhabitants, than a city noted for

* Chart. MS.

† Allen's Regist. fol. 341; Crede mihi, MS. fol. 94.

‡ See cent. XII. c. II.

trade and the metropolis of a kingdom. On this occasion it was that the English monarch, John, had brought over two colonies from Chester and Bristol, and caused them to be placed in Dublin and in some of the neighbouring villages. These English colonists soon began to make improvements in the city, and among other buildings, had taken care that a new church should be erected on the site of a capella, most probably that of St. Martin. This church they dedicated to St. Werburg, virgin and patroness of the city of Chester.

In repairing and beautifying the cathedral of the Holy Trinity (now called Christ Church), archbishop Comin had spared no pains. He rebuilt and enlarged the choir, and augmented the number of its canons. The nunnery of Grace-Dieu, about three miles north-west of Swords, was founded by him, in which he placed regular canonesses, following the rule of St. Augustin. He died on the 28th of October, A.D. 1212, and was buried in Christ Church, on the south side of the choir. Archbishop Comin was a laborious and a useful prelate, and in the government of his diocese, appears to have been actuated by the purest principles of justice, tempered with clemency and a warm attachment for the real interest of Ireland. To the friendly intercourse which had subsisted between him and the native clergy, and to his growing affection for the Irish people, may be traced that ungenerous and shameless neglect, which he experienced at the hands both of Henry II. and of his son John. These sufferings, however, the archbishop endured with exemplary fortitude, while by his works of piety and of national benefit, he has left behind him a living materials, and a name by no means unworthy the successor of the great St. Laurence O'Toole.

At the close of the same year, Henry, usually styled "De Loundres," archdeacon of Stafford, was chosen and consecrated archbishop of Dublin. The tyranny and repeated excesses of John, king of England, had by this time collected around him such a train of misfortunes, both from domestic and foreign opponents, that prudence, if not necessity, obliged him to reckon at least on one friendly and confidential adviser in the person of the archbishop of Dublin. He therefore expressed every mark of sincere satisfaction on the promotion of the new archbishop, Henry De Loundres, and the very next year, on the 23rd of July, appointed him justiciary or lord justice of Ireland.* That a Christian prelate, engaged in the weighty obligations of his ministry, should thus permit himself to be

* Hoveden; Ware's Annals, ad. A. 1213.

encumbered with the toil and difficulties of civil authority, is a question, the propriety of which cannot be easily established. There is, however, one ground of justification in the case of Henry, archbishop of Dublin. Almost every man who had, up to this period, been entrusted with the government of Ireland, seems to have lost sight of all those qualities which form so essential an ingredient in the virtues of justice and humanity; each endeavoured to outstrip his predecessor in acts of the most wanton oppression. Taking then these circumstances, with others arising from the character of the king himself, into account, the acceptance of such an office might, perhaps, appear even agreeable, if not to the wishes of the archbishop, at least to those of the people of Ireland, over whom he had been authorized to administer justice. At all events, Henry had but little time and few opportunities allowed him for the exercise of the power with which he had been invested, when summonses were issued by Innocent III. to the prelates of the Christian world, requiring their attendance at the general council, which was to have been held on the following year, 1215, in the church of St. John Lateran in Rome, and generally known by the name of the Fourth Lateran Council. On the part of the Irish Church, there attended at this council: the primate, Eugene; Henry, archbishop of Dublin; Donatus O'Lonergan, archbishop of Cashel, and Cornelius O'Heney, bishop of Killaloe.*

On the following year, Henry received from pope Innocent a confirmation of the bull of Julius III., regarding the primatial rights, which had been already granted to his predecessor, John Comin. This bull, together with its amplification by Honorius III., contained, among other matters, the following remarkable clause†:—"Prohibiting, moreover, any archbishop or other prelate of Ireland (except the suffragans of Dublin and the pope's legate) from having the cross carried before them, holding assemblies (those of the religious orders excepted) or treating of ecclesiastical causes in the province of Dublin, without the consent of the archbishop of Dublin." Such was the privilege contained in the bull of Honorius III., the interesting consequences of which, shall be fully illustrated by the ecclesiastical events of the fourteenth century.

The government of the country had been placed in the hands of the archbishop for about six years, during which time he considerably improved the city of Dublin, and among other buildings, had caused the castle of that metropolis to

* Ware, Bishops. † Lib. Niger, fol. 123.

erected at his own cost. He removed the priory of Inis-Patrick, founded by Sitric, to Holm-Patrick, in the barony of Balruddery, fourteen miles north of Dublin, having at the same time, augmented the revenues of the nunnery of Grace-Dieu.

The union of the see of Glendaloch with that of Dublin may be said to have been effected during the incumbency of Henry Loundres, although that union had been contemplated, and, in fact, determined upon in the council of Kells, held under Cardinal Paparo in 1252.* It was observed in that council that the diocese of Dublin, which had then been raised to the rank of an archiepiscopal see, had been altogether too limited. Its bounds towards the north and in the western direction were allowed to be considerably fair, while towards the south it extended no farther than the walls of the city. On the other hand, the ancient diocese of Glendaloch, comprising

* I am ready to admit that this union of the sees of Dublin and Glendaloch forms a very complicated and difficult portion of the ecclesiastical history of our country. It is allowed by all our annalists, that the union had been effectually established in 1214, under the incumbency of Henry, archbishop of Dublin; and yet, strange to say, we find in the fifteenth century, no less than four bishops actually promoted to the see of Glendaloch, and canonically exercising episcopal functions within that diocese. (See cent. xv.) The difficulty, then, amounts to this: how are we to account for the regular appointment and canonical administration of these four prelates, who, in the fifteenth century, governed the see of Glendaloch, after that same see had been permanently united to Dublin two hundred years before? My opinion on this subject is, that the union effected in 1214 by Henry de Loundres was at the time a mere union of the temporalities, and that Glendaloch was allowed, together with other privileges, to retain the title of an episcopal see; the bishop whereof was to be a vicar or occasional assistant to the archbishop of Dublin. The whole tenor of the proceedings, even from the time of the council of Kells, proves beyond the possibility of doubt, that the comparative temporalities of the two sees were the main object contemplated by this, perhaps, necessary union. Dublin had been raised to the rank of an archdiocese, but it was very inconsiderable, while its revenues became, in consequence, proportionably inadequate. Hence the council of Kells ordained, that a certain portion of the diocese of Glendaloch should be annexed to the see of Dublin; and that, moreover, on the death of Gildas, the existing incumbent, the two sees should be united. It appears that Honorius III., in the bull which he delivered to Henry Loundres, dated the 6th of October, 1215, actually confirmed the arrangement which Cardinal Paparo and the council of Kells had ordained; and that Henry II. and his son John, availing themselves of a regal civil had also ratified the same. The ratification of John, which clergy suppo opinion, concludes with these words: "So that the archbishop of Dublin should hold the two dioceses (of Dublin and Glendaloch) in his possession without any reservation; and that the bishop of Glendaloch should be chapl or vicar to the archbishop of Dublin." This union had, at length, been amica agreed upon during the administration of Henry Loundres, and effected as well, probably, by the civil power which the archbishop had then in his hand as by the personal influence which he maintained over the clergy and people of Glendaloch.—For the four prelates of Glendaloch above alluded to, see cent. xv. chap. i.

within itself a number of districts at that time powerful and comparatively populous, spread itself beyond the bounds of the now county of Wicklow, and came even to the very walls of Dublin. By a decision, therefore, of the synod of Kells, a considerable portion of the diocese of Glendaloch was to have been annexed to the see of Dublin; the remainder was to be reserved for Gildas, the existing incumbent, upon whose demise, the two sees were to have been permanently united. This union did not, however, take place until 1214, under the incumbency of Henry De Loundres. During the time of St. Laurence O'Toole, Ireland was in too distracted a state for the arrangement of an union of such importance. John Comin, who succeeded St. Laurence, had not been many years placed in the archiepiscopal chair of Dublin when Henry II. died; and in fact the whole of John's incumbency was almost one continued round of annoyance, either from the deputy who had been placed over Ireland, or from the inconstancy and overbearing spirit of king John himself. It appears that John had actually ratified the decision agreed upon at the council of Kells; and most probably it was upon this occasion that archbishop Comin founded the church of St. Patrick, outside the walls of the city. It is, however, certain that no actual union had at that time taken place, nor was it completed until the period which has been already specified.

In 1214, and on the death of William Peryn, bishop of Glendaloch, Henry Loundres undertook to unite that see with the archiepiscopal one of Dublin. As soon as the archbishop's intentions had been made known, the clergy of Glendaloch, aided by the different powerful septs in the county of Wicklow, strenuously protested against the measure, and their opposition, linked as they had been with other dynasts, assumed, in a short time, all the appearance of one desperately united national struggle. With great difficulty, however, an arrangement had been effected, and the two sees were united, yet on condition that a cathedral church should be erected on a site within the ancient district of the diocese of Glendaloch.* Agreeably to this arrangement, the collegiate church of St. Patrick, founded by archbishop Comin, and actually situated within the ancient diocese of Glendaloch, was now erected into a cathedral, "united (to use the words of archbishop Allen) with Christ Church under one spouse, saving to the

* Doctor Burke, in his "Hibernia Dominicana," has annexed, as a second condition, that Glendaloch should enjoy a resident archdeacon. From what has been stated in a previous note, this might, as a probable consequence, be admitted.—See Hib. Dom., c. ix. p. 186.

other church, the pre-eminence in dignity." Its first dean was William Fitz-Guy, and besides vicars choral, the archbishop appointed a chanter, a chancellor and a treasurer; to each of whom he assigned revenues and rectories. The cathedral of St. Patrick had on this occasion been enlarged and considerably beautified; and whereas it stood on the site of the former parochial church of St. Nicholas, without the walls of the city, a new and splendid capella was fitted up at the south side of the choir, and was soon after, with great solemnity, dedicated to that saint, as patron of the parish.

The administration of Henry De Loundres seems to have been embittered by an almost continued series of the most disagreeable events. Among these the conduct of king John, over whom the archbishop possessed considerable influence, and the constant disputes which had been kept up between himself and his tenantry in the diocese of Dublin, appear to have been the source of the greatest uneasiness. Attached as the archbishop Henry had been to the paramount interest of England, and still anxious for its further aggrandizement, nothing could more sensibly wound his feelings than an attempt to upset or even to weaken that spirit of sovereignty with which the great mass of his countrymen would seem to have been at that time actuated. It must, therefore, have been a painful ceremony for such a man to be the principal witness of the execution of the deed by which John resigned the kingdoms of England and of Ireland to the pope, and consented to hold them as a fief, by the service of one thousand marcs to be paid annually; seven hundred for England and three hundred for Ireland.* When, however, John did, on that occasion, do homage to Pandolph the legate, Henry, among all the prelates who were present, was the only person who ventured to express his indignation, both at the terms of of this contract, and at the degradation to which his monarch had subjected himself. Throughout the whole of John's misfortunes, Henry proved himself a sincere and steadfast friend; and when at length he had attended the congress of Runnymede, together with the few lords who still continued on the king's side, his honourable sincerity was appreciated, and he was allowed a seat immediately after the archbishop of Canterbury.

The harshness, and if history may be credited, the cruel injustice with which Henry had, on more than one occasion, acted towards his own tenantry in Ireland, can add but very

* Math. Paris, p. 227; Math. Westminster, p. 93.

little credit to his character as an English patriot. It is said, that at one time he summoned his tenantry together, and after having received their leases and other documents into his hands, he instantly, and without assigning a reason, cast them all into the fire.* The tenants, most of whom had been his own countrymen, became enraged, and a violent tumult ensued in which the archbishop's life was in danger, and he was obliged to fly for safety. The result of these proceedings proved rather unfavourable to the archbishop; for Henry III., then king of England, on being furnished with the history of these occurrences had Henry De Loundres removed from his offices of lord justice, and Maurice FitzGerald was immediately substituted in his place. The remainder of Henry's days were devoted to the ordinary duties of his diocese until 1228, when he died and was buried in a wooden sepulchre, in the north wall of Christ Church, and immediately opposite the tomb of John Comin.

Even at this early season, the working of the tithe-system began to produce its natural effects; it soon became the constant and fruitful source of public contention, not only between the clergy and people, but even between the prelates themselves. Richard Fleming having been consecrated bishop of Leighlin, in 1217, had, as soon as he entered on the administration of his diocese, commenced a suit against the prior of Conal, for certain tithes belonging to Lesse, now part of the Queen's County. This claim was, however, peaceably adjusted, by the bishop allowing the possessions and tithes to the prior, reserving to himself and to his successors a yearly pension of ten mares, to be paid regularly at Leighlin. Some years after, a similar case had been litigated between Richard De la Corner, bishop of Meath, and the abbot of St Mary's, near Dublin. The proceedings in this suit were conducted with unbecoming violence; at length the question was referred to William, bishop of Leighlin, and other delegates deputed by the pope, when a decision was pronounced in favour of the abbey, reserving twenty pounds to be paid annually to the bishop.

But the disputes which originated between the bishops of Waterford and Lismore, relative to church-property and tithes, had, during a great portion of the thirteenth century, given rise to much angry feeling and even to bloodshed. David, bishop of Waterford, and a relative of Miler Fitz-Henry, lord justice of Ireland, laid claim to certain lands and their tithes, situated

* Lib. Niger fol. 347.

within the diocese of Lismore. The case was warmly contested on both sides, and in it O'Felan, prince of the Decies, aided by his tenantry, took an active and a decided part in favour of the see of Lismore. At length the archdeacon of Cashel, together with the bishops of Cork and of Killaloe, undertook, by directions of Innocent III., to decide the matter; when the people of the Decies rushing into the court, seemed resolved on carrying their measure by violence, and in the midst of the scuffle which ensued, David, bishop of Waterford, lost his life.* This event, fatal and scandalous as it had been, did not prevent his successor, Robert, from making a still more unwarrantable encroachment on the ecclesiastical property attached to the see of Lismore. The bishops of Norwich, Clonfert, and Enaghdune having been specially delegated, caused a canonical citation to be served on Robert of Waterford, to which the latter objected and refused to attend in court, even by his proctor. Restitution was, however, adjudged to the bishop of Lismore, and Robert was moreover condemned in a fine of one hundred and sixty mares. Fitz-Christopher, seneschal of Waterford, an influential and violent partizan, took an active share in the litigation, and espoused the interest of his bishop. Accompanied by a numerous train of his dependants, he advanced to Lismore, seized on the prelate of that see, even in his own cathedral, and had him conducted to Dungarvan, where he was cast into prison and loaded with irons. This unpardonable outrage, to which Robert of Waterford was said to have been accessory, could not for a moment be tolerated by the delegates: they assembled in the cathedral of Cashel, when the bishop of Waterford having again refused to appear, they excommunicated him and his adherents, and by the pope's authority commanded the archbishop to proclaim him excommunicated throughout his province. The pope, moreover, ratified this sentence without admitting any written appeal, and ordered Robert of Waterford to be summoned before him.† It would appear, however, that through the mediation of the king, the censure was soon after removed, and the question itself, which had occasioned so much scandal, was at length amicably adjusted.

On the death of Henry De Loundres, in 1228, Luke, dean of St. Martin's Church, London, was chosen as his successor in the see of Dublin, on the 13th of December, in the same

* Epist. Innocent III.; Ware, Bishops.
† Epist. Innoc. III. 6 Kal. July, 1212; Edit. Bosquet.

year. The election having been proved informal, was rejected by the pope; Luke, however, was re-elected, consecrated and confirmed in the see by pope Gregory IX., but not until the year 1230. From this election are to be dated the various complicated and long-contested differences which had for so many years been kept up between the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's, and the prior and canons of Christ Church, Each cathedral claimed to itself the canonical and exclusive right of electing the archbishop. The canons of Christ Church rested their claim on the principle of antiquity; Christ Church being in fact the mother-cathedral, while the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's insisted on the ordinances of the council of Kells, on the terms of the union between the sees of Glendaloch and of Dublin, and on the grant and privileges of king John. After a lengthened controversy on both sides, the archbishop Luke decided the question in this manner: "that henceforth the election should take place in the church of the Holy Trinity (Christ Church) and that the prior and canons of Christ Church, together with the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's, should there, and in no other place, by united suffrages, elect the person most worthy to fill the vacant archiepiscopal see of Dublin." In virtue of this arrangement, to which all parties had, at least at that time, willingly subscribed, the canons and the chapter proceeded to an election on the demise of Luke in 1225, and their choice fell on Ralph De Norwich, a canon of St. Patrick's. Fair and canonical as this election might appear, it was nevertheless set aside by a decision from Rome, and Fulk De Sandford, in Oxfordshire, treasurer of St. Paul's Church in London, was declared archbishop, and consecrated in July, 1256.* Whatever might have been the cause of the late rejection (and it would appear to have been mixed up with some private fractional intrigue among the canons themselves), the union between St. Patrick's and Christ Church was once more dissolved, and each party insisted on their respective privileges. Fulk De Sandford presided over the see for fifteen years, and was buried in St. Patrick's Church, in a capella founded by himself, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.

Immediately after the death of the archbishop, the kin granted licence of election,† when the prior and canons of

* Mathew Paris ad A. 1256.

† Soon after the introduction of the English laws into this country, the usual mode of episcopal election was in this manner: When a vacancy should happen to occur, the chapter first memorialed the king for a *Congé D'elire*, that is, a licence to proceed to election; after election had been made, a regular certi

Christ Church chose William De la Corner, the king's chaplain, while the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's elected Fromond De la Bruen, the pope's chaplain, and at that time chancellor of Ireland. Each party strenuously maintained the validity of their respective proceedings, and the controversy was conducted with great violence on both sides; at length the two elections were set aside by the pope, and John of Darlington (in the bishopric of Durham) was declared archbishop, and was soon after consecrated in the abbey of Waltham, by John Peckam, archbishop of Canterbury. This controversy, which must have evidently occasioned more trouble than benefit to the Church of Ireland, was maintained without interruption until the incumbency of Alexander De Bicknor, in the fourteenth century, after which period, it appears, that the archbishops of Dublin had been regularly promoted to that see by provision of the pope.

During the lapse of the thirteenth century, three important synods had been held, and several ecclesiastical regulations were devised for the maintenance of discipline. One of these synods was convened at Wexford by John De St. John, bishop of Ferns. This prelate, after having been for a time treasurer of Ireland, succeeded Alban O'Molloy in the diocese of Ferns, and was the first Englishman who had been promoted to that see. In the year 1240, John held a synod in the priory of Selskar, at Wexford.* Ten years after, another synod was held in Tuam, under Florence Mac Flin, archbishop of that diocese, the decrees of which are not extant; and in 1262, a provincial synod was held at Drogheda by Patrick O'Scanlan, archbishop of Armagh.†

It was by no means unusual in this age to entrust the office of lord justice or of chief governor of Ireland to the management of ecclesiastics. Besides Henry De Loundres, who, as has been noticed, was justiciary in the reign of king John, two other prelates had been commissioned to discharge the duties of the same office towards the close of this century. Stephen

ficate thereof was presented to the king, and obtained his assent; the proceedings of the chapter being, at the same time, submitted to the Holy See and confirmed, the king accordingly issued a writ of restitution of the temporal or episcopal possessions, which always remained in the hands of the c until the vacant see had been filled. Should the chapter proceed to c without the *Congè D'elire*, they became, by law, subject to serious penaltie while the election was declared null and void. These penalties had bec generally pardoned by the king, yet we have instances in which they had been rigorously enforced.—See Reily's Placita Parliamentaria, p. 296. On particular occasions, when an election should happen to be contested, the pope, by the plenitude of his authority, generally interfered and provided for the see.

* See Wilkins, Concilia, t. i. † See chap. ii.

De Fulburn, a native of Fulburn in Cambridgeshire, of the order of Hospitallers and bishop of Waterford, was appointed lord justice of Ireland by Edward I. in 1281 * This governor is represented to have, during the entire of his administration, earnestly employed all the influence arising from his office, with a view of obtaining the advantage of the English laws for the people of Ireland, and of inspiring the king with a concern for their interest. The native Irish, and especially those who lived contiguous to the pale, had been now so harrassed, that self-preservation itself dictated the necessity of making, at least, some effort towards changing their former state of tributary vassalage, and of placing themselves under the protection of the laws of England. For this purpose they guaranteed to pay eight thousand marcs to the king, provided he would place them under the security of the English laws. With this request Edward, on his part, seemed not unwilling to comply; but his answer was grounded on a condition which at once developes both the policy and the mercenary spirit of the rulers of Ireland in those times. "It seems," replies Edward, "sufficiently expedient to us, and to our council, to grant them the English laws, provided always, that the general consent of our people, or at least of the prelates and nobles of that land, well affected to us, shall uniformly concur in their behalf. We, therefore, command you, that having entered into treaty with these Irish people, and having agreed between you and them *on the highest fine of money* that you can obtain on this account, to be paid to us, you, with the consent of all, or at least the greater and sounder part aforesaid, make such a composition with the said people, in the premises, as you shall judge in your diligence to be most expedient for our honour and interest."† It required but little discernment to foresee that a compliance with this condition was, in the present state of Ireland, absolutely impossible. The Norman barons and the leading English settlers, who had now determined on cantonizing the country among themselves, were not likely to subscribe to a measure which might so effectually upset their favorite views; in fact, each of these marauders began now to consider himself a petty sovereign, and at times appeared disposed to set at defiance the authority of the English monarch himself. It is not, therefore, surprising, that this reasonable boon of the Irish people should have been rejected.

* Ware, Annals, ad A. 1281.

† These documents had been transmitted to De Fulburn's predecessor of the justiciary Ufford, the immediate predecessor of Stephen De Fulburn. See Holinshed.

They were refused to be sheltered in the land of their birth, even by the laws of the very people who had outrageously stript them of their property, and thus had insurrections and reaction been created; the English name became deservedly odious, charity as well as common justice seemed to have forsaken the land, while the lives and property of the people became a prey to every unprincipled adventurer, and the whole country was at length brought to the very brink of ruin. In such a state of society, it cannot be supposed that Stephen De Fulburn, or any other governor, could have it in his power to effect anything which might be considered of benefit to the people. He held the office of lord justice for six years, during which time he was allowed a pension of five hundred pounds, to be paid to him annually out of the exchequer.* It appears, however, that after his death in 1287, the king had seized on all his goods and chattels, and even on the vessels and ornaments of the church, for debts due to the crown while this prelate had been in office. Nevertheless, a writ was soon after issued to the treasurer and to the barons of the exchequer, enjoining them to make restitution to the cathedral, by restoring the church ornaments and other property to the dean and chapter.† John Sandford, archbishop of Dublin, was appointed to succeed Stephen in the office of chief governor. This prelate, however, continued but a short time lord justice of Ireland. Having been sent by Edward I. on an embassy to the emperor, John had scarcely returned to England when he was seized "with a violent malady (as Westminster expresses it), and went the way of all flesh." His remains were brought to Ireland and deposited in St. Patrick's Church, on the 20th of February, 1294.‡

The many and fruitless contests which had been for so long a time kept up between Frederic II. and the popes Innocent III. and Gregory IX., have given rise to some events which may serve to show the attachment of the Irish clergy to the Holy See; especially when contrasted with the conduct of our more opulent and powerful neighbours. During these feudal times, it was not unusual for the popes to make an appeal to the clergy of particular national churches, and to call on them for assistance. Such appeals appeared then almost obligatory, from the fact, that the suppression of abuses had been the object contemplated on these occasions. In the course of the thirteenth century, these demands had, at four different periods, been made on the clergy both of England and of

* Pat. xiii. Edw. I., Mem. 5. † Id. 17 Edw. I. Mem. 4. ‡ Ware, Bishops.

Ireland. During the administration of Maurice Fitzgerald, lord justice of Ireland in 1229, Stephen, nuncio to Gregory IX., came to Ireland with apostolic mandates, by virtue of which the tenth of all church temporalities throughout the kingdom was required, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of those painful conflicts, to which the simony of the emperor Frederick II. had given rise. In Ireland the commission of the nuncio was successful; among the clergy and barons of England, the propriety of the demand was violently contested. Encouraged by the example of Ranulphus, earl of Chester, the bishops and clergy of that country persisted for a time in rejecting the claim; dreading, however, the displeasure of Henry III., they at length consented, and for this time, at least, was a proportional share of the rent advanced on the part of the clergy of England and Wales.* A second demand was made in 1240 by the legate Petrus De Supino, on which occasion fifteen hundred marcs were collected throughout Ireland. In 1247, John Parus, legate to Innocent IV., not daring to venture into England, repaired to this country and made a third appeal to the Irish clergy, when six hundred marcs were readily collected; and a fourth claim having been made in 1270 was attended with similar success.

Against these proceedings, the clergy of England loudly remonstrated, and by way of supplement, their remonstrance was artfully fitted up with invectives against a number of Italian ecclesiastics, who had, it seems, found [illegible] time of obtaining benefices in England. Whether the memorialists had been reasonable or not, in urging these complaints, is scarcely worth the trouble of investigating; at all events, they appear to have forgotten, that almost all the principal sees, together with the rich monasteries, of Ireland were, at the very same time, exclusively in the possession of English ecclesiastics.

* Ware, Annals, ad A. 1229 et passim.

CHAPTER II.

Successors of St. Patrick—Episcopal Sees—Religious Foundations of the Thirteenth Century.

The primatial see had, in the commencement of the thirteenth century, been placed under the government of Eugene Mac Gillivider.* The incumbency of this prelate continued until 1216, in which year he died at Rome, shortly after the termination of the fourth general council of Lateran. Immediately on the death of Eugene, the chapter proceeded to an election, and convened the capitular without having obtained the usual licence of the king. Luke Netterville, archdeacon of Armagh, a man of prudence and learning, was the person elected. He forthwith proceeded to London, but, as might be expected, the king refused to confirm his nomination. This rejection served only to render the chapter more united: however, the royal licence being at length obtained, Luke was re-elected; and having obtained the king's assent and the confirmation of the pope, he was in the same year (1217) consecrated by Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury. He presided over the see until 1227, in which year he died, and was interred, as some authorities will have it, in the abbey of Mellifont; but according to others, in the Dominican convent at Drogheda, of which he was the founder and munificent benefactor †

Donatus O'Fidabra and Albert, styled Coloniensis, governed in succession the archiepiscopal see, after the death of the primate Luke. The former of these prelates was bishop of Clogher, from which see he had been translated in 1227; and the latter, after his consecration at Westminster in 1240, returned to Armagh, but resigned the administration of the archdiocese about seven years afterwards, and fled on the continent ‡ The mercenary proceedings of many of the chief governors of Ireland, on the demise or resignation of a bishop, became at this period most reprehensible. To discover some informality in the acts of the chapter, or to withhold the royal assent, were matters of ordinary occurrence; while the see, for a term of years, was kept vacant, and the revenues were allowed to flow into a channel which neither the canons of the

* See chap. i. † MS. S. Patri, ad a. 1227. ‡ Ware, Bishops.

church nor the law of the realm had ever thought proper to contemplate. For the purpose of preventing a repetition of this abuse, Innocent IV., into whose hands Albert had resigned his archdiocese, now deemed it necessary to interfere, and immediately proceeded to the consecration of his successor.

Reiner (Reginald), a native of Ireland and a member of the Order of Preachers, was the person selected by the pontiff. This ecclesiastic had already distinguished himself by his apostolical career in various parts of Italy, along the Rhine, and in Switzerland. In the general chapter of his order, held at Bononia in 1221, at which the great patriarch St. Dominick presided, Reginald was one of the twelve nominated on that occasion, and was soon after despatched to England, with commissionary powers to lay the foundation of this new invaluable institute in that kingdom. Having succeeded to a certain extent in England, he soon after passed over into his own country, where his services had been most amply appreciated; after which he proceeded to England, and from thence to Rome, during the pontificate of Gregory IX.* Reginald returned to Ireland about the close of the year 1247, and presided over the see of Armagh for nine years; he died at Rome in 1256, and was succeeded by

Abraham O'Connellan, archpriest of the church of Armagh. This prelate, immediately after his election, proceeded to Rome and was invested with the pallium. He presided, however, but two years after his return from the continent, and upon his death, in 1260, the king granted to the chapter of Armagh the power of electing a successor.

Patrick O'Scanlan, of the Order of Preachers, and bishop of Raphoe, was unanimously elected by the chapter to fill the archiepiscopal chair. As soon as the decision of the chapter had been made known to Henry III., that monarch, already acquainted with the merits of Patrick, caused letters in his favour to be directed to Urban IV., and on the 5th of the following November, 1261, the election was confirmed, and he was promoted to the metropolitan see. On the following year (1262) this prelate convened a provincial synod in Drogheda, at which all the suffragans of the province assisted and some likewise from the province of Tuam, together with the lord justice and many of the principal nobility of the kingdom. This synod was convened for the purpose of asserting the primatial rights of Armagh over the provinces, and of considering the claims of Hugh, bishop of Meath, that prelate

* Echard, tom. i.

having for some time insisted on the right of a canonical exemption from the visitations of the primate. It appears from the Register of Octavian De Palatio, archbishop of Armagh,* that the privileges of the primatial see were in this synod ratified and published, and it was decreed, "that it should be lawful for the archbishop of Armagh and his successors, as primates of Ireland, to visit the bishop and clergy of Meath, and to hear causes therein." This right, which regarded exclusively the personal visitations of the primate, was in the fifteenth century allowed even to commissioners deputed with visitatory powers by the metropolitan see of Armagh.† While the equity of his administration had been admired in this country, the zeal and firmness which he displayed on many trying occasions were honourably appreciated by the pontiffs Alexander and Urban at Rome. The privileges conferred on this prelate by Alexander IV. were rather of a personal description;‡ but in the month of November, 1263, he received from Urban IV. a bull, in which the important question of the primacy was involved, and from which we shall take the opportunity of making the following extract: "But the primacy of all Ireland, which your predecessors are known to have undoubtedly enjoyed always and up to this time, we, following the example of pope Celestine, our predecessor, do, by apostolical authority, confirm the same to you and to your successors; ordaining that the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of Ireland, shall at all times show unto you as primate, and to your successors, both obedience and reverence."§ The primate Patrick O'Scanlan, after an incumbency of ten years, died in the monastery of St. Leonard, at Dundalk, and was buried in a convent of his own order at Drogheda.

Nicholas, styled in the annals Son of Molissa, was elected his successor, and was consecrated in 1272. Under this prelate,

* Fol. 282. † Swain's Register, p. 106. ‡ Arch. Apost., lib. A.

§ Vide Jus Primatiale, ab Oliv. Plunkett, A. 1672; et Jus Primat. ab H. Mac Mahon, 1728. Archbishop Talbot and the advocates of the Dublin primacy have considered this document as inadmissible, and question the authenticity of the bull itself, on the following grounds: First, because it is not to be found in the *Bullarium Romanum*; secondly, it is not to be had in the *Bullarium Ordinis Prædicatorum*, to which order Patrick, archbishop of Armagh, belonged; and thirdly, it does not appear either in the *Vatican Tabulary* or in the *Apostolical Archives*. Moreover, they assert that this document, in itself so decisive, had not on any occasion been produced by either Patrick or his successors during the controversy on this question, until at length and for the first time it happened to be promulgated by Richard Ralphson, archbishop of Armagh, about the middle of the fourteenth century.—Vide Jus Prim. Dub. 1674.

the works already commenced in the cathedral of Armagh were completed, in a style of such singular beauty, that the like was not to be found in the kingdom. The primate Nicholas likewise enriched the church with books, costly vestments, and a pension of twenty marcs annually, to be paid out of his manor of *Termon-Feehin*. He presided over the see thirty-one years, and died on the 10th of May, A.D. 1303.*

The see of Kilmore, or as it was styled in the thirteenth century, of Breffny, appears to have been canonically established at this period; while its prelates were called *Episcopi Brefinienses* and sometimes *Triburnenses*, from Triburna, a small village in which they resided. Following the authority of the register of Clogher, it would seem that this district had formerly belonged to the ancient diocese of Clones, on Lough Erin, over which St. Tigarnach presided, and after him St. Feidlimid or Felim, the patron saint, about the close of the sixth century, The first bishop, however, which our annals present in this see of Triburna or Breffny, is Florence Canacty, in 1231;† after whom we find a regular succession until the year 1454, when Andrew Mac Brady, bishop of Breffny, erected the parish church of St. Felim into a cathedral, and henceforth this ecclesiastical district became universally designated the *Diocese of Kilmore*.

Besides the union of the sees of Dublin and Glendaloch,‡ as stated in the foregoing chapter, some other unions had been effected about this period, which it may be proper to notice. The union of the ancient diocese of Louth with that of Armagh is marked by our annalists as one among the important events of the thirteenth century. Louth had been united to Clogher since the year 1044; upon the terms of which union, Christian, bishop of Clogher, and brother of St. Malachy, had afterwards obtained a rescript from pope Innocent II. However, during the incumbency of Albert, archbishop of Armagh, a visitatory process had been instituted in the several sees of Ulster§, by means of which, the circumscribed limits of the archdiocese were ascertained, and measures

* Ware, Bishops. † Id.

‡ The events connected with the archiepiscopal see of Dublin having been necessarily introduced in the first chapter, the succession of its prelates may, for the sake of perspicuity, be now briefly inserted. 1. John Comin, archbishop of Dublin, consecrated 1181. 2. Henry Loundres, 1213. 3. Luke, 1230. 4. Fulk De Sandford, 1256. 5. John Derlington, 1279. 6. John De Sandford, brother of the above-mentioned Fulk, 1284. 7. William De Hothum, provincial of the English Dominicans, 1297. 8. Richard De Ferings, archdeacon of Canterbury, provided by the pope and consecrated in 1299.

§ Record Lond.

were adopted, through the agency of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, lord justice of Ireland, for the enlargement of its boundaries. On this occasion it was that Henry III. had, by authority from Rome, caused letters patent to be issued, in which, among others matters, it was ordained: "That in consideration of the poverty of the two sees of Clogher and of Armagh, he (the lord justice) should provide and cause them to be united."* While the execution of this writ had been contemplated, Albert died on the continent; however, during the incumbency of his successor, Reginald, a new arrangement was effected, according to which, the diocese of Louth was to be separated from Clogher and annexed to Armagh, together with the three deaneries of Drogheda, Atherdee and Dundalk.† About the same time, the church of Ardsrath, with a great portion of the territory of Kenelcogan, had been taken from Clogher and united to the diocese of Derry; while Dromore, which had for centuries been merged in Armagh, becomes again a distinct see, under the administration of its prelate, Gerald, formerly abbot of Mellifont, and consecrated in April, 1227.

The union of the see of Mayo with the archdiocese of Tuam is to be dated at the year 1210. Celestin O'Dubhay, the last bishop of Mayo, died about that period; and upon his demise Felix, archbishop of Tuam, acting on the authority of the council of Kells, and with the joint concurrence of the chapter, entered on the government of the two sees, since which time they have continued united.‡

Agreeably to the system hitherto observed, we now proceed to an analysis of the priories, abbeys, and convents which had been founded in the thirteenth century; reserving, at the same time, the priories or hospitals of the Trinitarians, with other charitable establishments, for the history of the sixteenth century.

PRIORIES OF THE CANONS REGULAR OF ST. AUGUSTIN FOUNDED IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

The priory of Tristernagh, in the barony of Moygoish and county of Westmeath, was founded for Canons Regular of St. Augustin by Geoffry de Constantine, about the year 1200. Several of the Nugents, Tuites, and Delamars had been priors of this establishment. In 1590, a lease of this priory was made to captain William Piers; while seven hundred acres of

* Record Lond. † Ware, Bishops of Clogher. ‡ Ware Antiq.

moor, arable, and pasture, with forty messuages, were granted to Robert Harrison.*

The priory of Great Conall, on the banks of the Liffey, in the county of Kildare, was founded in 1202, by Meyler Fitz-Henry, for Canons Regular of St Augustin. The prior of Great Conall sat as a baron in parliament. In the 3rd of Elizabeth, it was granted to Sir Nicholas White.†

The priory of Inistiogue, in the barony of Gowran, county of Kilkenny, was founded A.D. 1206, by Thomas, son of Anthony, seneschal of Leinster, for Canons Regular of St. Augustin. The last prior was Miles Baron. By an inquisition taken in the 31st of Henry VIII. its possessions were found to consist of nine hundred and fifty acres, situated in the counties of Kilkenny, Carlow, and Wexford, nine rectories, eighteen burgages, and thirty-nine messuages; all of which, except the rectories, were granted in the 10th of Elizabeth to Edmund Butler and his heirs, in capite, at the yearly rent of £28 12s., Irish money.‡

The priory of Newtown, situated on the north bank of the Boyne, in the county of Meath, was founded in 1206, for the Canons Regular of St. Augustin, by Simon Rochford, bishop of Meath. The prior of this house was the third ecclesiastic in dignity, and sat as a baron in parliament. Laurence White was the last prior, when, in the 29th of Henry VIII., this priory, with five hundred acres of arable and pasture land and the rectories of Galtrim, Tillanoge, and Fennor, were granted to Robert Dillon, at the annual rent of £16 5s. 9d. One hundred acres in Moyvalley, part of the possessions of this priory, were conferred on Gerald, earl of Kildare.§

The priory of Tuam, in the barony of Dunmore, county of Galway, was founded by the family of Burgh, about the year 1220, for Canons of St. Victor following the rule of St. Augustin. In the 20th of Elizabeth, this priory, with part of its possessions, one hundred acres and two quarters, was granted, together with the abbey of Mayo, to the burgesses and commonalty of Athenry.‖

The priory of Mullingar (De Domo Dei), in the county of Westmeath, was founded in 1227, for Canons Regular of St Augustin, by Ralph le Petit, bishop of Meath. John Po[illegible] the last prior. An inquisition was held in the 31st of Henry VIII. and a second in the 13th of Elizabeth, when three hundred and sixty acres, arable and pasture, with thirty-three messuages, were granted to Richard Tuite and his heirs

* Aud.-Gen. † Id. ‡ Id. § Chief Remem. ‖ Aud.-Gen.

male, in capite, by knight's service, at the yearly rent of £16 5s. 10d.*

The priory of Aghrim, in the barony of Kilconnel, county of Galway, was founded by Theobald Butler in the thirteenth century, for Canons Regular of St. Augustin. At the suppression, this priory was granted to Richard, earl of Clanrickarde.†

The priory of Ballybeg,‡ in the barony of Orrery and Kilmore, county of Cork, was founded A.D. 1229, by William De Barry, for Canons Regular of St. Augustin. In the 16th of Elizabeth, the possessions were consigned to Sir Daniel Norton, for the wife of Sir Thomas Norris, president of Munster.§

ABBEYS OF THE CISTERCIAN ORDER FOUNDED IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

The abbey of Tintern, in the barony of Shelburne and county of Wexford, was founded for Cistercians by William Mareschal, the elder, earl of Pembroke, A.D. 1200.‖ This nobleman, having been in great danger at sea, made a vow that he would erect a monastery in that place where he should first arrive in safety; which obligation he performed by the foundation of Tintern Abbey, and afterwards supplied it with monks, whom he had brought from the abbey of Tintern, in Monmouthshire. Its first abbot was John Torrell; and in process of time it became amazingly enriched. In 1380 it was enacted that no mere Irishman be permitted to make his profession in this abbey. The abbots of Tintern sat as barons in parliament, the last of whom was John Power. By an inquisition taken in the 31st of Henry VIII., the possessions were found to consist of ninety acres, being the demesne land, situated in Tintern, and two thousand two hundred acres of moor, arable, and pasture land, together with the rectories of Banne, Kilmore, Clomines, and various others. During the same year the Saltees, with the rectory of Kilmore, were granted to William St. Loo; while in the 18th of Elizabeth, the abbey and sixteen townlands, with their tithes and the

* Aud.-Gen. † Id.

‡ For the priories of Athassal, Nenagh, Enniscorthy, St. Wolstan's, Carrick-on-Suir, and St. John's in the city of Kilkenny, together with the several commanderies of the Hospitallers, founded at this period, see century xvi. chap. ii.

§ Smith, vol. i. ‖ Ware, Mon.

reversion of the premises, were granted for ever, in capite, to Anthony Colclough, at the annual rent of £26 4s.*

The abbey of Kilbeggan (De Flumine Dei), in the barony of Moycashel and county of Westmeath, was founded for Cistercians A.D. 1200.† Its possessions consisted of one thousand and twenty acres of wood, arable, and pasture land, three water-mills, eighteen messuages, and twenty-six rectories. The last abbot was Maurice O'Shanahan, in the 31st of Henry VIII., when an inquisition was held, and the property was confiscated. In the 11th of Elizabeth, eight carucates of this land were granted to Robert Dillon, at the annual rent of £6 15s., the remainder was parcelled out in 1618 by James I. to divers favourites, to be held of the king, as of the castle of Dublin, in free and common soccage.‡

The abbey of Graignemanagh (De Valle Salvatoris), in the barony of Gowran and county of Kilkenny, was founded by William Mareschal, the elder, earl of Pembroke, for Cistercians, A.D. 1204. In 1380, it was enacted that no mere Irishman should be allowed to profess in this abbey. The abbot of Graignemanagh sat as a baron in parliament. By an inquisition held in the 9th of Elizabeth, this abbey was found to possess six hundred and twenty acres of arable and pasture land, eight townlands and eleven rectories, with the tithes and alterages of the same. The last abbot was Charles Mac-Morough O'Cavanagh. In the 9th of Elizabeth, this abbey and eight townlands in the counties of Carlow and Wexford, with two hundred acres of land in the county of Kilkenny, were granted for ever, at an annual rent of £41, to James Butler.§

The abbey of Abbington (Wotheney), in the county of Limerick, was founded for Cistercians by Theobald Fitz-Walter, lord of Carrick, A.D. 1205. The last abbot was John O'Mulryan, when in 1540 this abbey was suppressed, and in the 5th of Elizabeth, eleven rectories and fifteen townlands, in the counties of Limerick and Kerry, were granted at an annual rent to Peter Walsh, who was also by compact obliged to maintain one horseman on the premises.‖

The abbey of Tracton (De Alba Tractu), in the barony of Kinalea, county of Cork, was founded by Maurice Mac Carthy for Cistercians, A.D. 1224. In 1380 it was enacted that no mere Irishman should be suffered to make his profession in this abbey. The abbot of Tracton sat as a baron in parliament.

* Aud.-Gen. † Annals Four Masters. ‡ Lib. Inquis.
§ Aud.-Gen. ‖ Aud.-Gen.

In 1568 the abbey and its possessions were granted by Elizabeth to Sir James Craig, on his paying a fine of £7 15s.; they were afterwards assigned to Richard, earl of Cork, who passed a patent for the same in the 7th of James I.*

Those religious communities usually designated "mendicant orders," had, during this century, arrived in Ireland, for whom the following convents had been established:—

CONVENTS OF THE DOMINICAN ORDER FOUNDED IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

The convent of St. Saviour, Dublin, on the north bank of the Liffey, and on the site of the present Four Courts, was founded about the year 1216 by William Mareschal the elder, earl of Pembroke, for monks of the Cistercian Order. Eight years after this period the Dominicans arrived in Ireland, at which time (1224) the Cistercians resigned this establishment of St. Saviour into their possession, on condition, that on the feast of the Nativity, they should offer a lighted taper at the abbey of St. Mary, in acknowledgment that this monastery did originally belong to the Cistercian Order† John Decer, mayor of Dublin in 1380, was one of its principal benefactors; he repaired and adorned the church with a range of massive pillars, and afterwards completed and beautified the high altar. The friars of this house were distinguished promoters of literature in those days, and in 1421 succeeded in establishing a school of philosophy and of divinity on Usher's Island. On this occasion it was that they had caused a bridge to be erected across the Liffey, which has been since known by the name of the "Old Bridge."‡ During the thirteenth century there had been three general chapters held in this convent and a fourth in 1313. The last prior was Patrick Hay: and by an inquisition held in the 33rd of Henry VIII., the possessions in the county of Meath, consisting of one hundred and twenty acres with six messuages, were granted to Sir Thomas Cusake; while in the 20th of Elizabeth, the convent, with divers property in the city of Dublin, was given to Gerald, [illegible], in free soccage, at the yearly rent of 20s. Irish money.§

The convent of Drogheda, under the invocation of St. Mary Magdalen, was founded by Lucas Netterville, archbishop of Armagh, 1224. Richard II. and Henry IV. were great

* Smith, vol. i. † Ware, Collect. ‡ Hib. Dom.
§ Aud.-Gen.; see cent. xviii., chap. 2.

benefactors to this convent. Four general chapters had been held here, namely: in 1290, 1303, 1347, 1412. The last prior was Peter Lewis; and in the 35th of Henry VIII., this friary, with various houses, gardens and twelve acres of land near Drogheda, was granted to Walter Dowdall and Edward Becke, at the annual rent of 2s. 2d. Irish money.*

The Black Abbey in Kilkenny was founded in honor of the Holy Trinity, for Dominicans, by William Mareschal, junior, earl of Pembroke, in the year 1225. This establishment maintained for centuries a high rank in the order; four general chapters have been held in it, namely: those of 1281, 1302, 1306, and 1346.† Its last prior was Peter Cantwell; and in the 35th of Henry VIII., an inquisition was held, when the possessions, consisting of twenty-four houses, sixteen gardens, nineteen acres in Kilkenny, with one hundred and twenty acres, nine messuages and the tithes and alterages of the same, were granted to Walter Archer, the sovereign, and to the burgesses and commonality of Kilkenny, for ever, at the annual rent of 12s. 4d. Irish money.‡ This ancient and beautiful abbey had been entirely demolished, with the exception of the tower and the principal south aisle of the church. During the great national struggle of the nineteenth century, when millions in chains insisted on the right of being free, the numerous influential meetings of the spirited citizens of Kilkenny, held in the Black Abbey, should be for ever recorded in the annals of Ireland. About the year 1816 the abbey was repaired and beautified in a style of superior elegance; while its immense stately window of stained glass, and the other interior decorations, contrasted with the ivy-clad tower and the massive pile of mouldering ruins which surround it, have decidedly contributed to render the Black Abbey of Kilkenny one of the most venerable and magnificent remains of antiquity in the kingdom.

The convent of St. Saviour, Waterford, was founded for Dominicans by the citizens of Waterford, in 1226, and was usually denominated "Black Friars."§ General chapters had been held in this convent in the years 1277, 1291, and 1309. The last prior was William Marten; and in the 34th of Henry VIII. this friary, with six messuages and twenty-two acres of land in the liberties of Waterford, was granted to James White, at the annual rent of 4s. Irish.‖

The convent of St. Mary (S. Mariæ de Insula), in Cork,

* Aud.-Gen.; see cent. xviii. chap. ii. † Archdall, Mon.
‡ Aud.-Gen. § Smith, p. 128. ‖ Aud.-Gen.

was erected on an island called Cross-Green, at the south side of the city, by Philip Barry, in the year 1229.* Edward III. and Edmund Mortimer, earl of Ulster, were its munificent benefactors. In the 35th of Henry VIII., a grant was made of the convent, with ten messuages and eighty acres of land, to William Boureman, at the annual rent of 6s. 9d. Irish.†

The convent of Mullingar was founded in 1237, for Dominicans, by the family of Nugent. General chapters had been held here in 1278, 1292, 1308, and 1314. In the 8th of Elizabeth, this convent and one hundred and twenty acres of land were granted to Walter Hope, at the annual rent of £10.

The convent of Athenry, in the county of Galway, was founded in 1241 by Meyler De Bermingham, baron of Athenry. General chapters were held here in 1242 and in 1311. In the 16th of Elizabeth, this convent, with thirty acres of land, was granted to the burgesses of the town of Athenry, at the yearly rent of £1 6s. 4d.‡

The convent of St. Dominick, in Cashel, was founded by David Mac Kelly, archbishop of Cashel, in 1243. This was one of the most beautiful convents of the Dominican Order in Ireland, and general chapters were held in it in the years 1289 and 1307. Edward Brown was the last prior, when in the 35th of Henry VIII. it was granted to Walter Fleming, at an annual rent of 2s. 6d.§

The convent of Tralee, in Kerry, under the invocation of the Holy Cross, was founded by Lord John Fitz-Thomas, in 1243. It became the general cemetery of the Desmond family, and was suppressed in the 31st of Henry VIII.

The convent of Coleraine, in Derry, was founded in 1244 by the Mac Evelins, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. Shane O'Boyle was the last prior, when, in 1542, it was suppressed, and its property confiscated to the crown.‖

The convent of Sligo was founded in 1252 by Maurice Fitz-Gerald. During the general confiscation, it was granted to Sir William Taaffe.¶

The convent of St. Mary, Roscommon, had for its founder Felim O'Conor, king of Connaught in 1253. In 1615 this convent, with sixty-eight acres of land, was conferred on Francis Viscount Valentia.

The convent of Athy, in the county of Kildare, was founded, as it is supposed, by the families of Boiseles and Hogans, in the year 1257. General chapters had been held

* Hib. Dom. † Chief Remem.; see cent. xix. chap. ii. ‡ Chief Remem.
§ Aud.-Gen. ‖ King, p. 97. ¶ Harris' Tab.

in this convent in 1288, 1295, and 1305. It was granted in the 35th of Henry VIII., together with fifty acres of pasture land on the Barrow, to Martin Pelles, at an annual rent of 2s. 8d.*

The convent of St. Mary, in Trim, county of Meath, was erected by Geoffrey De Geneville in 1263. General chapters had been held here in 1285, 1300, and 1315; and during the fifteenth century three parliaments had been convened in this convent. In the 31st of Henry VIII., the property was confiscated to the crown.

The convent of Arklow, county of Wicklow, was founded by Theobald Fitz-Walter in 1264. In the 35th of Henry VIII. this friary, together with sixteen acres of land, was given to John Travers.†

The convent of Rossbercan, in the county of Kilkenny, was founded in 1267. In the 31st of Henry VIII., this convent, with sixty acres of land, was granted to John Parker.

The convent of Youghal, was founded by Thomas, lord Offaly, in 1268. In the 23rd of Elizabeth, this convent and eleven houses in the town of Youghal were granted to William Walsh, at the yearly rent of 2s. Irish.‡

The convent of Lorrah, county of Tipperary, was erected by Walter Burke, earl of Ulster, A.D. 1269. General chapters had been held here in 1301 and 1688.§ In the 35th of Henry VIII. it was suppressed.

The convent of Rathbran, in the county of Mayo, had for its founder Sir William Burgh, in 1274. In 1577, this convent, with six quarters of land, was given to Thomas Dexter, at the yearly rent of 2s. Irish.

The convent of Derry was founded by O'Donnel, junior, prince of Tirconnell, in 1274. In the 35th Henry VIII. this convent became a ruin.

The convent of Kilmallock, in the county of Limerick, was founded by Gilbert, son of John, lord Offaly, in 1291. A general chapter was held here in 1340. In the 36th of Elizabeth, a grant was made of this convent to the sovereign and commonalty of Kilmallock.‖

CONVENTS OF THE FRANCISCAN ORDER FOUNDED IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

The Franciscan Convent of Youghal, the parent establishment of that order in Ireland, was founded by Maurice Fitz-Gerald, A.D. 1231. The founder was lord justice of Ireland

* Aud.-Gen. † Id. ‡ Id. § Hib. Dom. p. 279. ‖ Aud.-Gen.

in 1232, after which he retired to this convent and embraced the institute of St. Francis.* He died in 1257, and was buried in his convent of Youghal. This abbey continued for many centuries the usual cemetery of the Desmond family. Provincial chapters had been held here in 1300, 1312, 1331, 1513, and 1531; while in 1460 the reformation of the Strict Observants had been received.† During the terrors of Elizabeth's reign this extensive convent had been pillaged, and so completely demolished, that not even a single vestige of its ruins was allowed to remain. Those of the community who had escaped the storm, fled for refuge into the mountains of the county of Waterford, where they were protected, and at length settled in a retired but beautiful spot called Curragheen, under the patronage of the noble, patriotic, and benevolent family of Dromanagh.

The convent of Carrickfergus, in the county of Antrim, had for its founder Hugh De Lacy, A.D. 1232‡ In 1497 this convent was reformed by the Strict Observants, and a provincial chapter was held here in 1510. It was granted in the 33rd of Henry VIII. to Sir Edmund Fitz-Gerald.§

The Franciscan Convent of Kilkenny was founded for Conventuals by Richard Mareschal, earl of Pembroke, A.D. 1234.‖ Provincial chapters had been held here in 1267 and 1308. This convent had been remarkable for its learned men, among whom may be noticed the celebrated annalist, John Clynn, in 1348. The last guardian was Patrick Delany, and in the 35th Henry VIII., the abbey, with its appurtenances, nine townlands, including Dunmore and Kilferagh, was granted to the sovereign, burgesses, and commonalty of Kilkenny.¶ This spacious abbey, delightfully situated on the banks of the Nore, did in ancient times occupy the entire site from the river to the street of Irishtown, while the venerable ruins which alone have survived the wreck, clearly bespeak its former elegance and grandeur. The great chancel of the church still remains, together with its tower both light and lofty, and which, for neatness of design and execution, has been greatly admired. Its halls of philosophy and of divinity continued to be frequented for a series of years, while many of the memorable events of the seventeenth century, form no inconsiderable treat in the historical records of this once-celebrated and beautiful abbey.

The convent of St. Francis, in Dublin was founded A.D. 1236, in that part of the city which is now called Francis-

* Hanmer, p. 198. † Wadding, Annal. Min. t. vi. ‡ Id.
§ Harris' Tab. ‖ Wadding, Annal. ¶ Aud.-Gen.

street; Henry III. patronizing the building, and Ralph le Porter having granted an extensive and convenient site for the erection thereof.* Besides Henry III. and Edward I., this convent had numerous benefactors, the most influential of whom were Bartholomew Creek, an influential citizen, and John le Decer, mayor of Dublin in 1308. Le Decer erected a beautiful chapel in the church of this convent, which was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and in which he was interred.† In the 24th of Henry VIII., the convent, with its appurtenances, four houses in Francis-street and six acres of meadow near Clondalkin, was granted to Thomas Stephens, to be held in capite for ever, at the annual rent of 2s. Irish.‡

The convent of Multifernam, in the barony of Corkery and county of Westmeath, was founded for Conventuals by William Delamar, in the year 1236.§ The reformation of the Strict Observants had been adopted here in 1460, and in 1529 a provincial chapter had been held in this abbey. In the 8th of Henry VIII., the convent of Multifernam and its appurtenances, a water-mill and thirty acres of arable land, were granted to Edmund Field, Patrick Clynch, and Philip Penteney, at a fine of £80 and the annual rent of 4s.‖ When the fury of the storm, created by Henry and Elizabeth, had somewhat subsided, this convent was again placed in the possession of the Franciscans, and continued in their hands during the reign of Charles I., until it was at length committed to the flames by the Rochfords, a powerful family in this country. The walls of the cloister are still complete, while the surrounding ruins, with the steeple rising from a small arch to nearly the height of one hundred feet, and situate on the borders of a delightful lake, contribute to render the whole scene at once picturesque and magnificent. By the united exertions of a spirited public, this abbey has been lately rebuilt, and is now finished in a style altogether worthy the recollections of its former greatness. The convent of Multifernam stands, and its abbey flourishes, while the despoiler and the plunderer have disappeared, both alike laid low, and long since levelled to the dust.

The Franciscan Convent of Cork,¶ usually called Gray

* Ware Mon. † Pembrige.

‡ Aud.-Gen.—For the re-settlement of the Franciscan community in Dublin, their sufferings in defence of the religion of the country, and the erection of their spacious and splendid church on Merchants' Quay, the reader must be referred to centuries xviii. and xix. chap. ii. The same reference (it must be observed) is applicable also to various convents of the Dominican, Augustinian and Carmelite orders.

§ Archdall, Mon. ‖ Aud.-Gen. ¶ See cent. xviii. and xix. chap. ii.

Abbey, was founded for Conventual Franciscans by Philip Prendergast, on the north side of the city, A.D. 1240.* Henry III. and Edward I. were great benefactors to this convent. A provincial chapter had been held here in 1291; and about the close of the fifteenth century, the rule of the Strict Observants had been adopted. Several illustrious members of the house of Desmond had been interred within the walls of this abbey, particularly Cormac, king of Desmond, in 1247; Dermot, in 1275, and Thadæus in 1413. In the 8th of Elizabeth, this convent, with its appurtenances, forty acres, and seven gardens, was granted to Andrew Skydie and his heirs, in capite, at the annual rent of £2 18s. 8d. Irish.†

THE CONVENT OF DROGHEDA was erected near the north side of the Boyne, by the family of Plunket, for Conventuals, in the year 1240.‡ This foundation is by some writers attributed to the Darcy family, from the particular situation of their tomb, which stood in the centre of the choir. It is certain, however, that this family had not arrived in Ireland until at least the commencement of the fourteenth century. The convent of Drogheda was the head of a wardenship, and in 1518 the Observants were placed here. Richard Molane was the last guardian, when, in the 34th of Henry VIII., this convent, with its appurtenances, six acres of meadow, and a messuage in Swords, was granted to Gerald Aylmer, in capite for ever, at the yearly rent of 3s. 6d. Irish.§

THE CONVENT OF WATERFORD was erected for Conventual Franciscans, in 1240, by Sir Hugh Purcel, and at the close of the same year the founder was interred at the right hand side of the high altar. Provincial chapters had been held here in 1317 and in 1469. In the 33rd of Henry VIII., John Lynch being the last guardian, this convent was confiscated and granted to Patrick Walsh, at the annual rent of 8s. 4d.‖ The hospital of the Holy Ghost has been erected on a portion of its ruins.

THE CONVENT OF ENNIS, county of Clare, was founded in 1240, by Donagh Carbrac O'Brian, for Conventual Franciscans.* Dermod and Matthew O'Brian, princes of Thomond, had been munificent benefactors, while this abbey continued for centuries the usual cemetery of the Thomond family. In 1577, it was confiscated and reverted to the crown, and in 1621 ultimately bestowed on a favourite named William Dongan.**

THE CONVENT OF ATHLONE, situated on the east side of the

* Wadding, Annal. Min. † Aud.-Gen. ‡ Wadding. § Chief Rem.
‖ Aud.-Gen. * Wadding, Annal. Min. ** Rolls.

Shannon, in the county of Westmeath, was founded for Conventuals by Cathal Dearg O'Conor, prince of Connaught, in 1241.* On the death of the founder, which occurred during the same year, the building was completed by Sir Henry Dillon, and in 1242 the great church was consecrated by Albert, archbishop of Armagh. Henry III. was a munificent benefactor to this convent; having, among other donations, granted the sum of £20, payable annually on the feast of All Saints, for the purpose of providing habits for the friars minors of Athlone, Waterford, Dublin, Cork, and Kilkenny. In the 31st of Henry VIII., this ancient convent was suppressed and confiscated to the crown.

The convent of Wexford.—According to an ancient and concurrent tradition, the Conventual Franciscans settled in Wexford about the middle of the thirteenth century, having been accommodated and amply assisted by the Knights Hospitallers, who were at the time in possession of an extensive establishment in that town. The Conventuals of this house adopted the more strict reformation of the Observants, A.D. 1486; and it continued regularly in the hands of their successors until the 35th of Henry VIII., when this convent, with its appurtenances and eight burgesses in the town of Wexford, valued at 17s., were granted for ever, in capite, to Paul Turner and James Devereux, at the annual rent of 10d. Irish.† During the storms which blew over the sixteenth and subsequent centuries, the members of this establishment remained unintimidated; affording such a display of Christian heroism, as might well become the spirit and character of primitive times. The illustration of this remark shall, however, be reserved for its proper place, and may be found in the history of the seventeenth century.

The convent of Limerick was founded in the reign of Henry III. by Walter De Burgh, earl of Ulster‡ Edward I. had been among its principal benefactors. In 1534 this convent was reformed by the Observants, and in the 35th of Henry VIII. it was granted, with ten messuages and ten gardens, to Edmund Sexton, at the annual rent of 2s. Irish.§

The convent of Cashel, usually called [illegible] was founded in the reign of Henry [illegible] by [illegible] for Conventual Franciscans. The Strict Observants reformed this convent in 1538, and in the 30th of Henry VIII. it was granted to Edmund Butler, at the annual rent of 2s. 10d.

* Ware; Pier's description of Westmeath. † Aud Gen.
‡ Wadding, Annal. Min. § Aud.-Gen.

The convent of Dundalk was founded in the reign of Henry III. by Lord John De Verdon. A provincial chapter was held here in 1282. This convent, with four acres of land and a park, was given in the 35th of Henry VIII. to James Brandon.*

The convent of Ardfert, in Kerry, was founded in 1253 by Thomas, lord of Kerry, for Conventuals. In the 35th of Henry VIII. this convent became a ruin.

The convent of Kildare was erected by Lord William De Vesey in 1260, and was completed by Gerald Fitz-Maurice, Lord Offaley. The reformation of the Strict Observants was received here in 1520. A grant was made of this convent in the 34th of Henry VIII. to Daniel Sutton.†

The convent of Clane, in the county of Kildare, was founded in 1260 by Gerald Fitz-Maurice, Lord Offaley. A provincial chapter was held here in 1345, and in the 24th of Henry VIII. it was given to Robert Eustace and John Trevors, at an annual rent of 2s. 4d.

The convent of Armagh had for its founder Patrick Scanlan, archbishop of Armagh, in 1263, and in 1518 it was reformed by the Observants. In the sixteenth century it became involved in the general confiscation.

The convent of Clonmel was founded in 1269 by Otho De Grandison, for Conventuals, and was reformed by the Observants in 1536.‡ Robert Travers was the last guardian, when, in the 34th of Henry VIII., a moiety, consisting of four houses and twenty acres of land, was granted to the sovereign and commonalty of Clonmel; the other moiety was given to James, earl of Ormond.§

The convent of Nenagh, in the county of Tipperary, was erected in the reign of Henry III. by the Butler family. A provincial chapter was held here in 1344, and in the 30th of Henry VIII. it was granted to Robert Collon.

The convent of Wicklow was founded in the reign of Henry III. by the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles. Dermod O'Moore was the last guardian, when in the 17th of Elizabeth it was consigned to Henry Harrington, at a trifling fine.‖

The convent of Trim, in the county of Meath, was founded by the family of Plunket. The Stations [illegible] been here in 1325. This convent, in the [illegible]th of Henry VIII., was granted to John Wakely, at a rent of 2s. 10d.¶

The convent of Clare-Galway, in the barony of Clare,

* Aud.-Gen. † Chief Remem. ‡ Wadding, Annal. Min.
§ Aud.-Gen. ‖ Id. ¶ Id.

county of Galway, was founded by John De Cogan, in the year 1290. Thomas, Lord Athenry, was one of its most munificent benefactors. In the 33rd of Henry III., it was confiscated to the crown.

The convent of Buttevant, in the county of Cork, was erected by David Oge Barry, lord Buttevant, in 1290. In 1545 it was confiscated to the crown.

The convent of Galway was founded in St. Stephen's Island, beyond the north gate of the town, by Sir William De Burgo, A.D. 1296.* This convent continued for many years the usual cemetery of that and of many other noble families. Provincial chapters had been held here in the years 1470, 1522, and 1562. In the reign of Elizabeth it became involved in the general wreck, and reverted to the crown.

The convent of Galbally, in the county of Limerick, was founded by the O'Brian family, at the close of the thirteenth century. In the 35th of Henry VIII., it was given to John of Desmond.

The convent of Killeigh, in the King's County, was erected by the O'Conors, in the reign of Edward I. This convent was given in 1542 to John Allee.

The convent of Ross, in the county of Wexford, was founded by Sir John Devereux in the reign of Edward I. Among other benefactions, the founder granted to this convent a certain duty on all ships coming into the port of Ross. A provincial chapter was held here in 1318. In 1540, this convent was suppressed and granted to James, earl of Ormond.†

CONVENTS OF THE AUGUSTINIAN ORDER FOUNDED IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

The convent of the Holy Trinity, in Dublin, was founded for friars of the order of St. Augustin, and on the site where Crow-street now stands, by a member of the family of Talbot, A.D. 1259. This convent was a general college for the brethren of that institute in Ireland. In the 34th of Henry VIII., it was granted, together with ten houses, three orchards and ten gardens in the parish of St. Andrew; four acres and a park of six acres near College-green; two houses and gardens in Patrick-street; three houses and three gardens in the parish of St. Michan, and ninety-three acres in Tobberboyne, for ever, to Walter Tyrrel, at the annual rent of 6s. Irish.‡

The convent of Tipperary was founded for Augustinians

* Wadding; Lodge, vol. ii. † Harris' Tab. ‡ Aud.-Gen.

in the reign of Henry III. Donatus O'Quirk was the last prior, and in the 31st of Henry VIII., this convent with twenty-three houses, ninety-two acres, and a mill in Tipperary was given to Dermod Ryan, at the yearly rent of 8d.*

The convent of Cork, now called the Red Abbey, on the south side of the city, was erected in the reign of Edward I. In the 19th of Elizabeth, a grant was made of this abbey, with sixteen houses and gardens, to Cormac Teige Mac Carthy, at an annual rent of 16s. 8d.†

The convent of Limerick, situated near Quay-lane, was founded in the thirteenth century, by O'Brian, a descendant of the kings of Thomond. The prior of this house had the first voice in the election of the mayor, bailiffs, and other officers in the city of Limerick. Stephen Sexton was the last prior in 1594, when the commissioners seized on eighteen houses, sixteen gardens, eighty-six acres and the rectory of the church of St. John in the suburbs, a parcel of the possessions; these with various other property were afterwards annexed to the crown.‡

The convent of Drogheda was founded in the reign of Edward I. and was afterwards repaired by the family of Brandon. A provincial chapter was held here in 1358. In the 33rd of Henry VIII., this convent with its appurtenances was granted to the mayor and burgesses of Drogheda.§

The convent of Clonmines, in the county of Wexford, was founded by the family of Kavanagh, in the reign of Edward I., but was considerably enlarged and beautified by Nicholas Fitz-Nicholas in 1385. This convent afterwards passed into the hands of the Dominicans, but in the fifteenth century was repossessed by the Augustinians. Nicholas Wadding was the last prior, and in the 35th of Henry VIII., this establishment, with six messuages, twenty-six acres, and the Dominican Convent of Rossbercon, was granted for ever, in capite, to John Parker, at the annual rent of 2s. 4d. Irish.‖

The convent of Dungarvan had Thomas, lord Offaley, for its founder, in 1295. The family of Magrath and the O'Briens of Cummeragh were among its principal benefactors. In the 37th of Elizabeth, it was granted, with sixty-two [illegible] vicinity of Dungarvan, and various other property, to Roger Dalton.¶

* Aud.-Gen. † Chief Remem. ‡ Inquisit. Ann.
§ Harris' Tab. ‖ Aud.-Gen. ¶ Id.

CONVENTS OF THE CARMELITE ORDER FOUNDED IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

The convent of Dublin (White Friars), in the south suburbs of the city, was founded by Sir Robert Bagot, chief justice of the King's Bench, in 1274, on a lot of ground which he purchased from the abbey of Baltinglass. Provincial chapters had been held here in the years 1320 and 1323; and in 1333 a parliament had been convened in the great hall of this convent. Among its benefactors were Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry VI., from the last of whom, this house obtained a grant of 100s. annually, to be paid out of the customs of the city of Dublin. William Kelly was the last prior, and in the 34th of Henry VIII., this convent, with eleven acres, nine houses, gardens, and orchards, was granted to Nicholas Stanihurst, at the annual rent of 2s. 6d. It was afterwards conceded by Elizabeth to Francis Aungier, created baron of Longford in June, 1621.*

The convent of Leighlin-Bridge was founded for Carmelites by one of the Carews, about the end of the reign of Henry III. Edward III. and Richard II. were among its most munificent benefactors. In the 35th of Henry VIII., this convent was annexed to the crown, and was afterwards converted into a fort, in which a regular garrison had been stationed †

The convent of Ardee, in the county of Louth, was founded by Ralph Peppard, in the reign of Edward I. Provincial chapters had been held here in the years 1315, 1320, and 1325. Two provincial synods had been convened here, the last of which was held in 1504. In the 31st of Henry VIII. this convent, with eleven messuages, eight gardens, two parks, a mill, and a water-course, was annexed to the crown.‡

The convent of Drogheda, on the Meath-side of the river, was erected for Carmelites by the inhabitants of Drogheda, in the reign of Edward I. It obtained several privileges from Edward III., and particularly from the parliament of 1458. In the 33rd of Henry VIII., it was confiscated and reverted to the crown.

The convent of Galway was founded by the family of Burgh. This convent was confiscated in the same inquisition with that of Drogheda.

The convent of Ballynamall, in the county of Mayo,

* Lodge, vol. iv. † Hooker's Notes. ‡ Chief Remem.

derived its foundation from the family of Prendergast. Its last prior was Donatus O'Gormaly, when, in the 34th of Henry VIII., it was granted, with two quarters of land and a water-mill, to Sir John King.*

The convent of Rathmullin, in the county of Donegal, was founded for Carmelites in the reign of Edward I. In the time of Henry VIII. it merged into the general confiscations.

The convent of Castle-Lyons, in the county of Cork, was founded for Carmelites by the Barry family. In the 3rd of Elizabeth this convent was annexed to the crown.

The convent of Kildare was erected for Carmelites in the year 1290, by William De Vesey. This convent was a general seminary for the order in Ireland, and among its teachers may be noticed the learned David O'Buge, usually styled in the annals of this period, "the burning light, the mirror and ornament of his country."† In 1540, it became involved in the general wreck.

The convent of Thurles, in the county of Tipperary, was founded for Carmelites by the Butler family about the close of the thirteenth century. The last prior was Donatus O'Houleghan, and in the 31st of Henry VIII., this convent, with fifteen acres of land, five gardens, and the priory of Athassel, was granted to Thomas, earl of Ormond, to hold in capite, at a yearly rent. In 1562, Elizabeth confirmed the same, but remitted the reserved rent.‡

CHAPTER III.

Religious and Literary Characters of the Thirteenth Century—General Observations.

Marian O'Laghnan, archbishop of Tuam, and an eminent canonist, has been deservedly ranked by our annalists among the ecclesiastical writers of the thirteenth century. In 1238, he was elected by the chapter of Tuam as successor to the archbishop Felix O'Ruaden, and immediately after [illegible] to Rome, where his election was confirmed by Gregory IX., and he was invested with the pallium. Before this period Marian undertook a journey to Jerusalem, and spent some years in visiting the several remarkable places recorded in holy writ. Having departed from Jerusalem, he proceeded through the interior of Palestine, and collected a variety of

* Harris' Tab. † See cent. xiv. chap. iii. ‡ Lodge, vol. ii.

materials calculated to throw light on many of the difficult historical passages of the sacred Scriptures. An accurate detail of this journey, together with his own elucidations, had been afterwards published by Marian.* He died at Athlone on the 24th of December, A.D. 1249.

The Author of the Annals of Innisfallen flourished in the year 1215. It is indeed singular that the name of this writer has not been preserved, while at the same time it must be admitted that the work itself forms one of the most valuable remnants of our ancient national literature. The annalist commences with the history of the creation, and in a brief perspicacious manner, conducts his reader down to the year of the Christian era 430. From that period, he confines himself particularly to the annals of Ireland, of which he takes an accurate comprehensive view, and continues the work regularly to his own time. It was afterwards brought down to the year 1320 by another anonymous author.†

Peter, styled Hibernicus, a distinguished philosopher, theologian and canonist, after having devoted many years to the advancement of literature in his own country, retired at length to the continent, where he embraced the Franciscan institute and became an eminent professor.‡ He taught philosophy at Naples in 1240; and among the number of his pupils we feel particular pleasure in noticing the name of the great St Thomas Aquinas.§ His virtues, as well as his learning, had rendered him a great favourite with the emperor Frederic II., by whom he was earnestly invited to Naples, immediately after the celebrated schools of that city had been re-established. While Peter had been employed in delivering lectures at Naples, a number of learned disquisitions on both philosophical and scriptural subjects proceeded from his pen. These, it is conjectured, may still be found among the manuscript copies in the libraries and archives of that city. His *Quodlibeta Theologica* has been published, from which alone an estimate may be formed of the talents and erudition of this distinguished Irishman.

Gotofrid, as the writers of the Bibliotheque of the Dominican Order inform us, was a native of the city of Waterford, and flourished in the thirteenth century.‖ He was a member of that order, and was exceedingly well versed in the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, and Arabic languages. For the purpose of acquiring a competent knowledge of the Arabic, he travelled

* Ware, Writers. † Id. ‡ Wadding, ad A. 1270.
§ Pet. de Vineis, lib. iii. ‖ Tom. i. p. 467.

into the east, and spent several years in digesting its various dialects, and in exploring those literary remains of antiquity which lie scattered along the vast and desolate plains of Syria, Asia Minor and Palestine. On his return to his native country, Gotofrid translated the following works from the Latin, Greek, and Arabic into French: Daretis Phrygii Liber De Bello Trojano; Eutropii Romana Historia; Aristotelis ad Alexandrem Liber, qui dicitur Secretum Secretorum, seu de Regimine Regum; Libellus Mortalitatum. He has likewise written an exposition of the articles of faith and the Lord's Prayer, a collection of sermons, and a treatise styled Elucidarius, the authorship of which has given rise to much controversy among the learned, some having ascribed it to St. Anselm, and others to Honorius of Autun.*

The Author of the Annals of Multifernam flourished about the middle of the thirteenth century. These invaluable annals have survived the wreck, while the name of the author has unfortunately perished. They commence with the year of Christ 45, and are brought down to the year 1274. Ware, an excellent authority on subjects of this description, having first examined the antiquity of the manuscript character, and afterwards comparing it with certain chronological and other circumstances, comes at length to a decision that the author of these annals must have been Stephen of Exeter. It may, however, be advanced, as a very probable conjecture, that these annals had not been the work of an individual; that, on the contrary, they had been the joint production of many writers. The ancient literary monastic system, anterior to the invention of printing, and the unwearied solicitude which these religious had evinced in augmenting and perpetuating their conventual archives, serve, in no small degree, to confirm the probability of this opinion.

Thomas Palmer, usually styled Thomas Hibernicus, was born at Palmerstown, in the county of Kildare, and flourished about the year 1269. Owing to the wreck of literature in his own country, Thomas, when young, had formed the determination of removing to Paris, in the schools of which city he studied for several years, and at length became entitled to the degree of a doctor (Utriusque Juris). Wadding, the learned author of the "Annales Minorum," maintains that Thomas Hibernicus had been a member of the Franciscan institute;† while the Dominicans, with equal zeal, but with still less authority, have thought proper to rank him in the catalogue of their

* Biblioth. Dom. † Tom. iv. ad a. 1629.

own writers.* This discrepancy of opinion, it may be presumed, had at length brought forth that just censure of the critical authors of the Bibliotheque Dominique, by which these writers, upon fair historical grounds, condemn not less the assertion of their own body than that of Wadding, and very justly conclude that the writer Thomas Hibernicus was a fellow of the Sorbonne, of distinguished eminence in that university, and the author of many learned works.† Thomas Palmer has written: Flores Doctorum pene Omnium, qui tum in Theologia, tum in Philosophia hactenus claruerunt; Antwerp, 1580, octavo. Flores Biblicos; Antwerp, 1568. Promptuarium Morale Sacræ Scripturæ; published by Wadding at Rome, in 1624, out of a manuscript in the Aracæli Library. De Christiana Religione; lib. i. De Illusionibus Dæmonum; lib. i. De Tentatione Diaboli; lib. i. De Remediis Vitiorum; lib. i.‡ This learned writer died at Aquila in Naples, about the close of the thirteenth century.

Having placed before the reader a fair and circumstantial outline of the principal ecclesiastical events of the thirteenth century, it remains for him to determine what measure of benefit to the Church of Ireland has derived from that long-boasted reformation of discipline and morality which Henry II. and his accredited agents had so confidently anticipated.

It must, indeed, be admitted, that among the number of those English ecclesiastics, who had, at this period, been promoted to church-dignities in this country, there were not a few who, for learning as well as for sterling virtue, deserve to have been placed on honourable record; nevertheless, when the plain historical facts themselves are dispassionately considered, it requires nothing more than ordinary discernment to arrive at the proper conclusion.

We have set out on the acknowledged principle, that ecclesiastics, of all other description of men in society, should be completely divested both of over-grown wealth and of every participation of civil or state authority. With great justice this principle may be advanced as an axiom. It is the unequivocal language of common reason; it is certainly supported by the authority of the Christian Founder and by the doctrine and example of His apostles. Scarcely, however, had an English clergyman arrived in Ireland, when some civil office of trust and emolument had been placed in his hands. One became a lord treasurer, another a chancellor, and many of them had been constituted the justiciaries or chief governors

* Burke, Hib. Dom. chap. xv. † Tom. i. p. 744. ‡ Ware, Writers.

of the country. Whether this singular mode of proceeding could tend to soothe the feelings of an exasperated people, or to exalt the principles of an humble Gospel, are questions which shall be left to the discretion of the reader himself.

It is, however, certain that the saintly and illustrious men, who had guided the helm of the Church of Ireland during the greater portion of the previous century, had thought proper to adopt a widely different and more consistent course. St. Malachy, the leading father, the great moral reformer of the twelfth century, had neither wealth nor political station at his command. St. Laurence O'Toole lived in greater poverty and seclusion than any member of the institute attached to his cathedral. Christian the legate, Gelasius the primate, Catholicus of Tuam, knew nothing about the opulence or civil power; in fact these men loooked down on secular concerns—on the wealth and pride of the world as altogether beneath the sphere of their grand and exalted vocation. Hence it is, that the virtues of many of them have been canonized; and for the same reason Malachy, Laurence, and other Irish ecclesiastics of the twelfth century, had been fully competent to effect a renovation of both morals and discipline without the aid of any foreign ecclesiastics whatever.

Archbishop Comin, the prelates of Meath and Ossory, and other English ecclesiastics have, it is true, an undoubted claim on the gratitude of Irishmen. The parish churches, the cathedrals, and the numerous splendid monasteries, which they either founded or endowed, are to this day, even in their very ruins, so many triumphant testimonials of their piety and pastoral solicitude. It must, however, be a subject of deep regret, that in their zeal for religious institutions, these great men had not evinced a more earnest desire for perpetuating the literary system of the ancient monastic foundations of Ireland, and particularly that of the Columbian Order. The basis of these inimitable institutions had been laid in Tours, Lerins, and other parts of the continent, long before the days of our illustrious apostle St. Patrick. By him were they introduced into Ireland; and among their various but sublime constitutions, that of universal *gratuitous education* stood pre-eminently conspicuous. Every monastery was, in fact, a free public seminary; and while virtue had been practised in the cloister its halls of literature were thrown open for the child of genius: the distant stranger as well as the native student, met a kind and a welcome reception within the hospitable walls of the ancient Irish monastic establishment. Nor should these remarks be construed into a censure on those other excellent

religious institutions which, during the thirteenth century, had been so laudably introduced into this country. These learned bodies were, at this period, making their way rapidly over Europe; and it will be found that, in future ages, when the storm raged loud and furious, when terror and death stalked into the sanctuary, they were the men who, martyrs-like, braved the danger, and made sacrifices the most noble and heroic, in defence of the religion of their country and their fathers. The progress of religion, therefore, was, during the thirteenth century, attended with some peculiar advantages; its deficiency on the score of public gratuitous education, and on other matters of general utility, will be better illustrated by subsequent events, and may form the subject of some future observations.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Contentions between the sees of Armagh and Dublin relative to the Primacy—National colleges of Dublin and Drogheda—Suppression of the Knights Templars—Sufferings of the Irish Nation—Letter of John XXII. to Edward II. king of England—Richard Ledred, bishop of Ossory—Heretical doctrines introduced into that Diocese—Epistle of Benedict XII. to Edward III.—Exemption of the see of Ossory from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Dublin—Bull of Exemption—Revival of the jurisdiction of Dublin over Ossory—Richard Fitz-Ralph, archbishop of Armagh—His nine conclusions against the Mendicant Orders—Notorious Statutes of Kilkenny.

The ecclesiastical events of this century are so closely connected with the proceedings of the archiepiscopal see of Dublin, that the chain of succession in that diocese, as well as the acts of its prelates, must be distinctly kept in view and treated of with particular attention. On the death of Richard de Ferings, John Lech, almoner to Edward II., was advanced to the archiepiscopal see, in 1310. This promotion was exclusively the work of the king himself; the old controversy between the cathedrals of St. Patrick and Christ's Church, not having been even now effectually set at rest.* It had, however, after this period, been altogether abandoned, but was immediately succeeded by another question of still more serious importance, between the archiepiscopal sees of Dublin and Armagh relative to the primacy. It has been already stated, that Henry de Loundres, archbishop of Dublin, had obtained from Honorius III. a bull, prohibiting "any archbishop or other prelate of Ireland (except the suffragans of Dublin and the pope's legate) from having the cross carried before them, holding assemblies (those of the religious orders excepted) or treating of ecclesiastical causes in the province of Dublin, without the consent of the archbishop of Dublin."† Roland Jorse or Joyce, a Dominican, was, in 1313, consecrated archbishop of Armagh. This prelate having had occasion to enter Dublin, caused the cross to be carried public before him, accompanied with other exterior symbols of primatial authority,—a custom uniformly observed in times antecedent to the

* See chap. ii. † See cent. xiii. c. i.

issuing of the forementioned bull. Against this ceremony the archbishop and his clergy loudly remonstrated:* hence a new source of controversy sprung up, and was conducted with increased vehemence during the incumbency of Alexander de Bicknor, the immediate successor of archbishop Lech. When at length John de St. Paul was archbishop of Dublin, and Richard Fitz-Ralph had presided over Armagh in 1353, this question of the primacy was so warmly taken up, and so violently contested, that pope Innocent VI., acting on the advice of the college of cardinals, ultimately decided, "That each of these prelates should be primate; while for distinction of style, the primate of Armagh should entitle himself *Primate of all Ireland;* but the metropolitan of Dublin should subscribe himself *Primate of Ireland.*" That part of the question, however, which referred to the ceremony of being preceded by the cross, had not at this time been satisfactorily adjusted: the archbishop of Armagh, on his part, claimed it as a privilege handed down by ancient usage, and confirmed by royal authority; while his successor, Myles Sweetman, renewed the contest with Thomas Minot, archbishop of Dublin, about three years afterwards.†

As soon as John Lech had, in 1310, been placed over the metropolitan see of Dublin, the subject of national education was that to which his most earnest solicitude seems to have been directed. When the reader takes into account the opulent state of the Irish Church at this period, with its possessions, tithes and power, and then throws back his thoughts on those early ages of the sixth and seventh centuries, when the clergy of Ireland depended solely on the gratuitous contributions of the people, what a glaring contrast! In those ancient days of Ireland's splendour, and when its clergy were strangers to both wealth and civil power, there were seminaries of learning in every province of the kingdom, and in which the Briton, as well as the distant foreigner from the continent, was received and embraced with welcome. But now, in the fourteenth century, we have tithes, and church-lands; our prelates are treasurers, escheators, civil justices, and lord-deputies, and yet there is not in the whole kingdom one solitary establishment which could, in the most remote sense, deserve the name of a public seminary or a national college. Archbishop Lech saw and felt the importance of this shameful grievance, and in the July of 1311, he obtained from pope Clement V. a bull for founding a public school or university in Dublin. Had the

* Camden's Annals. † Sec. chap. ii.

archbishop lived, this national undertaking would have certainly succeeded; but his death occurred on the 10th of August in the same year, and thus was the design of a general literary establishment abandoned, until it had been revived by his successor about seven years afterwards.

Alexander de Bicknor, prebendary of Mainoth, and at that time high treasurer of Ireland,* was elected as his successor, and consecrated in 1317 at Avignon, by the cardinal of Ostium, Michael de Prato. During the following year, Alexander was appointed lord-justice of Ireland, and on the 9th of October (1318) was enthroned, and received by the clergy and people of Dublin with unbounded applause.† "Considering the power and the ample means now placed at his command, it is but natural to expect that the plan of education, so laudably commenced by his predecessor, would have been reassumed, and at once successfully completed. The undertaking was, no doubt, patronized by the new archbishop, and even advanced to a certain extent; but it soon proved to be a failure, and that in a manner which speaks very little for either tithes or ecclesiastical wealth. In 1320 Alexander procured from pope John XXII. a confirmation of the previous bull granted by Clement V., according to which, this intended literary foundation was re-sanctioned. Three doctors of divinity were then appointed, namely, William Hardite, of the Order of Preachers, Henry Congry, a Franciscan, and Edmund Karnardin. At the same time William Rodiart, dean of St. Patrick's, was made doctor and teacher of canon law, and was also the first chancellor of the university.‡ This seat of literature continued to flourish during the reigns of Edward II. and Edward III., that is, for about half a century; but after that period, it was neglected: it was suffered to decline and fall to the ground, merely through want of means necessary to meet the contingent expenses of the establishment.

While this university was sinking fast into ruin, a new one, on a more extensive scale, had been contemplated and was actually erected at Drogheda, by authority of a parliament held there in the month of November, 1365, under Thomas, earl of Desmond, lord deputy of Ireland. The charter of the foundation, inserted in the chancery records, runs thus:— "Whereas, there is no university or general study in Ireland, which is a work that would advance knowledge, riches, and good government; and also prevent riot, ill government, and

* Rymer, tom. iii. p. 280. † Ware's Annals, ad a. 1318.
‡ Ware's Antiq. p. 57.

extortion in the said land; it is, by the voice of the commons, hereby ordained, yea and established and granted by authority of said parliament, that there be an university in the town of Drogheda, wherein there may be made bachelors, masters, and doctors, in every science and faculty, in like manner as they are in the university of Oxford." This university, although placed under the auspices of both church and government, was soon after allowed to suffer the same fate with the college of Dublin. They both perished for want of funds, and in the very presence of men who were, at the same time, sinking under the weight of authority and opulence.

While these literary establishments were crumbling into ruins, the fate of the Knights Templars, notwithstanding all their valour and glory, had been already decided, as well in the court of England as in that of France and the other nations of Europe. When this renowned order had been instituted in the commencement of the twelfth century, the Christian world was so delighted at the heroic virtues of its professors, that in the space of one hundred and twenty years, they found themselves in possession of more than nine thousand manors in Christendom, and on the very day of their extinction, they could calculate on no less than sixteen thousand lordships, distributed in various countries. The bravery which they displayed in the field, was surpassed only by the hospitality which they practised in their commanderies. They received and attended the sick; they administered relief to the infirm; they gave food, raiment, and comfort, to the poor, the friendless and the destitute. At length, however, certain accusations, which, without doubt, surpass all human credulity, were alleged against the Templars. They were suppressed in France by Philip, while their estates were seized and sequestered into the hands of commissioners. The writ for their suppression in Ireland was issued by Edward II. in 1307, and during the same year was transmitted to the justiciary, John Wogan. On the receipt of this order, the Templars in all parts of the country were immediately arrested, conducted to Dublin, and secured in the castle.* Their trial, attended with much apparent solemnity, was conducted in the city of Dublin, before Richard Balybyn, vicar provincial of the Dominicans, Philip Slane, lecturer of the same order, and friar Hugh St. Leger.

Among the accusers who appeared against the knights, the principal were Roger de Heton, guardian of the Franciscans

* Rymer, vol. iii. p. 180; Clyn's Annals.

in Dublin, Walter Prendergast, lecturer of the same order, Roger, prior of the Augustinian convent in Dublin, Thomas, abbot, and Simon, prior of the abbey of St. Thomas.

This display of justice was little more than a mere piece of formality; the depositions were but badly supported, yet the Knights Templars were condemned, while their possessions throughout Ireland were granted to the Hospitallers by the pope, which grant was soon after confirmed by Edward II.*

In giving even an outline of the deplorable condition of Ireland during the administration of Alexander de Bicknor, and of his predecessors, Sir Roger Mortimer and the earl of Carrick, language becomes almost useless. Fraud, murder, and rapine, were crimes of just as ordinary occurrence as the rising sun. An Irishman had no law, redress, or protection. If an Englishman murdered an Irishman, it was useless to look for satisfaction in a court of justice; the more noble and worthy the victim, the more merit and honour did the murderer receive at the hands of his countrymen. Hence property and life itself became insecure and almost worthless; the generality regarded death as sweeter and more valuable than life; in short, the whole Irish people were goaded, maddened, and driven headlong into the very depths of the blackest despondency. Under such circumstances, Nature even instinctively seeks for relief—nor were the people of Ireland satisfied to submit any longer to such grinding oppression. The brilliant success which had, at that time, attended the Scottish arms under the gallant Bruce, and particularly the memorable victory which that hero had obtained over the English army at Bannockburn, had so raised the spirits and confidence of the Irish, and the chieftains of Ulster in particular, that, with one consent, they addressed themselves to Robert Bruce, as their brother and kinsman, and offered to place the crown of Ireland in his hands. This offer was accepted, and in May, 1315, Edward Bruce, brother of Robert, landed in Ulster with about 6,000 men, and asserted his claim to the new sovereignty. He was immediately joined by all the Irish lords of Ulster; many of the English settlers also flocked to his standard, among whom may be noticed Walter and Hugh de Lacy, with their numerous adherents. Several engagement took place, in which the English were routed, while their towns were burned and their castles levelled to the ground.† In the meantime, Edward Bruce was solemnly crowned at Dundalk, and almost all Ireland had now declared in his favour. It was

* Rymer, vol. iii. p. 451. † Ware's Annals, ad a. 1316

in this critical posture of affairs, and when Ireland was on the verge of being wrested out of the hands of England, that Edward II. had recourse to a new expedient, and applied to the court of Rome, earnestly supplicating the interposition of the sovereign pontiff. John XXII. was, at that time, pope, and so successfully did the English agents manage their business at Rome, that a solemn sentence of excommunication was fulminated against Robert and Edward Bruce, including their adherents and all the enemies of Edward II. No nation, on the face of the earth has, perhaps, ever manifested more reverence to the chair of St. Peter, than the people of Ireland; the sovereign pontiff they justly looked upon as their spiritual father, and being sensible that English policy and misrepresentation had been artfully employed in causing this ecclesiastical censure to be fulminated, they came to the resolution of doing justice to themselves and their country, by laying a fair circumstantial detail of their sufferings before the holy father. Accordingly, they presented to John XXII. a remonstrance, setting forth, in language the most affecting, the wretched state of their unfortunate country, and the grinding oppression which, under the government of England, they had for so many years endured. This document, forming such a picture of human sufferings as cannot be found in the annals of any other nation, could not fail of making a deep impression on the mind of his holiness, and accordingly he addressed the following letter to Edward II., king of England.

"Being actuated by paternal solicitude for the increase of thy power, most beloved son, we, with earnest exhortation, invite you to direct your mind to certain subjects, on which the peace of your people and the tranquility of your realm, as well as your honour and renown, most vitally depend. Wherefore, it behoveth you to receive these our observations with a becoming mind, and to show yourself inclined and ready to put them into execution. Behold, therefore, we have received certain letters, directed from the nobles and people of Ireland to the cardinal nuncios of the Apostolic See, and by them transmitted to us, in which among other [illegible] whereas our predecessor of happy memory Adrian IV. did, on certain terms, distinctly laid down and specified in his apostolical letters, give and grant to your ancestor, Henry II. of renowned memory, that domain of Ireland, that same monarch and his successors the kings of England, so far from observing the nature and form of these terms have, at every period and even up to this day, unlawfully transgressed them, and have oppressed that people with afflictions, slavery, and persecution,

such as cannot be any longer endured. Nor was there any one found who would remove these oppressions or manifest the least compassion for their sufferings, although frequent recourse has been had to you, and the loud cry of this oppressed nation must have at least sometimes reached your ears. Wherefore, being unwilling to bend under such misery and sufferings any longer, they have been brought to the necessity of withdrawing from your dominion altogether, and of calling on another to rule over them. These things, most beloved son, if founded on truth, are completely at variance with our views, desiring, as we do, nothing more ardently than the advancement of your happiness and prosperity. You should, therefore, diligently examine into these matters, and with ready affection cause such measures to be adopted as you know would be agreeable to your Creator, and carefully abstain from everything which might provoke the wrath of God against you—that God and Lord of revenge, who by no means despises the groans of the afflicted, and who, an account of injustice, is described to have rejected his own chosen people, and transferred their kingdom to another. We are also the more anxious that, in these sinful times, you should freely direct your attention to these matters, by which the hearts of the faithful might be drawn to a grateful sense of obedience, and avoid everything which might tend to separate them from the reverence which belongs to you. And because it is of the utmost interest that a remedy be at once and effectually applied to these evils, we earnestly solicit thy royal excellency, that taking all these matters into prudent consideration, and conferring with thy discreet council, you will command and cause such a speedy and satisfactory correction of the aforesaid wrongs and oppressions, that you may be pleasing in His eyes by whom you reign; and by doing what is equitable and upright on your part, every cause of just complaint may be removed, and thus the people of Ireland, directed by sound counsel, may be obedient to thee, as to their lord. But if (which may God avert) they should then choose to continue in rebellion, they will in that case turn their cause into open injustice; while you must stand inexcusable before [illegible] man. In order, therefore, that the oppressions of which the people of Ireland complain may be more fully [illegible] view, we transmit to your mightiness the aforesaid letters addressed to the cardinal nuncios, together with a copy of the documents which the aforesaid Adrian, our predecessor, granted to Henry II., king of England, regarding the concession of the land of Ireland."*

* Vat. Epist. 900.

Whether in consequence of this paternal admonition, or owing to the precarious posture of his affairs, the English monarch began now to show a degree of concern for the sufferings of the people of Ireland, and some promises at least were held out. Bruce continued still in the field, while a dreadful famine, accompanied with pestilence, prevailed from one extremity of the nation to the other. Sir John Birmingham, who, in 1318, had the command of the English army, was sent by the lord deputy, Alexander Bicknor, into Ulster. Bruce, with a force superior in number, but not in discipline, met him in Dundalk; a desperate engagement ensued, in which many and splendid proofs of bravery were displayed: victory at length appeared on the side of the English, and Edward Bruce, with many of his best officers, was left among the slain. After this signal defeat, Birmingham received the earldom of Louth, as the reward of his services, while the archbishop rose still higher in the favour and esteem of his sovereign.

The influence which Alexander Bicknor possessed at court was gaining additional strength every day, insomuch that four years after he had been appointed lord justice of Ireland, he was sent by the parliament of England as ambassador into France, together with Edmund, earl of Kent, younger brother of Edward II.* It had been well for the archbishop himself, and for those immediately under his jurisdiction, had he abstained from mixing himself up with the state affairs of those times. Ambition and a spirit of ascendancy formed no inferior trait in the character of Alexander, even long before he had been exalted to a high dignity in the Church. He advanced rapidly into power, and stepped from one office into another, until at length he found himself in the midst of the labyrinth, without being able to make his way, unless by means of guides as inexperienced as they were treacherous. It was by causes such as these that he had brought himself to serious difficulties, not only with the primate of Armagh, but also with his own suffragans, and particularly with the bishop of Ossory.

It appears that, about the year 1330, doctrines of an heretical and most blasphemous nature had, by some means, been imported into the province of Leinster, and the city of Kilkenny seems to have been the place pitched upon by these dogmatizers for the public dissemination of their tenets.† Among other blasphemies they asserted, that our divine

* Thomas of Walsingham, Hyp. Neust. † Clyn's Annals.

Redeemer was a mere man and a sinner, and had been justly crucified for his own transgressions; that the sacrament of the body of Christ was by no means to be worshipped; that the decrees, decretals, and apostolical mandates, were neither to be obeyed nor respected; and that demons should be consulted according to the rites of pagan sects. Innovation, schism, and heresy were evils hitherto unknown to the Church of Ireland. The Irish Catholic heard, indeed, that spurious novelties had appeared, and like empty vapours almost instantly disappeared, leaving nothing behind but a name universally condemned and execrated; he was told of heresiarchs rising up in the proud, profligate, debauched cities of the east, amidst the ruins and prostrate grandeur of a tottering empire: all this he might have learned and lamented; but the face of a heretic, the footsteps of an innovator, were objects which an Irishman had never until now the misfortune of witnessing in his native and beloved country.

Richard Ledred, of the order of St. Francis, was at that time bishop of Ossory, having been consecrated at Avignon in 1318. As soon as these blasphemous doctrines had been announced, the sensation which pervaded all classes became vehement and frightful. The bishop and his clergy came forward, and by solid argument, by the strength and power of truth, opposed and discomfited the enemies of religion. They were not, however, to be speedily or easily vanquished; some of them were, it appears, men of influence, and had considerable wealth at their command. To these resources, therefore, they recurred, when they had no longer been able to withstand the reasoning of the bishop and his clergy. By bribery and other means, they soon succeeded in bringing over to their opinions several persons of distinction; some of them invested with civil authority, among whom are mentioned the seneschal of Kilkenny, the treasurer of Ireland, and the chief justice of the Common Pleas. The storm, sometimes violent, but as often abated, continued to rage for a considerable time; while the treasurer, and all who had been concerned in fomenting or encouraging the heresy, were at length denounced by the bishop and publicly excommunicated. These proceedings served only to inflame the desperate determination of a party already numerous and powerful. The bishop was taken and cast into prison, while all his property, both moveable and immoveable, was seized upon and confiscated to the crown.* Whenever scenes of this description take

* Wadding's Annals, tom. vi.

place, calumny and the blackest malevolence are seldom absent. It happened at that time, that the castle of Moycohir, belonging to Hugh le Poer, was attacked and burned by Thomas Fitz-Gilbert: the bishop was accused of having been concerned in this outrage, and the charge, without being substantiated by anything like testimony, was published and instituted against him by his enemies. In the mean time, letters had been despatched to pope Benedict XII. by the bishop of Ossory and his clergy, in which a distinct and faithful account of these scandalous proceedings was laid before the holy father; imploring at the same time advice and assistance. On this occasion, the pope addressed two epistles, full of solicitude and fatherly tenderness, to Edward III. king of England. In the first epistle, he requires that the ecclesiastical property taken from Richard, bishop of Ossory, should be restored, and strongly impresses on the king the solemn obligation he is under of co-operating with the prelates of the Church in rooting out the seeds of heresy from his realms. The second letter takes a more comprehensive view of these noxious doctrines: of this letter the following extract is a literal translation.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of the true and living God, who by his ineffable charity enlightens the hearts of the faithful, that they may acknowledge his greatness and believe in his mighty power, to the end that they may be saved, and after the exile of this life admitted into the kingdom of the heavenly citizens, has in these latter days detected in your land of Ireland crafty wolves in sheep's clothing—foxes going about, and to the utmost of their power laying waste the vineyard of the Lord—wicked men, scattering the thistle among the good seed—pestiferous heretics, assuming the mask of hypocrisy, but whose conversations are execrable and deserve to be execrated. For it has lately come to the knowledge of our apostolic see, that while our venerable brother, Richard, bishop of Ossory, was, by ordinary right, visiting his diocese, there appeared in the midst of the Catholic people, men who were heretics, together with their abettors: some of whom asserted, that Jesus Christ was a man and a sinner, and was justly crucified for his own sins. Others, after having done homage and offered sacrifice to demons, thought otherwise of the sacrament of the body of Christ than the Catholic Church teaches, saying that the same venerable sacrament is by no means to be worshipped; and also asserting that they are not bound to believe or obey the decrees, decretals, and apostolical mandates; in the mean time consulting

demons, according to the rights of those sects among the gentiles and pagans, despising the sacraments of the Catholic Church, and drawing the faithful of Christ after them by their superstitions. Most truly, this pestiferous heresy, making its way among the congregation of the faithful, has infected some; this plague, by the venom of its contagion, has brought death on those whom it approached; this poisonous serpent has destroyed the souls of those infected by its pestilence. Wherefore, as we understand that neither in the same Ireland, or in any land of your realm of England, have inquisitors of heresy been appointed,—in short, that heretical depravity is not wont to be detected and punished by the regular officers of an inquisition, for these reasons, most beloved son, your holy mother the Church confidently flies to the shield of thy protection, by which the splendour of the orthodox faith is far and near irradiated, that you may, as the champion of Christ and of his faith, confound and extirpate the aforesaid depravity. We therefore require, and earnestly deprecate your royal excellency, that in consideration of the reverence and honour which are due to the faith, and likewise of that concern which should be manifested for the salvation of the people, you would without delay cause letters mandatory to be written, as well to your justiciary in the aforesaid Ireland, as also to your other ministers constituted over that realm, that thereby they may be obliged to afford prompt and powerful assistance to the said bishop of Ossory and all other prelates of Ireland, in taking, punishing, and expelling the aforesaid heretics and their followers, according to the rules and institutions of the canons. In thus acting, you will offer an holocaust of due gratitude to the eternal Majesty; you will exalt the Catholic faith, do honour to the Church, comply with our request, exhortation and entreaty, extol even higher the dignity of thy royal name, and contribute to the safety, renown, and prosperity of thy reign." Given at Avignon, VIII ides Novembris, anno i. pont.*

Before this epistle had arrived, Richard, bishop of Ossory, was liberated from prison, having been confined there for seventeen days: the storm never [illegible]

At length the bishop resolved on proceeding to Avignon, in which city the pope then resided; but as soon as he had reached Waterford, he was informed that the archbishop Alexander had caused letters and messengers to be despatched to the different sea-ports for the purpose of having him arrested

* Vat. Epist. 209--210.

and thrown a second time into prison. Richard, bishop of Ossory, found means, however, of effecting his escape, and fled to the continent, where he continued nine years an exile. The leading promoters of the heresy were, in the mean time, abandoned and scouted with scorn by the people; when neither wealth nor aggrandizement could any longer be expected—when the heresy was left to itself, it disappeared, and by the public atonement of its authors, it contributed to the still greater exaltation and glory of the ancient faith of the country. Clement VI., who succeeded Benedict XII., had the archbishop Alexander de Bicknor cited to Avignon, and appointed the archbishops of Armagh and of Cashel as commissioners, with powers to institute an inquiry and decide on the case.* The pope, on this occasion, likewise exempted Richard, bishop of Ossory, and his diocese altogether from the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Dublin, and placed him immediately under the Holy See; declaring at the same time, that every sentence of excommunication, suspension, and interdict, and every other process which should happen to be instituted contrary to the tenor of these exemptions were, *ipso facto*, null and void.

Richard Ledred returned to his diocese about the year 1347, having been furnished with the bull of exemption,† which document being interesting and elucidatory of the whole subject, may with justice be considered worthy of insertion in this place.

"It becometh the prudence and circumspection of the Roman pontiff, when consulting the interest of churches, prelates, and ecclesiastical persons, to relieve with paternal solicitude all those who are oppressed, and to make such concessions as may, with God's help, tend to their general tranquility. Your petition, most truly, has set forth, whilst you, having first consulted us according to the canons, had proceeded against certain heretics discovered by you in your diocese of Ossory, the aforesaid heretics seized your person, and for seventeen days had detained you ignominiously bound in chains and in a prison. That afterwards, when you, being liberated from prison, had appealed to us from our venerable brother Alexander, archbishop of Dublin, who [illegible] many and great injuries on you, on your church of Ossory, on your clergy, and on your subjects, and when you had set out for the purpose of proceeding to the Apostolic See in the prosecution of this appeal, the aforesaid archbishop had

* Wadding's Annales, tom. viii. p. 17. † Clyn's Annals, ad. a. 1347.

caused his letters to be despatched to all the sea-ports and other places, through which it was necessary for you to pass, causing thereby and procuring, to the utmost of his power, that your person may be again seized upon and cast into prison. Moreover, when you, through fear of incarceration and death, had been compelled to leave your country and live as an exile for nine years, your temporals, both moveable and immoveable, having been, in the mean time, seized upon, the said archbishop, by fraud, extortion, and various other ways, annoyed and oppressed your church, your clergy and the laity, who had assisted you in resisting and putting down the aforesaid heretics. And, whereas, we by our letters have commanded the said archbishop to be cited before us, and that within a given time, peremptorily specified, and that you, in the mean time, may have reason to fear lest he should proceed with more severity towards you, your clergy and people, and by this means might be prevented from governing your church in the manner which behoveth you; we, therefore, anxious to protect thy person, as also to relieve your clergy and people from oppression, and yielding to the prayer of your petition do, by our apostolic authority, and by special favour, altogether exempt both you, your church, your city, your diocese of Ossory, your clergy, your laity, and all persons therein, as long as you preside over the see, and that the aforesaid persecution continues, from all jurisdiction, dominion, power, and superiority of the aforesaid archbishop; and we hereby subject and place you, your clergy and people, under the immediate jurisdiction of the Apostolic See. We likewise decree, that every sentence of excommunication, suspension, and interdict, and every other process which may be instituted contrary to the tenor of this exemption, be null and void, and of no effect."* Given at Avignon, iv ides Aprilis, anno v. Only three years had elapsed between the date of this exemption and the death of the archbishop Alexander de Bicknor. Upon his demise the exemption ceased, and the diocese of Ossory was again placed under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Dublin.†

* Ex lib. ii.; Epist. 506.

† See Reg. Vat. lib. ii. pars iv. The bull is dated the 10th year of . . . . VI. A.C. 1351, and thus concludes:—"Cumque postmodum prædictus Alexander archiepiscopus viam fuerit universæ carnis ingressus, nosque Dublinii eccl[esia] per ipsius archiepiscopi obitum tunc vacantis, de persona venerabilis fratris nostri Joannis archiepiscopi Dublinen. duxerimus, providendum, præfecistes cum ipsi Dublinen. ecclesiæ in archiepiscopum et pastorem, nro tenore inst[ituto] Joannis archiep. nobis extitit humiliter supplicantem, ut ne occasione hujusmodi exemptionis, quæ per ipsius Alexandri obitum est sublata inter Joannem

After this period, Richard, bishop of Ossory, continued in the undisturbed government of his see. He erected the episcopal palace in Kilkenny, having first, with the king's permission, demolished three churches without the walls, and employed the materials in building the palace. He also repaired and beautified the cathedral, the windows of which, particularly that towards the east, had, by his directions, been finished in a style so neat and grand, and with such exquisite workmanship, that the like could not be found at that time in Ireland. Richard Ledred was forty-two years bishop of Ossory. He died in 1360, and was interred with great solemnity in his own cathedral, on the gospel-side of the high altar.

The ecclesiastical events which seem to fill up the remaining portion of this century, are those in which the archbishops of Armagh took a leading part, and particularly Richard Fitz-Ralph, who had been promoted to that see in 1347. In those days almost every English ecclesiastic who happened to be advanced to any place of importance in the church of Ireland, was a man who, at the same time, had more or less civil influence in his hands; and this it is which makes it more surprising, that instead of contending about comparative trifles, they should have altogether neglected the interests of the nation, and stood by as silent spectators, while the people were stript of those rights to which, as men and citizens, they were unquestionably entitled. Richard Fitz-Ralph, chancellor of the university of Oxford and dean of Lichfield, was consecrated archbishop of Armagh, at Exeter, in July, 1347. His acquirements as a scholar, although very much overrated, had gained him considerable reputation during the age in which he lived. He appears, however, to be but a very indifferent theologian: his principal forte consisted in oratory; and in this he ranked amongst the first and most popular preachers of the day. Having contended with the friars of Armagh about some ornaments belonging to their convent, and which he intended to have removed to his palace, he proceeds to London, and in St. Paul's Church, publicly advanced nine conclusions against the mendicant orders.* These propositions were soon after

archiep. et Richardum episcopum, aliosque prefatos, quæstionis [illegible] providere de opportuno declarationis beneficio dignaremur; cum causa ejus exemptionis per ipsius Alexandri obitum jam cessavit. Nos volentes hujusmodi litigiorum antractibus obviare, ipsius Joannis archiep. supplicationibus inclinati; auctoritate Apostolica, tenore præsentium declaramus exemptionem, immediatam subjectionem et decretum hujusmodi, et quæcunque in ipsa exemptione contenta per ipsius Alexandri obitum penitus expirasse et nullius ex tunc roboris vel momenti. Nulli ergo, etc. nostræ declarationis, etc." Datum Avenione x kal. Julii, anno x.

* Wadding's Annals, tom. iv. p. 62.

solemnly condemned, but had for many years given rise to much angry and foolish contention, without being of the least possible benefit, either to religion or to the actual condition of the people. He maintained that voluntary mendicity, undertaken for the sake of Christian perfection, was illicit. Secondly, that Christ our Lord never did beg, nor did he counsel mendicity, but on the contrary forbad it. Thirdly, that to beg voluntarily is contrary to every law, human and divine. Fourthly, that neither St. Francis nor any other saint ever taught men to beg voluntarily for the sake of perfection. Fifthly, that Christ, as man, was the sole temporal Lord of all things, he alone being in the state of original innocence; but whereas he found property in the possession of others, he merely ceded his right. Sixthly, that a person guilty of mortal sin could not, in that state, have the dominion of anything by a just title. Seventhly, that to receive the confessions of the faithful, was contrary to the ministerial condition of the mendicant orders; nor could they exercise the privilege allowed them in this respect without incurring eternal ruin. Eighthly, that unless in case of urgent necessity, it was unlawful to hear confessions any where except in the parish church. Ninthly, that all who confess to religious mendicants (even though they should have jurisdiction from the Holy See), are bound to confess the same sins once a year to their parish priest, at least for the observance of the ecclesiastical precept.

As soon as these strange and novel opinions had been published, a general outcry was raised on all sides, and particularly from the procurators of the different orders. They strongly denied the orthodoxy of these conclusions, maintaining that the doctrines of the archbishop were at least rash and erroneous. Nor were these contentions confined to Ireland. The English church had been at the same time distracted by disputes of a similar description.* Books and tracts were published and circulated; harangues were delivered from the pulpit, while appeals without number, and recriminations without end, were issuing forth from both sides to the Holy See. The archbishop of Armagh having been cited to Avignon, pope Innocent VI. referred the examination of the whole cause to four cardinals, of whom the cardinal William, bishop of Tusculum, was president. This conference terminated in the renovation of the constitution of John XXII., by which the rights and privileges of the religious to preach and receive the confessions of the faithful were re-established, together with a mandate, that in future, the archbishop Richard should

*Fox's Act. et Monum. vol i. p. 464.

not, either in his writings or discourses, advance anything which might be construed into an infringement of the aforesaid constitutions. At the same time, pope Innocent VI. addressed an admonitory epistle to the archbishops and bishops of England, where the controversy had in fact assumed a serious appearance. In this epistle Innocent alludes to the opinions already maintained by Richard, archbishop of Armagh, pronounces them to be false, and concludes by exhorting the prelates to give no further opposition to the rights and privileges of these regular orders, but rather be guided by such decision as to the aforesaid tribunal should appear just and satisfactory. The archbishop, Richard Fitz-Ralph, thus disappointed, and not a little perplexed at the unexpected turn which this disagreeable litigation had now taken, retired into Belgium and died soon after at Haynault. His remains were afterwards conveyed to Dundalk, the place of his nativity, by Stephen Wall, bishop of Meath, where they were interred with becoming solemnity. Concerning his writings, and particularly his four books against the Armenians, a variety of opinion seems to prevail. Prateolus, Paulus, Perusinus, and others, have considered him a heretic,* but undeservedly; for, among other things, he submitted all his writings to the correction of the Church, and if he erred in opinion, that should, perhaps, be more properly attributed to a richness or exuberance of fancy, than to anything like contumacy or perversity of intention.† However, his writings are, as Thomas Waldensus states, to be read with great caution; while Cardinal Bellarmin, alluding to his fourth book against the Armenians, says: "In several parts of this work may be found many errors, concerning the power of priests, the poverty of Christ, and the religious state."‡ Nevertheless, his reputation for virtue was very great, and several miracles were said to have been wrought at his tomb. At the close of this century, pope Boniface IX. appointed an examination to be taken of them, having for that purpose constituted as commissioners John Colton, archbishop of Armagh, Richard Young, bishop-elect of Bangor, and the abbot of Osney, near Oxford; but of the proceedings and termination of this inquiry history appears not to have left any record.

During the reign of Richard II., which closes the history of this century, but few events of an ecclesiastical nature had occurred. John Colton, archbishop of Armagh, and Philip

* Elench. Hæres. p. 56. § 62. † Wadding. tom. iv. p. 64.
‡ De Scrip. Eccl. p. 387.

Torrington, archbishop of Cashel, having at different times enjoyed a considerable share of royal favour, had it in their power to be of inestimable benefit to Ireland; but these prelates were seldom in the country, and the greater portion of their time appears to have been employed in foreign negociations.

John Colton was, for a short period, chancellor, and afterwards lord justice of Ireland. In 1382 he received a commission from Richard II. for the transaction of some important concerns in the court of Rome. This negociation, however, was of very little consequence either to the church or flock over which the archbishop had been appointed: it concerned another country and another people, while Ireland and its wretched inhabitants were left almost without a single protector—unnoticed, unpitied, and abandoned.

Philip Torrington, a Franciscan and doctor of divinity, was, in like manner, soon after his promotion to the see of Cashel, in 1379, sent as ambassador from Richard II. to pope Urban VI. On his return, this prelate, among other matters, preached a sermon at St. Paul's in London, of which Thomas Walsingham gives the following account.*

"In those days there came from Rome the archbishop of Cashel, an Irishman; when he arrived in London, he preached to the people, and in his sermon announced that the king of France, and as many as adhered to the antipope, lay under the sentence of excommunication. He, moreover, assured them, that now was the favourable time for the English, in right of their monarch, to invade the kingdom of France: assigning as a reason, that whereas, now the king of France lay under a censure, he would not have it in his power to make resistance or carry on a war."

However plausible or seasonable this harangue might appear, it did not seem to have, at the time, many admirers. One truth, however, is certain, that while these men, with power and influence at their command, were thus busily employed in the polemical management of foreign interests, the general state, the peace and prosperity of Ireland, were subjects scarcely ever contemplated,—they were wantonly and shamefully disregarded.

This chapter shall conclude with the notorious statutes of Kilkenny. They were passed in this century, and from them alone the reader may be enabled to form some idea of the sort of justice which the Irish people had received at the hands of

* Ad ann. 1379.

their rulers in those days. It was enacted that "intermarriages with the natives, or any connexion with them, as fosterers, or in the way of gossipred, should be punished as high treason. That the use of their name, language, apparel, or customs, should be punished with the forfeiture of lands and tenements. That any submission to the Brehon laws was treason. That the English should not permit the Irish to graze upon their lands. That the bards of the Irish should not be entertained. That to compel English subjects to pay or maintain soldiers was felony. That *no mere Irishman should be permitted to obtain any benefice in the church, or be allowed to enjoy the privileges of religious institute.*"*

While the parliament had been employed in framing these statutes at Kilkenny, the Irish people without the pale were even supplicating their rulers for a participation of the benefit of the English laws. They offered to purchase this shield of the constitution at an enormous price; but their petitions were rejected, and both law and constitution were thus unnaturally closed against them. By the first six of the Kilkenny Statutes, a regular line of national and legal distinction was marked out between the English settlers and the native inhabitants of the country. This act of legislative chicanery soon became the fruitful source of turbulence, insurrection and bloodshed, and ended in the great object originally contemplated—the confiscation of the property of the country, and the almost indiscriminate beggary of its inhabitants. By the last statute, however, the cloister, and even the altar, became a monopoly; religion was transformed into a sort of close borough; and no man, no matter how exalted his piety, his merit, or his religious vocation, could be intrusted with the cure of souls, or allowed to make his profession in a monastic institute, if it could be once proved that he had been what was in those times termed a *mere Irishman*. Laws such as these could not, by any possibility, be attended with the least benefit to religion: they were at all events observed to the letter; they had been even confirmed by subsequent acts of the legislature: thus were the religious foundations of Ireland, which at one period were thrown open to the world, and afforded shelter and education to the Briton, now closed against her own children, by laws and penalties which to this day continue faithfully recorded on the page of history, but which no man has ever yet attempted to justify.

* Sir J. Davies, Disc. p. 125.

CHAPTER II.

Successors of St. Patrick—Episcopal Sees—Religious Foundations of the Fourteenth Century.

During the fourteenth century, the metropolitan see of Armagh was governed by eight prelates in regular succession. On the death of Nicholas, in 1303, the see remained vacant for three years, notwithstanding the efforts which had been made by the dean and chapter to provide for the succession. At length, in 1306, John Taaffe, by provision of the pope, was consecrated archbishop of Armagh. This prelate, however, died at Rome in the same year, and was succeeded by Walter de Jorse or Joyce,* a learned Dominican, and brother of Thomas Jorse, cardinal of St. Sabina. Walter de Jorse was consecrated by Nicholas cardinal of Ostium, but presided over the archdiocese only five years when he resigned. His love of retirement, and his peculiarly studious habits, are numbered among the causes which ultimately induced him to tender his resignation of the see. This prelate, when released from the obligations of a weighty administration, withdrew, as it is thought, to Genoa, where he applied himself to the revision of most of his works, and contributed largely to the ecclesiastical literature of those times. Among his writings, the following are particularly noticed: a promptuary of theology, in three books; one book on sins in general; one book of questions; a summary of theology in four books; on original sin; a commentary on the four books of sentences; and a commentary on the Psalms of David. He was succeeded in the see by his brother,

Roland de Jorse, a member, likewise, of the Order of Preachers, elected archbishop of Armagh by Clement V., and restored to the temporals on the 15th September, 1313. The archbishop Roland, as has been stated in the preceding chapter, contended strenuously with the clergy of Dublin on the subject of those primatial privileges which, up to the time of Honorius III., the see of Armagh had unquestionably enjoyed. According to Camden, the archbishop Roland arrived at Howth on the day after the Annunciation, A.D. 1313. He arose during the night, and advancing towards Dublin, caused the cross to be carried, with great solemnity, before him

* Pitts. Scrip. p. 397.

until he had arrived at the priory of Grace-Dieu. An account of this supposed encroachment having been conveyed to the archbishop of Dublin, some of his domestics, aided by a number of interested enthusiasts, went forth from the city for the purpose of resisting the primate. They met him near the above-mentioned priory, prevented him from advancing towards Dublin, took down his cross, and (to use the words of the annals) drove him in confusion out of Leinster.* Nor was this controversy decided during the incumbency of Roland; it was resumed with even additional ardour by his successors. After an incumbency of eight years, the primate Roland, adopting the example of his predecessor, resigned the archbishopric, and was succeded by

Stephen Seagrave, rector of Stepney Church near London, and chancellor of the university of Cambridge. He was elected by John XXII., and immediately after his consecration was restored to the temporals by Edward II., in July, 1323.† The character and influence of this upright prelate, served to cast some rays of hope on the despondency of the nation, and these expectations would, it is probable, have been realized, but he died, A.D. 1333, at the very period when the exertions of some great and good man were lamentably wanted and universally called for.

David O'Hiraghty was his successor: he was consecrated at Avignon, in January, 1334, and received possession of the temporalities of the see on the 16th of the following March. Under this prelate, the former controversy, arising out of the metropolitan rights, was unnecessarily revived. The primate David having been summoned to attend a parliament, held under Charleton, in 1337, the usual preparations were made for his appearance in St. Mary's Abbey, near Dublin, and among other accustomed ceremonies, he was to advance through the city with the cross carried before him.‡ The king, moreover, had writs issued as well to the archbishop of Dublin and his vicar-general, as to the mayor and bailiffs of the city, by which he strictly enjoined them not to offer resistance to the proceedings of the primate.§ This mandate, however, proved ineffectual; the archbishop, Alexander de Bicknor, assisted by his clergy and the public authorities of the city, resisted against it; but David, on the 29th of November in the same year, caused those clauses of pope Urban's bull which confirm the privileges of the see of Armagh, to be published and

* Annals ad A. 1313.
† Rymer, tom. iv. p. 7
‡ Pembridge Annal. ap Camden.
§ Pryn. Animad. p. 27

afterwards exemplified under the great seal of Ireland.* The annals of Nenagh, and other ancient records, are not deficient in affording ample testimony to the pastoral merits of this prelate; representing him as a man wise and zealous, and not unworthy the exalted station which he occupied in the church. David died on the 16th of May, 1346.

Richard Fitz-Ralph, chancellor of the university of Oxford, was elected on the following year by pope Clement VI., and immediately after was consecrated at Exeter, by John Grandison, bishop of that see. The contentions which had been created between this prelate and the regular orders, have been noticed in the foregoing chapter. Considering the unbending disposition of the primate Richard, there was reason to expect that the former disputes on the subject of the primacy would be resumed. He had already obtained several letters from Edward III. authorizing him to have the cross carried before him in every part of Ireland; while, at the same time, the peers and other principal authorities were commanded to assist him in the prosecution of his rights. Encouraged by the tenor of these letters, Richard proceeded to Dublin, with the cross borne before him, and took up his residence in the city. On the following morning he proclaimed the privileges of the church of Armagh, and republished the bull of Urban IV. in the presence of the lord justice of Ireland, the prior of Kilmainham, and several of the nobility; at the same time fulminating the sentence of excommunication against all who should attempt to oppose him. This display of authority, however formidable, was not, it appears, sufficient to control either the lord justice, the prior, or the other authorities of the city. They prevented Richard from appearing in public with any symbol of primatial distinction, and obliged him to return to Drogheda, where he denounced them all as persons publicly excommunicated. Some of the nobility, having afterwards acknowledged their error, repaired to Drogheda and were absolved from the censure. During the same year, the prior of Kilmainham sent particular messengers to Drogheda, imploring forgiveness; he died, however, before the messengers returned, nor was he allowed Christian burial until absolution from the censure had been publicly pronounced by the primate.† However, the controversy was, about four years after (1353), removed to Rome, when the decision of Innocent VI. as already noticed,‡ had been published, and served, at least for the present, to tranquillize both parties. The primate Richard

* Camden, Annal, 1337. † Id. Annal, 1349. ‡ Chap. I.

was one of the most popular orators of the age, and devoted the greater portion of his time at Armagh to the revision and publication of several works on philosophical and theological subjects. Among these may be noticed his treatise on the four books of sentences; Annotations on the Gospels; Questions of the Armenians, lib. xix; A volume of sermons; A Treatise on the Spiritual Power of our Lord's Passion; Eulogies on the Blessed Virgin; scientific dialogues and epistles.* After a life embittered with many difficulties, the primate Richard died at Haynault, in 1360, but his remains were soon after conveyed to Dundalk.

Miles Sweetman, treasurer of Kilkenny, was on the following year advanced to the archiepiscopal chair by Innocent VI. This prelate had been scarcely four years in the administration of the see, when the contention regarding the metropolitan rights was renewed even with increased violence, between him and Thomas Minot, at that time archbishop of Dublin. On this occasion, Edward III. found it necessary to interpose; he accordingly required by writ, "that both archbishops should bear up their croziers in each other's province, as had been the case at that time with the metropolitans of York and Canterbury."† This mandate of the king not having been effectual, the archbishop of Dublin having declined his attendance, Lionel, duke of Clarence, lord lieutenant of Ireland, caused a writ to be forthwith issued to the sheriff of Dublin, commanding him "to warn the archbishop of Dublin to appear at Castle-Dermot on the Tuesday after St. Luke's day, to answer for the said contempt, in not meeting and agreeing with the primate of Armagh."‡ By the interference of the king himself a conciliation was at length effected, and thus was the question, so troublesome in itself, and so useless to the nation, effectually set at rest during the remaining part of the century. The primate Miles governed the see for nineteen years, and died in his manor of Dromyskin, on the 11th of August, 1380.

John Colton, a native of the county of Norfolk, and dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, was, by provision of [illegible] archbishop of Armagh, and restored to the temporalities of the see in December, 1381. This prelate had for a time chancellor, and afterwards lord justice of Ireland. Most honourable mention has been made of him in some of the ancient annals, whilst his provincial constitutions, which are extant, are generally adduced as evidence of his laborious

* Arthur a Monasterio, p. 636. † Let. Edw. A. 1365. ‡ Rymer, t. vi. p. 465.

research and of his intimate acquaintance with the ecclesiastical literature of the age in which he lived. The primate, John Colton, presided over the see until the year 1404, about which time he resigned. He died on the 1st of May, in that year, and was buried in St. Peter's Church, Drogheda.*

Among the historical events connected with the other episcopal sees of Ireland during this century,† the most remarkable are the union of the sees of Lismore and Waterford, and that of the ancient diocese of Enaghdune, in the county of Galway, to the archiepiscopal see of Tuam.

The union of the sees of Waterford and Lismore was contemplated so early as the tenth year of the reign of Henry III., and on the condition distinctly specified, "that the episcopal see should continue at Waterford." The king's writ to that effect, and his letters to the pope on the subject, are extant; however, for reasons of which no mention happens to be made in the close roll, the project, after repeated applications, was abandoned, and the two dioceses continued as before to be governed by different prelates. In this state the administration of both sees had been allowed to remain until the time of Edward III. That monarch, anxious to effect an union which circumstances had, it appears, now rendered indispensable, caused letters, signed by his own hand, to be transmitted to John XXII., in compliance with which a decree was passed, "that upon the resignation or decease of either of those prelates, the episcopal dignity of the two churches, Lismore and Waterford, should be one and the same, and that the surviving prelate should be styled bishop of both sees: that in case of a vacancy, the episcopal election should take place in the most notable of the two cathedrals, and be conducted by the canons of both; and that to the capitular of said church it belonged to summon the canons to election. Moreover, by this union

* Annals of Lough-Kee, ad a. 1404.

† The following is a catalogue of the archbishops who presided over the metropolitan see of Dublin, during the fourteenth century:—John Lecu, almoner to Edward II., was consecrated in 1310; Alexander de Bicknor, consecrated in 1317; John de St. Paul, consecrated in 1349; Thomas Minot, consecrated in 1363; Thomas Wikeford, archdeacon of Winchester and afterwards chancellor of Ireland, consecrated in 1390; Robert Waldy, O.S.A., a native of the city of York, translated from the bishopric of Aire in Gascoigne and chancellor of Ireland under Richard II., again translated to the archbishopric of York, in 1396; Richard Northall, a Carmelite, translated from the see of Ossory, in 1397; Thomas Cranely, chancellor of the university of Oxford, consecrated in 1398; he was chancellor of Ireland under Henry IV., and lord justice under Henry V. In 1419, he retired to England, where he died, and was interred in New College, at Oxford, of which he had been the first warden.

the metropolitan rights of the see of Cashel were not to be impaired; these rights remaining over the united sees, precisely as they had been before."* The paramount reason set forth,

* The following extract from the bull of pope John XXII. is here subjoined: "Joannes episcopus servus servorum Dei; ad perpetuam rei memoriam..... Sane carissimus in Christo filius noster Edvardus Angliæ rex illustris, ac Dominus Hiberniæ attente considerans.....nobis humiliter supplicavit, ut Lismoren. et Waterfordien. cujus reditus et proventus annui vix quinquaginta Marchas Sterlingas transcendere dignoscuntur, sibi in vicinitate conjunctas Ecclesias Cathedrales, quæ adeo sunt in facultatibus et reditibus suis tenues et exiles, quod eam Præsules singulariter singuli ex eis nequeunt, juxta Episcopalis status decentiam, commode sustentari; unire invicem dignaremur. Nos igitur laudabile ejusdem regis in hac parte propositum et commendabilem zelum, quem ad Deum, et ad Ecclesias habere dignoscitur, plurimum in Domino commendantes, ac considerantes quod prælatis etiam earumdem Ecclesiarum videretur expediens hujusmodi fieri unionem, propter urgentem necessitatem et evidentem utilitatem ipsarum, et alias rationabiles causas prædictas: easdem Ecclesias, de Fratrum nostrorum concilio, et Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, Unimus auctoritate præsentium, Statuentes, ut Statu Præsulum qui nunc præsunt eisdem, sine mutatione aliqua integro remanente, tamdem quovis ipsorum cedente seu etiam decedente, sic una sit earumdem Ecclesiarum episcopalis dignitas, quod superstes sit episcopus utriusque Lismoren. et Waterfordien. episcopus nominandus, et in qualibet ipsarum Ecclesiarum sedem episcopalem habeat, et utatur, et exerceat episcopalia in utraque, prout viderit expedire; ac deinceps Ecclesiæ ipsæ uno et eodem Antistite simili, quinimo potius eadem intitulatione usuro, perpetuis temporibus gubernentur; cujus electionem, cum ipsarum vacatio imminebit, in altera dictarum Ecclesiarum insigniori, videlicet ab utriusque canonicis vocem in eadem electione, quasi forent unum corpus seu collegium, pariter habituris, decernimus celebrandam, ac quoties novi pastoris electio fuerit facienda, ad capitulum ejusdem insignioris Ecclesiæ eorumdem Canonicorum Ecclesiæ utriusque vocatio ad electionem celebrandam debeat pertinere. Per hoc autem venerabili Fratri nostro Archiepiscopo Casselen. ipsarum Ecclesiarum Metropolitano, ejusque successoribus, seu etiam Casselen. Ecclesiæ nullum præjudicium generetur; quominus in eisdem Lismoren. et Waterfordien. Ecclesiis habeant aliás jura metropolitana, omniaque illa percipiant sicut prius. Volumus autem, et Apostolica auctoritate decernimus, ut si forte alicujus dictarum Ecclesiarum Episcopus Senio, aut valetudine corporali gravatus, vel aliás adeo impeditus fuerit perpetuo, ut officium suum nequeat exercere, ac Ecclesiæ sibi commissæ curam et administrationem Ecclesiæ gerere opportunas, suique metropolitani, et duorum præsulum suffraganeorum suorum judicio impotens seu inutilis, aut inhabilis censeatur, cura et administratio ejusdem sic Unitæ, cujus præsul talis extiterit, ut præfertur, in spiritualibus et temporalibus ad episcopum alterius Ecclesiæ sibi invicem conjunctæ, si ejusdem episcopi taliter ut præmittitur impediti concurrat assensus, debeat pertinere: proviso tamen, quod præfato episcopo impedito de victu et vestitu sufficienti et honesto, pro se, et decenti familia, juxta ecclesiæ suæ exigentiam facultatum, metropolitani et suffraganeorum prædictorum arbitrio, debeat provideri. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ unionis, statuti voluntatem et constitutionem infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contrai
Datum Avenione ii. kalendas Augusti, pontificatus nostri anno xi.

This bull was accompanied by the confirmatory brief of Innocent VI., as follows:—"Ut earumdem litterarum tenor prædictus sui insertus omnimodam rei, seu facti certitudinem faciat, apostolica auctoritate decernimus, ut illud idem robur, eamque vim, eundemque vigorem dictus tenor per omnia habeat; quem haberent originales litteræ supradictæ; et eadem prorsus eidem tenori fides adhibeatur quandocumque, et ubicumque sive in judicio, vel alibi, ubi fuerit exhibitus vel ostensus: ut eidem stetur firmiter in omnibus, sicut eisdem

both in the supplication for the union and in the bull of John XXII., is the poverty of the sees themselves, the revenues of which were at that time so limited, that neither the pontifical rank nor the rights, privileges, or dignity of the see could be adequately supported. It was stated in the remonstrance, that the annual revenue of both sees did not on any occasion exceed the average sum of fifty marks sterling (£33 6s. 8d.) Notwithstanding this decree of pope John, the two dioceses continued separate until a second application had been made, during the pontificate of Innocent VI. That pope, at the instance of Edward III. in 1355, confirmed the letters of union granted by John XXII; while, at the same time, he transmitted copies, both of the original document and of its confirmation, to Edward III. and to Roger, bishop of Waterford. Nor was the union effected until eight years after this period, when upon the translation of Roger Cradock, bishop of Waterford, to the diocese of Landaff in Wales, the two sees of Waterford and Lismore were permanently united by pope Urban V. in 1363,—Thomas Le Reve, formerly chancellor of Ireland, having been at the time bishop of Lismore.

The union of the diocese of Enaghdune (Annadown), in the county of Galway, with that of Tuam, although it had been contemplated in the thirteenth century, was not effected until about the year 1328. During the incumbency of Florence Mac-Flin, archbishop of Tuam, the project of completing this union was first entertained; and it would appear, both from the authority of the rolls and the subsequent circumstances of the case, that the whole matter had been digested and decided in the court of Rome before the departure of the archbishop from that city in 1250. The see of Enaghdune happened to be at that time vacant; accordingly, to use the words of a recorded document, "Florence entered upon the bishopric of Enaghdune, forbidding the chapter to proceed to an election as on former occasions, and took into his own hands both the temporal and spirituals of that diocese, which he retained until his death."* The union continued under his successor Walter de Salern, Thomas O'Conor, and Stephen Fulburn. Between the death of Thomas O'Conor and the translation of Stephen Fulburn from Waterford to Tuam, a period of seven years had

originalibus litteris staretur, si forent exhibitæ vel ostensæ. Per hæc autem nullum jus de novo alicui acquiri volumus, sed antiquum, si quod habet, tantummodo conservari. Nulli ergo, etc. Nostræ annotationis, constitutionis et voluntatis infringere, etc. Datum Avenmone v. kalendas Aprilis, pontificatus nostri anno iii." —Ex Regest. Vatic. lib. 2. par 2. Epist. 56.

* Rolls. Placit. an. 34. Edw. I.

elapsed, during which time the temporals of the united sees were seized upon and collected into the exchequer. This was an opportunity which the people of Enaghdune had anxiously desired, and it was now rendered still more favourable by local contingent circumstances. Sir Robert Ufford had at that time been lord justice of Ireland. The influence of the governor having been employed with success, his relative, John de Ufford, was, in 1282, elected, confirmed by the royal assent, and immediately after consecrated bishop of Enaghdune. About four years after this event, Stephen Fulburn was translated from the see of Waterford to that of Tuam. During his administration in the diocese of Waterford, this prelate had been appointed lord justice of Ireland by Edward I.; the authority, therefore, which had been thus placed in his hands, rendered him an admired favourite at court, and on his promotion to the archiepiscopal see, its reality became still more indisputable. A suit was now commenced against the bishop of Enaghdune, in which John de Ufford was cast, and this prelate, esteemed by all for his meekness and learning, died not long after, leaving the archbishop Stephen in undisturbed possession of the see. Nor did Stephen survive this unpleasant occurrence more than two years; he died in 1288, while his successor William Bermingham caused the archdeacon of Tuam to remove the mitre, crozier, and pontificals belonging to the bishop of Enaghdune, which had been deposited for greater security in the convent of the Franciscans at Clare-Galway.* Nevertheless, the union was not, even at this period, finally effected. In the commencement of the fourteenth century, Gilbert, of the order of St. Francis, was consecrated bishop of Enaghdune, and was restored to the temporals. This prelate had three successors in the see; James O'Kerney, Robert Petit, a Franciscan, translated from Clonfert, and Thomas O'Maley.† On the death of Thomas at Avignon, in 1328, the archbishop Malachy Mac-Aeda took possession of Enaghdune, from which period it has ever since continued indisputably united to the archdiocese of Tuam.

The religious establishments which derive their foundation from the fourteenth century are those of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Carmelites. The [illegible] briefly presented to the reader according to the order in which the date of each foundation may seem to require.

* King, p. 315. † Wadding Annales Min. t. 4; Ware's Antiq.

CONVENTS OF THE DOMINICAN ORDER.

The convent of Carlingford, in the barony of Dundalk, county of Louth, was founded, under the invocation of St. Malachy, for Dominicans, by Richard Burgh, earl of Ulster, A.D. 1305. This convent, the very ruins of which bespeak its former magnificence, continued to flourish until the 34th year of the reign of Henry VIII., when it was suppressed. The church had been first demolished, and the following year this convent, with five acres of land, seven houses in the town of Carlingford, a water-mill, and various other property, was granted in capite, for ever, without rent, to Nicholas Bagnell.*

The convent of Naas, in the barony of the same name, county of Kildare, was founded, under the invocation of St. Eustachius, by the family of Eustace, A.D. 1355. It shared the same fate with the other religious foundations of the country, and in the 34th of Henry VIII. this convent, and five houses, eleven gardens, fifteen acres of arable land, and three of pasture, together with the Franciscan convent of Clane, were granted to Sir Thomas Luttrell and his heirs, in capite, at the yearly rent of 9s. 4d.†

The convent of Clonshaville, in the barony of Boyle, county of Roscommon, was founded for Dominicans, and dedicated to the Holy Cross, by M'Dermot Roe, about the year 1385. At the period of the general suppression, it was granted to lord Dillon.‡

CONVENTS OF THE FRANCISCAN ORDER.

The convent of Castle-Dermot, in the barony of Kilkea and Moon, county of Kildare, was founded for Conventual Franciscans by Thomas, lord Offaly, A.D. 1302. Thomas, the second earl of Kildare, was a liberal benefactor to this convent. He caused the church to be enlarged and beautified, and erected a sumptuous chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, in which he was interred. In 1499 a parliament had been held here,§ and in less than forty years after, both church and convent were numbered among the ruins of the country,—the sacred vessels, vestments and ornaments having been seized upon and confiscated to the crown.

The convent of Cavan had for its founder Gilla-Ruadh O'Reilly, dynast of Breffny, A.D. 1302. It had been first

* Aud.-Gen. Office. † Id. ‡ Harris' Tab. § Ware's Annals.

intended for Dominicans, but was afterwards conceded to the Conventual Franciscans. The rule of the Strict Observants was embraced in this convent about the year 1490; in it also three general chapters had been held, in 1521, 1539, and 1556. Owen O'Neal, the distinguished leader of the Ulster troops during the memorable struggle of the confederate Catholics in the reign of Charles I., having died by poison at Cloughoughter, his remains were conveyed to Cavan and interred in this abbey.* It survived the wreck which surrounded it until the time of Cromwell, at which period it was demolished. The mouldering ruins of this ancient convent became in after ages a prey to the desolating hand of time; and of all its former greatness, there appears at this day not a solitary vestige left behind.

The convent of Castle-Lyons, in the barony of Barrymore, county of Cork, was founded by John de Barry, A.D. 1307. During the general confiscation, this establishment was given as a grant to the earl of Cork, who soon after bequeathed the profits of it to his daughter, the countess of Barrymore, for the express purpose of providing her with *pins and gloves*.†

The convent of Carrick-on-Suir, in the barony of Upperthird, county of Waterford, was founded in 1336 by James, earl of Ormond, for Conventual Franciscans,—John Clynn, the celebrated annalist, from the convent of Kilkenny, having been the first guardian. The last superior was William Cormac, in 31st of Henry VIII., when this convent with the appurtenances, twelve messuages, ten gardens, and one hundred and fifty acres of land, in the vicinity of Carrick, was granted to Thomas, earl of Ormond.‡ The elegance and ancient splendour of this venerable establishment may be readily collected from the very ruins which happened to escape the ravages of time and of persecution. Some fragments of the church still remain, while the steeple rising from a single stone, like an inverted pyramid, stands at this day an existing monument of the taste and architectural skill of ancient times.

The convent of Milick, in the barony of [illegible] of Galway, was erected by O'Madden, dynast of that ter[illegible] for Conventual Franciscans, about the middle of the [illegible] teenth century. At the period of the suppression, this convent was granted to Sir John King, and by him assigned to the earl of Clanrickard.§

* Carte, vol. ii. † Smith, vol. i. ‡ Harris' Ms. § Id.

The convent of Timoleague, in the barony of Ibawn and Barryroe, county of Cork, had for its founder William Barry, lord of Ibawn, about the year 1370. The Franciscans of the Strict Observance were placed here in 1400. Provincial chapters had been held in the convent of Timoleague, in 1536 and in 1563. At the suppression, this convent, with four acres of land, were granted to lord Inchiquin.*

The convent of Quin, in the barony of Bunratty, county of Clare, was founded by Sioda Cam M'Namara, A.D. 1350. Quin was the first convent of the Franciscan Order in Ireland in which the Strict Observants had settled,—pope Eugenius IV., having granted a licence to that effect in 1433.† This venerable establishment, the ruins of which are truly magnificent, was at length involved in the general confiscation of the sixteenth century. In 1582 it was granted, in fee, to Sir Tirlagh O'Brien of Inishdyman.‡

The convent of Ballymote, in the barony of Corran, county of Sligo, was founded by the sept of M'Donagh, for Franciscans of the third order. During the general suppression, this convent was given to Sir Henry Broncard, by whom it was soon after assigned to Sir William Taaffe.§

CONVENTS OF THE AUGUSTINIAN ORDER.

The convent of Fethard, in the barony of Middlethird, county of Tipperary, was founded for eremites following the rule of St. Augustin, by Walter Mulcot, A.D. 1306,—Maurice Mac-Carwill, archbishop of Cashel, under whom the land was immediately held, having given his assent. The last prior was William Burdon, and in the 31st of Henry III., this convent, with eleven messuages, twenty-five acres in Fethard, a water-mill, and sixty-three acres of arable land in Ballyclowan, parcel of the possessions, was granted to Sir Edmund Butler, for ever, in capite, at the annual rent of 5s. 4d. Irish money.‖

The convent of Adair, usually called the Black Abbey, in the barony of Kennery, county of Limerick, was founded by John, earl of Kildare, A.D. 1315. In the 37th of Elizabeth, this convent and eighty acres of land, sixteen cottages, and nine gardens, were granted to Sir Henry Wallop.¶

The convent of Tullagh, in the barony of Ravilly, county of Carlow, was erected by Simon Lumbard and Hugh Tallon, A.D. 1312. On the 13th of December, 1557, this convent with

* Smith, vol. i. † Wadding at A. 1433. ‡ Rolls Off.
§ Harris' Tab. ‖ Aud.-Gen. ¶ Id.

various other confiscated property, was granted to Thomas, earl of Ormond.*

The convent of Ross, in the barony of Bantry, county of Wexford, was founded in the commencement of the reign of Edward III., 1326. The name of the founder has not been mentioned in any of our ancient records. The last prior was John Gregory, and in the 35th of Henry VIII. this convent, with eleven houses and five gardens in Ross, sixty acres of arable and pasture land, and two of wood, in Pollcapyll, was granted for ever, in capite, to Richard Butler, at the annual rent of 15d. Irish.†

The convent of Ballinrobe, in the barony of Kilmain, county of Mayo, dates its foundation from the year 1337, while the name of the founder has not been recorded. In the 27th of Elizabeth, the abbey of Ballinbrobe, five quarters of land and tithes of the same, four messuages, a water-mill, and various other property, were confiscated to the crown.

The convent of Skrine, in a barony of the same name, county of Meath, was founded by lord Francis Feipo, A.D. 1341. This convent was suppressed in the 34th of Henry VIII., at which time it was granted with eighteen acres and the Dominican convent of Trim to Thomas Cusack, at the yearly rent of 5d. Irish.‡

The convent of Morisk, at the foot of Cruach-Phadruig, in the county of Mayo, was founded at the close of the fourteenth century, by the O'Malleys, dynasts of this territory, In the 34th of Henry VIII. this religious retreat, with a quarter of land and nine messuages, was confiscated to the crown.§

CONVENTS OF THE CARMELITE ORDER.

The convent of Loughrea, in the barony of Doonkillen, county of Galway, was founded for Carmelites, under the invocation of the Virgin Mary, by Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster, A.D. 1300. This convent continued to flourish until the period of the general suppression, when it was granted, together with those of St. John the Baptist, in Tuam, Ros[illegible] Kilbought, Aughrim, and Ar[illegible], to [illegible] Clanricarde and his heirs, in capite, at the annual rent of £68 9s. 6d.‖

The convent of Athboy, in the barony of Lune, county

* Lodge, vol. ii. † Aud.-Gen. ‡ Id.
§ King, p. 423. ‖ Aud.-Gen. Office.

of Meath, had for its founder William de Loundres, A.D. 1317. Chapters were convened here in the years 1325 and 1467, The convent of Athboy held a high rank among those of the Carmelite Order in Ireland. It flourished until the 34th of Henry VIII., when it was conceded, together with eleven messuages, six gardens, an orchard, and four acres of meadow, parcel of the possessions, to Thomas Casey, for ever, in capite, at the annual rent of 2s. Irish.*

THE CONVENT OF CRONCURRY, in the barony of Ikeath and Oughterany, county of Kildare, was founded by John Roche, A.D. 1347. In the 8th of Elizabeth, this convent was granted with thirty acres of land, thirteen messuages, and other property, to Richard Slayne, for the term of twenty-one years, at the yearly rent of 16s.†

THE CONVENT OF CREVAGHBANE, in the county of Galway, had the earl of Clanrickarde for its founder, about the middle of the fourteenth century. During the general confiscation it was given, together with the abbey of Mayo, to the burgesses and commonalty of the town of Athenry.‡

THE CONVENT OF HOARTOWN, in the barony of Shelmaliere, county of Wexford, owes its erection to the family of the Furlongs, about the middle of the fourteenth century. It had been richly endowed by that family, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. At the period of the general suppression, this convent was granted to Sir John Davis, who soon after assigned it to Francis Talbot.§

THE CONVENT OF KINSALE, in the barony of Kerrycurry and Kinallea, county of Cork, was founded by Robert Fitz-Richard Balrayne, in the year 1350. In the 35th of Henry VIII., it was confiscated to the crown.

THE CONVENT OF KNOCKMORE, in the barony of Tirerril, county of Sligo, was founded by the O'Gara family, about the year 1353. At the general suppression, it was confiscated to the crown.

THE CONVENT OF BALLYNEGALL, in the barony of Kilmallock, county of Limerick, owes its foundation to the family of Roche, in the fourteenth century. This convent, with half a carucate of land, was granted by Elizabeth to the university of Dublin.‖

THE CONVENT OF KNOCTOPHER, in a barony of the same name, county of Kilkenny, was founded by James, the second earl of Ormond, under the invocation of the Virgin Mary, A.D. 1356. In forty years afterwards, when Henry Brown

* Aud.-Gen. Office † Id. ‡ Id. § Harris's Tab. ‖ Aud.-Gen

was prior, this convent received a grant of two parts of the temporalities of the see of Ossory, at that time placed in the hands of Edward III. Like the other religious establishments of Ireland, this venerable foundation became a prey to the plunderers of the sixteenth century. In the 31th of Henry VIII. it was granted, with eight townlands, fifteen messuages, and other property, to Thomas Barnwell, to hold for ever, in capite, at the annual rent of 4s. Irish.*

CHAPTER III.

Religious and Literary Characters of the Fourteenth Century—General Observations.

In presenting to the reader an analysis of the writers of this age, we shall proceed in chronological order, and commence with the learned and illustrious

John Duns Scotus, usually known in the schools by the designation of the Subtle Doctor. The birth-place of this learned man has given rise to a diversity of opinion among the writers of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Camden,† Pit,‡ and other English annalists, assert that he had been born at Dunston, now called by way of contraction, Duns, a small village, about three miles distant from Alnewick in Northumberland. On the other hand, Dempster,§ Mackenzie‖ and a host of Scotch writers unauthoritatively maintain that Scotus had been a native of Duns, a place situated about eight miles from the confines of England: with these writers, both Dupin** and Labbe†† have thought proper to agree. Finally, Mac-Caghwell‡‡ (Cavellus), Wadding,§§ Connæus, and numberless other Irish annalists, who actually lived in the libraries where the manuscripts of Scotus had been preserved—and who, of course, were the most competent judges on the subject—have strenuously maintained and unquestionably proved, that John Duns Scotus [illegible] and was born A.D. 1274, in Down, a county in the province of Ulster. The decision of those writers has been embraced by Arthur a Monasterio of Rouen,‖‖ by Paul Amalthe¶¶ of

* Aud.-Gen. † Brit in Northumb. ‡ Script. p. 390.
§ Hist. Eccl. l. 4. ‖ Scotch Writ. v. i. ** Bibl. Eccl. tom. ii. p. 58
** Script. Eccl. †† In Vita Scoti, c. i. ‡‡ Annal. tom. vi. p. 40
§§ Franc. Martyrol. ad. 8 Nov. ‖‖ Annal, p. 666.

Italy, by Nicholas Vernul of Louvain,* and other foreigners distinguished in the literary world for genius, accuracy, and erudition. A complete, critical, satisfactory discussion on this subject may be found in the sixth tome of Wadding's Annals of the Franciscan Order; from which the reader may be enabled to draw a valuable fund of antiquarian historical knowledge. Scotus, when very young, had been admired by many for the acuteness and brilliancy of his genius, but among his principal patrons were two Franciscans who had at that time enjoyed considerable influence in the university of Oxford. By means of these men, and after he had become a member of their order, Scotus was introduced into that university, his first master being William Ware (Varro) under whom he read the principal part of his ecclesiastical course.† In process of time Scotus became a fellow of Merton College, and ultimately the chief professor of divinity in the university of Oxford. His reputation for virtue as well as for learning was now held in such esteem, that students flocked from various nations to hear the wisdom that flowed from his lips; and it is even stated that several thousand scholars had been at one period studying in the halls of Oxford and attending his lectures.‡ However this may be, the fame of Scotus was such, that his rival could not be found in any literary establishment of that age, nor perhaps his equal in any national church of the Christian world for several preceding centuries. In 1304, and in the thirtieth year of his age, he was commanded by the general of his order to proceed to Paris, where he was honoured with the degree of Doctor of the Sorbonne, and was soon after, by a royal diploma, appointed regent professor. While delivering his public lectures in Paris, Scotus first undertook the defence of that celebrated question on the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which had, both at that period, and for ages after, occasioned such warm and clamorous controversy among the schoolmen of those times.§ Scotus contended in

* Nicholas Vernul, in his beautiful panegyric of Scotus, thus expresses himself.—"Tuus vero est, Hibernia, tuus ille Scotus, quem tibi celebrima, ac pervetusta Urbs Dun, tanquam æterne gloriæ pignus quoddam et ingeniorum omnium miraculum genuit."—Panegy. n. 5. In [illegible] Stanihurst, it was believed by many, on the authority of a tradition, that Scotus had been a native of Taghmon in the county of Wexford.—"Alii putant (says Stanihurst) Scotum natum fuisse in Tathmon, non procul ab oppido Wexfordiæ; sed alii verius natum asserunt in Duno, pervetustæ civitate in boreali Hiberniæ parte sita, indeque autumnant cognominatum Duns."

† Joannes Major, de gen. Scot. l. 4. ‡ Pit. de Acad. Oxon. c. vi.

§ Bernard de Bustis in off. a Sixto IV. approb.

Paris until 1308, when he was, by orders of his general, Gondisalvi, removed to the city of Cologne, where the fame of his acquirements and genius had already obtained for him a most brilliant and honourable reception. As he approached the walls of the city, this great but humble man was received by the public authorities, by the nobility and by the people, and conducted with unusual pomp to the ancient university of that capital. Here, however, his labours speedily terminated. He died at Cologne, after a short illness, on the 8th of November, 1308, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and was interred in the Franciscan convent of that city.* His remains were afterwards translated to a more conspicuous part of the church, where a sumptuous monument was erected to his memory, on which the names of fifteen Franciscan doctors had been engraved. Of this number the names of three popes and two cardinals occupied the upper part, while those of ten doctors were exhibited on the sides.† The writings of this most learned and extraordinary man are thus generally classified:—Commentaria in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum. This work having been written at Merton College, Oxford, was hence called, Scriptum Oxoniense. He afterwards wrote at Paris: Reportata or Reportatorum Parisiensium, lib. 14; Collationes, 23; Physico-Theologicæ Collationes aliæ, 4; Quodlibeta, seu Questiones, Quodlibetates, 21; De primo principio rerum—Theorematum, lib. 1; De cognitione Dei, lib. 1; Tetragrammata quædam; Sermones de Tempore et de Sanctis; Commentarios imperfectos in Genesim, in Evangelia, et in D. Pauli Epistolas; Questiones in Porphyrium et in Aristotelis Prædicamenta; Perihermenia, Priora, Posteriora; Elenchos de Anima; Metaphysica et Physica.‡

Malachy, of the same order and country with Scotus, flourished about the year 1310. Having been honoured with the degree of doctor in the university of Oxford, he soon after removed to Naples, where his piety and learning had rendered him deservedly venerated. Malachy ranked among the first orators of his age, and was held in great esteem by several princes, especially by Edward II., king of England. He became domestic chaplain to that monarch, while in his sermons he ceased not to reprove the vices of the court with zeal and firmness. Malachy published a treatise "De Veneno [illegible] mediis mortalium peccatorum." He has, according to Bale,§ likewise written—"Institutorum Communium," lib. 1; "Legum Cælibatus," lib. 1; "Novarum Traditionum," lib. 1.

* Waddingad. a. 1308. † Pitts' Script. p. 387.
‡ Wadding, in Vit.; Ware Writ. § Cent. xiv.

David O'Bugey, a learned Carmelite and prior of Kildare, distinguished himself at this period in the halls of Oxford, from whence he removed to Treves in Germany, about the year 1320. On his return to Ireland, this learned man became provincial of that order, and held chapters at Atherdee and Dublin. His knowledge of both civil and canon law was so accurate and extensive, that not only the justiciaries, but even the parliaments held at that period, were accustomed to consult him on cases of unusual importance and difficulty. He was, says Stanihurst, in philosophy an Aristotle, in eloquence a Tully, in divinity an Augustin, and in the canon law, a Panormitan.* David has written: Sermones ad Clerum, lib. 1; Epistolas 32 ad diversos, lib. 1; Propositiones disputatas, lib. 1; Lectiones Trevirenses, lib. 1; Regulas quasdem juris, lib. 1; Contra Gerardum Bononiensem, lib. 1; Commentarios in Biblia Sacra.† This learned and invaluable writer, having lived to a very advanced age, died about the middle of this century in the place of his nativity, Kildare, and was buried in the Carmelite convent of that town.

Malachy Mac-Æda, an eminent antiquarian, canon of Elphin, and afterwards bishop of that diocese, has been justly ranked among the writers of this age. In the year 1513 he was translated to Tuam, and recovered the see of Enaghdune, which he governed for twenty years before his death. He died A.D. 1348, and was buried at Tuam, in the cathedral church of St. Mary. The large volume entitled Leabar Mac-Æd, the book of the son of Hugh, is ascribed to Malachy. It contains a series of the kings of Ireland from Neall Nigiolach to Roderic O'Connor. He is also considered to be the author of a prophecy (which some have attributed to St. Jarlath) concerning that saint's successors in the see of Tuam.‡

John Clynn, the celebrated author of the "Annalium Chronicon," flourished about the middle of the fourteenth century.§ He was the first guardian of the Franciscan convent of Carrick-on-Suir in 1336; but soon after retired to the convent of his order at Kilkenny, in which literary retreat he is said to have written the greater part of his annals. These annals commence with the Christian era, and in a concise but perspicuous manner, are, agreeably to chronological order, brought down to the year 1313. From this period the annalist becomes more circumstantial, and continues his chronicle, with great precision, to the close of the year 1350,

* Descript. Hib. c. vii. † W. Eyston apud. Catal. Test. Verit.
‡ Ware's Writers. § Wadding, Annal. Min. ad. A. 1350. n. 2

about which time it is probable he died. During the compilation of his annals in 1349, a dreadful pestilence raged throughout all Ireland, so that the country was nearly depopulated, and it is generally presumed that the learned Clynn became also a victim to this awful visitation. At the conclusion of his annals (1349), giving an account of the plague then raging, he says: "But I, brother John Clynn, a Franciscan friar, of the convent of Kilkenny, have in this book written the memorable things occurring in my time, of which I was either an eye-witness, or learned them from the relation of such as were worthy of credit. Moreover, that these notable transactions might not perish by time and vanish out of the memory of our successors—seeing the many evils that encompass us, and every symptom placed as it were under an evil influence, expecting death among the dead, until it comes,—such things as I have heard delivered with veracity and have strictly examined, I have reduced into writing. And lest the writing should perish with the writer, and the work should fail with the workman, I leave behind me parchment for continuing it, if any man should have the good fortune to survive this calamity, or any one of the race of Adam should escape this pestilence, and live to continue what I have begun." These annals remained in the possession of the Franciscans of Kilkenny until about the time of Cromwell: they were afterwards faithfully transcribed by means of Sir James Lee, earl of Marlburg, on which occasion the copy was carefully deposited in the hands of Henry earl of Bath, on condition that it should be printed. John Clynn died of this pestilence. He has also written "De Regibus Anglorum ab Hengisto ad Edw. III," lib. 1; "De custodiis ordinis sui, in Anglia et Hibernia;" "Catalogum sedium Episcopalium, Angliæ, Scotiæ et Hiberniæ;" "De Franciscanorum cænobiis, et eorum distinctionibus," lib. 1.*

From the commencement of this analysis, the attention of the reader has been particularly directed to that most national and religious subject—the progress of education. It has been shown that public gratuitous education had accompanied even the very dawn of Christianity in this country; it was the great moral corner-stone on which the [illegible] erected the edifice; it was, in fact, that splendid characteristic, which in the sixth and seventh centuries had raised the church of Ireland superior to other national churches, and won for our country a name of which no other nation could boast—that of

Wadding, Scrip.; Stanihurst.

an "Island of Saints." This system of national education had been patronized during several subsequent ages—in fact it was upheld and cherished at the very hour when foreign ecclesiastics had been introduced into Ireland. It appears that these men, when once planted in the country, were by no means insensible to their own private interest; they became opulent; they enjoyed power in all its plenitude; and about this power and opulence they soon began to dispute among themselves. Canons and chapters will contend about priority; Armagh and Dublin must enter into an arena for metropolitan rights, as if such things could be of any benefit whatever to the morality of the nation, or to the wretched condition of an afflicted people. Some are unceasingly occupied in the defence of their privileges; while others are sure to keep up an unmeaning and boisterous crusade against convents and Mendicant Orders. But the wonder, inexplicable, is, that all this time, the great sources of national education, on which the ancient Irish bestowed such pains, and which had once formed the boast and glory of the country, were now literally closed up. The schools of Clonard, of Armagh, and of Pangur, are no more; the literary halls of ancient days are deserted; and where the towering genius of Sedulius, of Columbanus and Scotus once soared high and majestic, the silence of night and the grass of the wilderness are now to be found. The country, no doubt, had been convulsed; it had been thrown into an awful state by the plundering, yet dissatisfied, adventurers of the day; but the very same could be said of those melancholy times when the Danish invader stood in the sanctuary. Such, indeed, had been the case in the ninth and tenth centuries, and even then the spirit of national education was not allowed to perish. At the very commencement of the English invasion many of our literary establishments were flourishing: among the number of these, suffice it to mention the schools of Clonard, of Lismore, and Armagh; but, reader, mark, the great school of Clonard was levelled to the ground by the infamous Mac-Morough and his English allies; Lismore was demolished by Raymond and Strongbow, while Armagh was plundered, gutted, and reduced to ashes by De Courcy, after the students had been dispersed and banished, and the professors barbarously put to death.

The infamous statute framed in 1380 at Kilkenny, may likewise enable us to contemplate the ungenerous, mercenary, domineering spirit so strikingly characteristic of this age. To exclude a man from the enjoyment of a benefice, or to prevent him from making his profession in a religious establishment,

merely because he was an Irishman, was much the same as placing the sword of persecution on the very altar. Scenes like these were never before witnessed in the Church of Ireland; an impious and barefaced monopoly of the Christian sanctuary was a scandal to which the sainted fathers of the Irish Church had been perfect strangers. Hence the discontent, the universal national indignation, which, kept alive, as it were, by the help of different multiplied oppressions, must have affected the interest of religion no less than the various other interesting relations of society. That the union of the church with the civil power is an evil, cannot be questioned, so long as the evidence of history is admitted; and it is equally certain, that religion never appears to greater advantage than when, stript of all borrowed light, it is allowed to shine forth in the unmixed grandeur of its own native power and effulgence.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

State of the Church of Ireland in the commencement of the Fifteenth Century—The archbishop of Cashel cited before parliament—Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, endeavours to redress the grievances of Ireland—Ecclesiastical censures employed in upholding the laws of the realm—History of Lambert Simnel—Restoration of the prelates who espoused his cause—Establishment of the wardenship of Galway—Synods under Octavian de Palatio—Proceedings of Keating prior of Kilmainham.

The connection between the ecclesiastical and the civil power had by this time been carried to such an excess, that to illustrate the proceedings of the former, it will be necessary to have recourse to some of the leading historical events of the latter. In a parliament held at Dublin while the earl of Ormond had been chief justice, the odious Statute of Kilkenny was confirmed; and although during the reign of Henry IV. several parliaments had been convened, yet they all terminated either in measures that were impracticable, or in factional enactments for perpetuating the oppression of the unfortunate Irish. Nothing can more clearly exhibit the insufficiency of rulers in those times, than the almost simultaneous succession of governors into whose hands the affairs of Ireland had been entrusted. One lord justice had scarcely been seated in office, when he was removed and replaced by another still more needy, insatiable and grinding; while the self-same paramount object, which all seemed to have in view, was national discontent, national disturbance, and national plunder. Sometimes the voice of justice or rather of pity might have been heard for a moment; but it soon died away, and became as silent and as disregarded as though it had never existed. The priors John Colton, and Thomas Cranley, archbishop of Dublin, had indeed, been deputed by the Irish parliament to proceed to London, and lay before the king an officially-authorized exposure of the mal-administration of his governors; but these prelates, notwithstanding their zeal and sincerity, returned home just as they went, having obtained no favour unless the appointment of the duke of Lancaster, the king's son, to the

government of Ireland for a limited time.* Had the example thus set forth by the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin been attended to, the distracted affairs of the country might be soon tranquillized, but measures the very reverse were, year after year, carried into effect; division, distrust, and turbulence, became the standing characteristic, the ruling fashion of the day, and every good man who appeared to sympathize in the wrongs of the nation, or who aimed at conciliation by showing the least kindness for the people, was at once marked out and denounced before the public tribunals as a criminal.

The accusations preferred against Richard O'Hedian, archbishop of Cashel, by John Gese, bishop of Waterford and Lismore, are, without the help of any other fact, more than sufficient to illustrate this truth. That eminent prelate was consecrated archbishop of Cashel in 1406. With great difficulty, and after having endured a variety of persecution, he succeeded in recovering the temporalities of the see, which had been despoiled or alienated through the mismanagement of his predecessors. On his promotion to the archdiocese, he found the cathedral church in ruins, the vicars choral had been left without a residence, and as he himself declares, "he came to the see without having a single place in any manor where he might lay his head."† However, he soon recovered the lands of Grange-Connel, Thurlesbeg, and several other manors, the rent of which he exclusively applied to the pressing exigencies of his church. He erected a hall for the vicars choral, and after a time rebuilt the cathedral of St. Patrick in Cashel, which, in the twelfth century, had been founded by the celebrated Donald O'Brian, king of Limerick. These valuable services, instead of securing for him that esteem which he merited, had only served to make him a more prominent object for public attack. The archbishop was cited before parliament, then sitting in Dublin, and thirty articles were exhibited against him by John Gese, bishop of Waterford and Lismore. Among these charges there were some so ludicrously extravagant as to throw discredit on the rest, and blow up the whole scheme: it was alleged that he had counterfeited the king's seal, and caused letters patent to be issued, while by the third article he was exhibited [illegible] demagogue, and had actually found means to have himself proclaimed king of Munster. However, the leading charge, and that on which his adversaries had chiefly depended, was set forth in the very first article—"That he was kind and

* Allegre, Parad. Car. p. 329. † Rotul. Cassil. A. 1419.

humane to the Irish, and had no respect whatever for an Englishman; that he was never known to promote persons of that nation to any dignity in the church, and that he allowed no bishop in his province to advance an Englishman to any benefice whatever."*

The writers of those times, after describing the sensation which this singular proceeding had occasioned, especially among the peers of the realm, continue to dwell with unfeigned delight on the unbending firmness, integrity, and good qualities of the archbishop of Cashel, and agree that he was honourably acquitted; while, by those of a more modern date, the fact is adduced as one among the many instances in which Irishmen have been persecuted, merely because they had manifested a love or a regard for their country.

This novel mode of determining ecclesiastical matters by a parliamentary decision, must be traced to some of those extraordinary privileges upon which the duke of Lancaster had, for the third time, accepted the reins of government in Ireland, and by which he was invested with the power of nominating to whatever benefices he pleased. During the reign of Henry V., the succeeding governors maintained a still greater control over church preferments, and in many instances were known to have kept the episcopal sees vacant for a long term of years, merely for the purpose of transferring the temporalities into their own coffers. This latter abuse was, at length, loudly complained of, in the parliament held under the earl of Ormond, in 1421, and formed one of the principal grievances laid down in the celebrated remonstrance which the same parliament had at that time, through the agency of the archbishop of Dublin and Sir Christopher Preston, presented to the consideration of king Henry V. The authority, however, of a secular legislature on points purely or relatively ecclesiastical, was far from being admitted at the time as a standing maxim; even the very tribunal before which the archbishop O'Hedian had been acquitted, was obliged to acknowledge its insufficiency in finally deciding on such questions. An appeal was preferred to the same parliament on the part of Miles Fitz-John, bishop of Cork, and others, in which it was alleged that sundry efforts had been made by the bishop of Cloyne, Adam Pay, to have the diocese of Cork united to his own see.† The allegations were advanced and proved, and the subject gave rise to much contention between the prelates of the province; however the parliament, knowing well that the cognizance of

* Henry Marleburgh, p. 122. † Pryn, Animad. p. 313.

such a case did not by any law come within the powers of a lay-tribunal, dismissed the question altogether, with directions that the whole process should be submitted to the pope.* The union of these sees took place, however, on the decease of these prelates, which occurred exactly during the same year (1430), and Jordan, chancellor of Limerick, having been appointed successor to Adam Pay, the two dioceses of Cork and Cloyne were united under Martin V.†

But the individual to whom the Church of Ireland and the Irish nation had been in those times most deeply indebted, was Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin. This prelate was brother to the illustrious John Talbot, lord of Furnival, whom Henry VI. had, for his bravery and faithful services in France, dignified with the title of earl of Shrewsbury, Waterford, and Wexford. Having been consecrated in 1417, he instituted six canons and as many choristers in St. Patrick's Cathedral, and parcelled among them the prebend of Swords, usually called the golden one, for their maintenance.‡ He enlarged and beautified the chapel of St. Michael, by annexing thereto a chancel, and afterwards raised it to the rank of a parish church. He also founded the chantry of St. Anne in St. Audeon's Church for the support of six priests, and procured a licence of mortmain to purchase sixty-six pounds yearly for its endowment.§ During his incumbency, which continued thirty-two years, the archbishop Richard was privy counsellor to Henry V.; he was four times lord justice of Ireland (namely, in 1419, 1425, 1440, 1447), and was chancellor from 1427 to the year 1453, in which office he was, about that period, succeeded by Thomas Chase.‖ The parliament assembled in Dublin in 1442 selected this prelate, together with John White, abbot of St. Mary's, near Dublin, and commissioned them to lay before the king a fair and circumstantial detail of the melancholy state of Ireland; but in those days it was utterly impossible for any man, no matter how good his intentions or how unlimited his influence, to render any paramount service to the country. Scarcely had the archbishop returned from England when a new governor was appointed; the old career of abuses proceeded in its course with accelerated velocity, while the extortions and multiplied grievances of former times were again enforced. "The Irish," says sir John Davies, "were generally reputed aliens, or rather enemies to the crown of England; in such [illegible]

* Ware's Annals; Henry V. † See chap. ii. ‡ Lib. Niger. Archiv. Dub.
§ Ware's MS. ‖ Id. Annal.

not only disabled to bring forward any actions, but they were so far out of the protection of the laws, that it was adjudged no felony to kill *a mere Irishman* even in time of peace." During these periods of trouble and dismay, the archbishop, as well as his brother, the earl of Shrewsbury, left no means untried in appeasing the angry spirit of the nation, and particularly after the removal of Ormond from the lord lieutenancy, which he had now enjoyed for the fifth time. John earl of Shrewsbury was appointed to succeed him, while the archbishop Richard, among other matters, published a tract to which he gave the very appropriate title, "De abusu reiminis Jacobi Comitis Ormondiæ dum Hiberniæ esset locum tenens." On the death of John Prene, primate of Armagh, the dean and chapter elected Richard Talbot as his successor, but this dignity he declined. At length this good prelate, worn down as much by labour and pastoral solicitude as by the hand of time, was removed to a better world on the 15th of August, 1449, and his remains were deposited under a monument of marble, beautified with his image, in St. Patrick's Cathedral.*

It might be supposed that the laws and grinding oppressions, which had for so many years been, without mercy, inflicted on the nation, were intrinsically odious enough, without the introduction of ecclesiastical censures, or the application of the power of the Church to the purposes of state chicanery. Under the Henrys, the legislature, such as it was, did its own work and acted on its own authority; while during the reign of Edward IV. the terrors of the Church are employed as a species of government-machinery, and that by an express statute, formally passed in one of the parliaments at Dublin. This enactment, which it may not be improper to notice, was to the following effect—"Whereas our holy father Adrian, pope of Rome, was possessed of all the seigniory of Ireland, in right of his Church, which, for a certain rent, he alienated to the king of England and his heirs for ever, and by which grant the people of Ireland owe their obedience to the king of England as their sovereign lord; it is, therefore, ordained, that all archbishops and bishops of Ireland, shall, upon the [illegible] all disobedient subjects; and if such archbishops or bishops [illegible] remiss in discharging their duty in the premises, they [illegible] henceforth be liable to a penalty of one hundred pounds."†

During the long and sanguinary struggles between the houses of York and Lancaster, in which so many lives had

* Ware's Bishops. † 7 Edward IV. c.

been sacrificed, and so much treasure had been exhausted, the ecclesiastical power was a weapon which each party seemed anxious to employ, whenever it could be conveniently obtained. Nor was the same system abandoned under the more temperate and tranquil reign of Henry VII., after these two powerful branches had been united by the marriage of that monarch with Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. In the very commencement of his reign, Ireland became the theatre of that well-known and singular scheme of the Yorkists, in which the youthful Lambert Simnel, son of a poor baker in England, had for a time so prosperously figured. This young man, having been previously tutored for the purpose, was brought over by that party into Ireland, and a report was at the same time industriously circulated that Edward earl of Warwick and next heir to the crown, had just made his escape from the tower of London. Simnel was, accordingly, instructed to personate the earl, and as such was introduced to the lord deputy, to the chancellor, to the treasurer, and such of the nobility as were devoted to the house of York. He met with a most flattering reception; the deputy ordered his arrival to be published, and his cause was at once taken up with enthusiasm. Dublin instantly declared in his favour, and, in short, all Ireland, except the citizens of Waterford and the bishops of Armagh, Cashel, Tuam, Clogher, and Ossory. In the mean time a body of two thousand veterans had been sent over from Flanders by the dowager duchess of Burgundy, second sister of Edward IV., while Simnel, attended by the lord deputy and all the adherents of the house of York, was crowned with great solemnity in the cathedral of Christ Church, Dublin. In this convulsed state of the nation it was, that Henry had recourse to the interposition of pope Innocent VIII. He obtained from that pontiff a bull, dated the 6th of the kalends of April, wherein, among other matters, the archbishops and bishops of Ireland were commanded to excommunicate forthwith each and every individual who should join the standard of rebellion against the reigning monarch Henry VII., or in any manner co-operate with his enemies.* This document was of no trifling consequence to the cause of Henry, in the present critical posture of affairs. The Yorkists, headed by their favourite Simnel, took shipping soon after for England, and being met by Henry near the village of Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, a desperate engagement ensued, in which the English monarch obtained a decisive victory. In

* Ware's Annals, ad. A. 1488.

this action the lords Thomas and Maurice Fitzgerald were slain, with about 4000 of their best troops: the impostor Simnel was taken prisoner, while Henry, in order to afford the nation a living testimony of the folly of this extravagant enterprize, had him employed as a menial in his kitchen, and on state occasions frequently obliged him in that capacity to attend his table.

Instead of taking summary vengeance on his enemies, Henry pursued the rule of his accustomed policy, and not only forgave the fomenters of this singular enterprize, but even received them into favour, and had many of them continued in their former official situations. Among the ecclesiastics who had received the royal pardon by letters patent, were the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin (Octavian de Palatio and Walter Fitz-Simons), the bishops of Meath, Kildare, and Clovne; the abbots of St. Mary and of St. Thomas, near Dublin; the abbots of Baltinglass, Navan, Mellifont, Bectiff, and St. Mary's of Trim; and the priors of Newtown, Conall, and Louth.* Sir Richard Edgecomb was the person deputed by the king for dispensing this act of grace, and on the following Sunday the absolution from the censure was pronounced in Christ Church, immediately after a sermon preached by John Payne, bishop of Meath. The nobles and prelates of Ireland were then restored to the royal favour, but not without certain conditions. One of these terms was, that each should take and subscribe to an oath of allegiance drawn up by the king himself; and because that portion of it in which the ecclesiastical body is concerned, comes more immediately within the scope of this narrative, it may not be irrelevant to allow it insertion in this place.

"I, A. B., shall from this day forward, as often as I shall, on the behalf of our sovereign lord the king, be lawfully required, execute the censures of the Church, by the authority of our holy father pope Innocent VIII. and by his bull given under lead, against all those of his subjects, of what dignity, degree, state, or condition they may be, that disturbeth or troubleth our said sovereign lord, or his title to the crown of England and lordship of Ireland; or [illegible] rebellion against the same; or aideth, supporteth, or comforteth any of those traitors or rebels that intendeth the destruction of his most sacred person, or the subversion of his said realm of England and lordship of Ireland. The same sentence, with all solemnity thereunto belonging, I shall in any church

* Edgecombe's Voyage, n. 3.

within my jurisdiction, openly execute and declare against all transgressors of the same bull; so that the cause on the behalf of our said lord the king, be lawful and be unto me made known; neither excepting nor sparing any individual in such act, through love or dread, hatred or envy, nay, or from any cause whatever."

On the 21st of July, in this year (1448), Gerald earl of Kildare, did homage in the presence of Sir Richard Edgecombe, in the abbey of St. Thomas, and afterwards, when Mass had been sung, was absolved from the censure of excommunication and took the oath of allegiance. The same formalities were observed on the part of Robert Preston, viscount Gormanstown, and of the barons Portlester, Slane, Hoath, Trimblestone, and Dunsany. Among the prelates who underwent the same ordeal were Walter Fitz-simons, archbishop of Dublin, and John Walton, his predecessor, who, having been blind, had some years before resigned the archbishopric; also John Payne, bishop of Meath, Edmund Lane, bishop of Kildare, John Purcel, abbot of Thomas-court, near Dublin, Walter Champflower, abbot of St. Mary's, Dublin, and John Cogan, prior of Holm-Patrick.*

About this time, and during the incumbency of Donagh O'Murray, archbishop of Tuam, a college of a warden and vicars was founded in the church of St. Nicholas, in Galway.† It has been already noticed, that the diocese of Enaghdune, in which the town of Galway was comprehended, had been united to Tuam under the archbishop Malachy Mac-Eda, in the fourteenth century. As had been the case with other sees which were united in those times, this union was tedious and attended with much difficulty. It is obvious that these unions, although canonically effected, had occasionally created some general or, at least, partial feelings of discontent, which required time and prudence to moderate, and for the total extinction of which, some mutual concessions were at length necessarily obliged to be made. From the diploma of Innocent VIII., issued in 1484, we must learn the origin and history of this new ecclesiastical district. That document originated principally from a memorial which the parishioners of the church of St. Nicholas, in Galway, had addressed to the Holy See; although the erection of a wardenship had been already contemplated and actually assented to by the archbishop of Tuam. In their memorial, the inhabitants of the town of Galway stated, that they had been a peaceable, an industrious

* Ware's Annals, ad A. 1448. † Diplom. Innocent. VIII. A

and a moral people, and that in their manners and mode of living they differed completely from the native Irish, who inhabited the woods and mountains around them; that the temporalities of the church of St. Nicholas, which had hitherto been governed by vicars, had been so often assailed, and the inhabitants themselves so harrassed by the aforesaid people from the mountains, that they could not, in a becoming manner, and according to the English rite observed by their predecessors, either hear the divine office or receive the Christian sacraments. They stated, moreover, that they had been sometimes despoiled of their property, and that many had been even put to death by these uncultivated tribes; and they expressed the utmost fear that greater evils should await them, unless some permanent and effectual remedy would be speedily applied.* In compliance with their wishes, and resting on the terms of this allegation, pope Innocent VIII. confirmed the wardenship which the archbishop O'Murray had already contemplated, and raised the church of St. Nicholas to a collegiate dignity. Over this collegiate church was placed a warden or custos, as its head, together with eight perpetual vicars. The vicars, with the aforesaid warden, were to constitute the chapter, and were to have a common seal, burse, table, and other collegiate insignia. To this collegiate church was likewise annexed the vicariate one of St. James, with its annual revenue and fruits of six marks sterling. It was, moreover, ordained that the said eight vicars should be chosen and presented to the warden by the mayor or governor of the town, in conjunction with the bailiffs and principal families, and to be by him inducted as perpetual vicars. The election of the warden was, in like manner to proceed from the same lay patrons, after which he was to be presented to the vicars, and to be by them inducted into office for one year. During this period the warden was to enjoy and exercise pastoral authority and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as well over the vicars as over the lay inhabitants of the parish.†

* Diplom. Innocentii viii. A. 1484.

† The following extract from the diploma regards the election of the warden and vicars:—"Quodque ecclesia prædicta S. Nicolai sic in collegiatam ex juxta dicti archiepiscopi ordinationem prædictam, per octo presbyteros morigeratos, et doctos, Anglicanum ritum et morem in divinorum celebratione observare solitos, perpetuis futuris temporibus regatur et gubernetur; et presbyteri prædicti per superiorem, præpositum, vel majorem, et ballivos, ac pares dictæ villæ, guardiano, sive custodi prædicto pro tempore præsentari, et per ipsum guardianum in perpetuos presbyteros, seu vicarios, in eodem collegio, ad præsentationem eandem, instituí. Guardianus vero, sive custos præfatus, per eosdem, superiorem, præpositum vel majorem, et ballivos ac pares, annis singulis removibilis, eisdem presbyteris, sive vicariis presentari, et per ipsos

It must be presumed that the statement embodied in the memorial of the people of Galway, and the grievances complained of, were all notoriously founded on fact; yet on the other hand, it is rather extraordinary that similar complaints had not been made while Enaghdune was a separate diocese, enjoying its independence, and governed by its own bishop. Had the native Irish, who inhabited the district immediately contiguous to the town of Galway, been such desperate characters as these petitioners would needs represent them, how came it, that this innate ferocity had been hitherto kept under control, or had never given rise to a complaint, until almost the very period when a perpetual and an inseparable union was about to take place between the diocese of Enaghdune and the archdiocese of the province?

The probability is, that in effecting the union of these sees, a series of almost insurmountable difficulties was to be encountered. The old predilections of the people were to be tempered and conciliated; their natural anxiety for enjoying the advantage of a spiritual superior, and for having him residing in the midst of them, was not to be disregarded, and as the town of Galway had formed the most populous and important portion of this ancient diocese, it may be presumed that this erection of a collegiate church, and of a wardenship, was one of the capital conditions on which the union of the two sees had been at length consolidated. For the purpose, therefore, of accomplishing this measure and of establishing the wardenship, the materials for a proper memorial were requisite, while in the absence of solid and sufficient reasons, the occasional and, perhaps, provoked retaliation of a desponding people was employed, in throwing at least a shade of plausibility over this singularly ingenious remonstrance.*

Notwithstanding the union which had been already effected between the sees of Dublin and Glendaloch, it is a singular fact that no less than four prelates are mentioned in the annals

presbyteros sive vicarios ad præsentationem ipsam in guardianum pro illo anno mihi deputari et institui debeat; et habeat ipse guardianus sive ex tunc post obtentam institutionem suam, durante anno pro quo electus, super omnes dictæ ecclesiæ S. Nicolai presbyteros seu vicarios, ac parochianos, potestatem et ipsorum ac parochianorum prædictorum curam exerceat animarum, eadem auctoritate statuimus et ordinamus. Jus etiam patronatus et præsentandi guardiano presbyteros prædictos in vicarios instituendos, et guardianum presbyteris sive vicariis per eos instituendum, præfatis superiori præposito sive majori, ballivis et paribus dictæ villæ, pro tempore existentibus, in perpetuum prælibata auctoritate concedimus; jure tamen aliarum ecclesiarum parochialium et cujuslibet alterius in omnibus semper salvo."

* The privileges of the warden of Galway were considerably amplified by the decree of Clement XII., in 1732.—See century xviii. c. 1.

of Ireland actually presiding over the latter diocese, about the close of the fifteenth century. Dionysius White, contemporary with John Walton, archbishop of Dublin, is said to have resigned the see of Glendaloch, in the chapter-house of St. Patrick's: after him were John, Ivo Russi, a Franciscan, and John of the same order, the last of whom was consecrated bishop of Glendaloch in August, 1495.* Such is the fact, and it has never been disputed, while the circumstances from which these promotions originated, must form a question which the annalists of those times have left altogether unexplained.† We find, however, that after the death of John, no mention has been made of any future prelate in the diocese of Glendaloch, and that Walter Fitz-simons, archbishop of Dublin, continued to govern these united sees, precisely in the same manner as had been done by his predecessors in the thirteenth century.

The interest of religion had been considerably promoted during the fifteenth century by means of the several provincial synods which were celebrated under the primates John Swayn, John Bole, and Octavian de Palatio. During the incumbency of Octavian, six provincial synods were held, the most remarkable of which was that convened in the parish Church of our Blessed Lady of Atherdee, in July, 1489. This synod was attended by John Payne, bishop of Meath, Edward Courcey, bishop of Clogher, William Ferral, bishop of Ardagh, George Brann, bishop of Dromore, Donald Fallon, bishop of Derry, Menelaus MacCarmacan, bishop of Raphoe, and Walter Blake, bishop of Clonmacnois ‡ In this synod several regulations appertaining to morals and ecclesiastical discipline were ordained; at the same time the claims which

* Wadding ad A. 1495; Ware's Annals, Henry VII.

† In treating of the union of these sees under Henry Loundres, in 1214, it has been noticed, that notwithstanding the annexation then effected, Glendaloch was still to retain the title of an episcopal see, the bishop whereof was to be an assistant or vicar to the archbishop of Dublin. Whether any bishop had resided in Glendaloch from that period down to the fifteenth century has not been recorded; and it is probable that no actual necessity had existed for such an appointment. The case, however, assumes a different character with respect to Dionysius White, who had been consecrated during the incumbency of John Walton, archbishop of Dublin. This latter prelate was infirm, and became blind about six years before he resigned the archbishopric: during which period the episcopal duties had been discharged by a neighbouring prelate deputed for that purpose. This circumstance might have afforded the people of Glendaloch some ground for remonstrating, and in such an hypothesis, it is reasonable to believe that their prayer was attended to, and that a bishop had been placed over them, subject of course to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin.

‡ Ware's Annals, A. 1489.

had given rise to a litigation between Thomas Brady, bishop of Kilmore, and Cormac, regarding that see, had been consigned to the arbitration of the bishops of Meath, Clogher, and Ardagh.

While the archbishop Octavian had been thus effectively employed, James Keating, prior of Kilmainham, was creating new troubles, and by his mal-administration, had almost brought that celebrated establishment to ruin.* Since the suppression of the Knights Templars, this rich and extensive priory was becoming every day more useless and less respectable. During the time of the Templars, in 1312, the sick and infirm, as well as the traveller and the stranger, had free and welcome admittance within its gates; but after that period its hospitality was comparatively limited, while the priors and other superiors endeavoured by grants, alienations, and divers illicit means, to forward their own selfish policy and personal aggrandizement. James Keating succeeded sir James Talbot as prior, in 1461.† Scarcely had Keating entered on the administration of Kilmainham, when he was arraigned before parliament for several misdemeanors, and among the rest for an attack on sir Robert Dowdal, deputy to the lord treasurer of Ireland. The prior, however, found means of obtaining an acquittal from these charges; but his restless spirit soon brought him into still greater difficulties. In 1477, he assumed the office of chief governor of the castle, having first dispossessed Archbald the lawful governor; and after demolishing the bridge, he immediately fortified the castle with men and arms against Henry lord Grey, then deputy-lieutenant of Ireland.‡ For these acts, added to the disposal of jewels and other property belonging to the hospital, the prior Keating was deposed in 1482, by the grand master of Rhodes, while Marmaduke Lomley, descended of a noble English family, was appointed to succeed him. As soon as Keating received notice that his rival had landed at Clontarf, he repaired thither with an armed force, took Lomley prisoner, and kept him in close confinement until he consented to resign the several instruments of his election into Keating's hands, after which the commandery of Lorah was assigned to him for his maintenance. In the meantime an account of these violent proceedings had been transmitted to the king and also to the grand master, by which means a sentence of excommunication was issued against the prior. This censure served only to enrage him the more: he proceeded to Kilsaran; had

* Rymer, vol. xii. p. 90. † King, p. 69. ‡ Harris' Collect. v. 4

Lomley bound in chains, and notwithstanding the interference of the archbishop Octavian, the unfortunate man was again cast into prison, where he lingered and pined, and at length sunk into a premature grave. This career of cruelty terminated at length in the downfall of Keating himself. Having taken a prominent part in the extravagant scheme of Simnel, and thereby adding disloyalty to his other offences, the prior Keating was not only refused pardon, but was, moreover, removed from the governorship of the castle of Dublin, which he had usurped and, by means of his powerful influence, continued to enjoy for so many years. With a spirit unbending to the last, and setting authority almost at defiance, he kept forcible possession of the hospital until the year 1491, when he was at length ejected, and ended his factious and turbulent life in the most abject poverty, having first seen James Wall substituted in his place as prior of Kilmainham.* From the appointment of James Wall until the final suppression of this splendid establishment there were four priors, the last of whom was sir Oswald Massingberd. Under his administration, the princely possessions of the priory of Kilmainham, as well as of other charitable foundations of the country, became a prey to Elizabeth, while the prior Massingberd withdrew privately from the kingdom, and spent the remainder of his days in exile.†

CHAPTER II.

Successors of St. Patrick - Episcopal Sees—Religious Foundations of the Fifteenth Century.

Immediately on the resignation of John Colton, archbishop of Armagh,

Nicholas Fleming, a secular priest, was, by provision of pope Boniface IX., advanced to the metropolitan see, and was consecrated in May, 1404. When the prelates of the church had been summoned to the council of Constance in 1415 Nicholas deputed his proctor, William Purcell, to assist on this occasion, while, at the same time, Thomas bishop of Ossory had, on his part, conferred similar powers on the same deputy. Nicholas died in the following year, and was succeeded by

* Leland, vol. ii. p. 89. Ware's Bishops.

† King, p. 14; Ware's Annals, a. 1557.

John Swayn, rector of Galtrim in Meath, and consecrated at Rome in February, 1417. During the incumbency of this prelate, the controversy regarding the metropolitan rights was renewed, for which reason a provincial synod had been convened at Drogheda, early in October, 1427.* The transactions of this synod had scarcely terminated, when the primate, John Swayn, was furnished with a peremptory writ, demanding his attendance at a parliament to be held on the following January in Dublin.† The primate, however, rested his plea for non-attendance on the grounds that he had been prevented by the clergy of Dublin from entering the city in a manner consistent with the privileges of primatial authority.‡ In his maintenance of other rights enjoyed at that period by the church of Armagh, this prelate had been more successful, and particularly in that juridical claim which, as an heriot, the primate was allowed to possess over the principal goods of a deceased suffragan. This property became, in lapse of time, simplified; it was supposed to consist of the best horse, cup, and ring belonging to the deceased prelate, and was regularly claimed by the archbishop of Armagh under very severe penalties.§ The primate, John Swayn, having governed the see for more than twenty-one years, resigned in 1439, and was buried soon after in St. Peter's Church, Drogheda, within the sanctuary of a chapel which he himself had founded and dedicated to St. Anne.

His immediate successors in the metropolitan see were, John Prene, John May, and John Bole. Upon the death of the primate John Bole, in February, 1470, John Foxall, a Franciscan, was advanced to the see by Sixtus IV. This prelate, however, died in England, during the second year of his consecration, and had for successor Edmund Connesburg. About this period, Octavian de Palatio, a Florentine, and a great favourite with Sixtus IV., had been commissioned to repair to Ireland. In the registry of Armagh, may be seen a provisional epistle, by which Octavian was constituted "Nuncio of the Apostolic See, and Governor of the Church of Armagh, both in spirituals and temporals."‖ This office was continued until the year 1479, when Edmund resigned, and Octavian de Palatio (by provision of Sixtus IV.) succeeded to the see. This prelate evinced an unremitted firmness in the defence of those primatial rights for which his predecessors had so strenuously contended. On this subject Dowling,

* Register, Swain, tom. i. p. 372. † Id. p. 392. ‡ Id. p. 292.
§ Regist. Swain, tom. i. p. 291. ‖ Id. fol. 6.

in his Annals (1493), has recorded a case which was then pending between Nicholas Maguire, bishop of Leighlin, and the chapter of that cathedral. "The chapter appealed to the metropolitan consistory of Dublin; but not meeting relief, the appeal was then advanced by the chapter to the primatial court at Drogheda, when Octavian of Armagh, hearing the proofs, inhibited the bishop from attempting anything to the prejudice of the daily distribution of the said cathedral, and cited the parties to his chancery, near Drogheda." After this period, the controversy on the subject of these rights appears to have been abandoned by both parties, until it had been most unnecessarily revived under the administration of Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, in the seventeenth century. Octavian, during his incumbency, had convened six provincial synods; he was thirty-three years archbishop of Armagh, and died at an advanced age in June 1513. His remains were interred with great solemnity in the church of St. Peter at Drogheda, and in a tomb which he himself had caused to be erected.

Owing to that want of unanimity which a feudal state of society is sure to engender, the influence once enjoyed by the capitular elections, appears to have been about this period rapidly on the decline. The policy of the civil power in prolonging diocesan vacancies, and oftentimes a degree of remissness on the part of the successful candidates, contributed also to undermine the system: on all these occasions the pope, by the plenitude of his power, interfered and provided for the see. Out of thirty-two episcopal promotions which had, in the fifteenth century, taken place in Leinster alone, not less than thirty had been effected agreeably to this mode; at the same time it is worthy of remark, that ever since the contentions between the cathedrals of St. Patrick and Christ Church, the archbishops of Dublin had been almost invariably appointed by provision of the Holy See.*

While the causes already noticed had tended to diminish the independence of the dean and chapter, there were reasons of a distinct class which operated in perpetuating the system of diocesan unions. In this century, two of these unions have to

* The archbishops who presided over the metropolitan see of Dublin during the fifteenth century were :—RICHARD TALBOT, consecrated in 1417; MICHAEL TREGURY, a native of Cornwall, and chaplain to Henry VI., consecrated in 1449; JOHN WALTON, abbot of Osney, consecrated in 1472—this prelate having been blind for six years, resigned in May, 1484; WALTER FITZSIMONS, chanter of St. Patrick's, advanced to the see by provision of pope Sixtus IV. and consecrated on the 26th of September, 1484; he died at Finglass, in May, 1511, and was buried in St. Patrick's Cathedral.

be recorded, namely, that of Cork and Cloyne, which occurred in 1430, and that of Down and Connor, in 1442. The grounds, on which the UNION OF THE SEES OF CORK AND CLOYNE had been effected, were, in many respects, similar to those already contained in the bull relative to the annexation of Lismore to Waterford. A comparative estimate of the population and the poverty of the sees, were the principles on which the advocates of these unions almost invariably proceeded, while in most cases the influence of the lord deputy, and sometimes that of the king himself, had been ingeniously employed in procuring the confirmation which the canons indispensably required on these occasions. The union of the sees of Cork and Cloyne had been contemplated by Adam Pay, from the time of his promotion to the latter diocese, in the commencement of the fifteenth century: Sutton, lord deputy, had, soon after the parliamentary dissolution of 1421, openly declared himself an advocate for the measure, so that in less than twelve months it was finally decided in Rome, that on the decease of either of the present incumbents, the two sees should be canonically united. The death of Miles Fitz-John, bishop of Cork, and of Adam Pay, bishop of Cloyne, occurred in the same year; while Jordan, chancellor of Limerick, having been at the same time promoted to Cloyne, these two sees were accordingly united, under Martin V.*

THE UNION OF THE SEES OF DOWN AND CONNOR was effected under Eugene IV., in 1442. John Cely, a Benedictine, had been consecrated bishop of Down in 1413, but some charges of immorality having been advanced against him, he was deposed by the primate John Prene, in 1441, while certain documents explanatory of the whole process were at the same time transmitted to Rome.† These papers had been accompanied by a memorial from the primate, in which he recommended William Basset, also a Benedictine, to the notice of the Holy See, and expressed a hope that he might be promoted to the diocese of Down, then vacant by the deprivation of the late incumbent. In this transaction, however, the interference of the primate proved unsuccessful, the [illegible] having, at the suggestion of Henry VI., already determined on the union of that diocese with the see of Connor. In fact both Cely and John bishop of Connor, had contemplated an union of these sees for some time before the sentence of deposition had been executed against the former prelate; but they met with violent opposition from the archbishop of

* Ware's Bishop. † Prene's Registry, p. 100.

Armagh, both at Rome and in the court of England. It was on this occasion that the primate John Prene had opened a correspondence with John Stafford, bishop of Bath and Wells and at that time chancellor of England, in which he assured him, "that the union contemplated by the bishops of Down and Connor, would afford the king's Irish enemies an overwhelming power in that part of the country, and prove at length an incalculable injury to England."* The influence of the chancellor was as fruitless in the English court as that of the primate had been at Rome. Henry had already, by letters patent, approved of this union; and it was agreed that when one of the sees became vacant, the two should become permanently united. This was accordingly effected under Eugene IV., and in 1442, the two sees thus united were placed under the administration of John bishop of Connor. The primate, nevertheless, caused a preparatory citation to be served on John and also on William Stawley, prior of Down, and on the chapter, commanding them to appear before him and exhibit the canonical documents; but John having in the meantime appealed to the Apostolic See, was ultimately successful, and continued to govern the united dioceses of Down and Connor until his death, which occurred in the commencement of the year 1451.†

In presenting a detail of the several convents which derive their foundation from the fifteenth century, we shall briefly pursue the system which has been hitherto observed, and commence with the

CONVENTS OF THE DOMINICAN ORDER.

The convent of Longford was founded in the year 1400, for Dominicans, by O'Ferrall, prince of Annaly.‡ This house had been celebrated for the number of its learned men, three of whom, Connor, Diarmed, and Henry Duffe M'Fechehan, became victims to the general plague which raged throughout Ireland in 1448. During the sixteenth century, eight town-lands, situated in the county of Lonford, being parcel of the possessions, were granted for ever, in capite, to Richard Nugent; while in 1615, James I. made over the convent to Francis lord Valentia.§

The convent of Portumna, in the barony of Longford, county of Galway, belonged originally to the Cistercian monks of Dunbrody in the county of Wexford. It was afterwards consigned to O'Madden, dynast of that country, and

* Prene's Registry, p. 126. † Presid. of Armagh, in Marsh's Lib. p. 55.
‡ Hib. Dom. p. 302. § Ledge, vol. ii

granted by him to the Dominicans. In the 36th of Henry VIII., it became involved in the general confiscation.

The convent of Tombeola, in the barony Ballynahinch, county of Galway, was founded for Dominicans in 1427, by the O'Flahertys, dynasts of Eir Conaught. While the work of destruction had been making its way in the reign of Elizabeth, this beautiful convent was demolished, and even the stones of the church and the marble pavement of the sanctuary were employed in building a fortress in the neighbourhood.

The convent of Urlare, in the barony of Costello, county of Mayo, derived its foundation from the family of Nangle, in the year 1430. Urlare had been always set apart as a general novitiate for the province. An inquisition was held under James I., in 1610, when this convent, with thirty-six acres of land in the barony of Ballyhawes, was granted to lord Dillon.*

The convent of Tulsk, in the barony of Roscommon, was erected by Phelim Cleary O'Conor, in 1430. In the 33rd of Elizabeth, two quarters of land, with the tithes, were in the possession of the mayor and bailiffs of Galway.†

The convent of Burishool, in the barony of the same name, county of Mayo, was founded by Richard de Bourke, lord M'William Oughter, in 1486. At the suppression it was given to Nicholas Weston, by whom it was soon after assigned to Theobald viscount Costillogallen.‡

The convent of Clonmeaghan, in the barony of Corran, county of Sligo, was founded in 1488, by Eugene Mac-Donough; during the confiscations of Elizabeth it was granted to Richard Kindelinch.§

The convent of Galway had been originally the nunnery of St. Mary of the Hill, and was daughter to that of the Holy Trinity of the Premonstratenses of Tuam. It continued for some time in the possession of the secular clergy until pope Innocent VIII., at the request of the inhabitants, and by a bull dated the 4th of December, 1488, made a grant of it to the Dominicans. This convent has been justly celebrated for its learned professors; among whom may be noticed Peter French, author of the "Exposition of the Christian [illegible] and Dominick Lynch, who in 1671 became a distinguished [illegible] of moral and natural philosophy. The convent of Galway continued to flourish until the year 1652, when it was totally demolished by the towns-people, lest it might fall into the

* Harris' Tab. † Chief Remembrancer. ‡ Harris' Tab. § King, p. 94

hands of Cromwell and be converted into a fortress against themselves.*

The convent of Thomastown, in the barony of Gowran, county of Kilkenny, was founded about the close of the fifteenth century. The name of the founder has not, however, been ascertained. It was suppressed in the 35th of Henry VIII.

The convent of Gola, adjoining Lough-Erne, in the county of Fermanagh, had for its founder M'Manus, dynast of that territory. In the age of confiscation and ruins, under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, the convent of Gola was levelled to the ground, while its possessions were confiscated to the crown.

CONVENTS OF THE FRANCISCAN ORDER.

The convent of Kilconnell, in a barony of the same name, county of Galway, derived its foundation from the family of O'Kelly, about the year 1400. The reformation of the Observants was received in this convent in 1460. In the sixteenth century this convent was granted to Charles Calthorpe.†

The convent of Thacineling, in the county of Leitrim, was erected by William O'Reily in 1414, and in 1460 was granted to the Strict Observants.‡ During the reign of Henry VIII. it was confiscated to the crown.

The convent of Askeaton, in the barony of Conillo, county of Limerick, was founded by James, earl of Desmond, in year the 1120, for Conventual Franciscans. The Strict Observants were placed here in 1490; while in 1564, during the fury of the storm under Elizabeth, a provincial chapter was held in the convent of Askeaton.§ It was soon after suppressed, and in few years became numbered among the ruins of the country.

The convent of Irrelagh (Mucruss), in the barony of Magunihy, county of Kerry, was founded for Conventual Franciscans, by Donald M'Carty, in the year 1440; since that period, this convent has become the general cemetery of the M'Carty family. It was rebuilt by the Catholics in the beginning of the reign of James I., but owing to the intolerance of that monarch, it soon became a heap of ruins. In the 37th of Elizabeth, a grant was made of this convent, together with the abbey of Innisfallen, to Robert Colian, to hold the same for ever, by fealty, at a trifling yearly rent.‖

* Hib. Dominicana, p. 323. † Harris' Tab. ‡ Wadding. tom. vi.
§ Ware's M. MS. ‖ Aud. Gen.

The convent of Elphin, in the county of Roscommon, derived its foundation from St. Asicus, and in process of time became a parish church. It was at length, in 1450, conceded to the Conventual Franciscans. At the time of the general suppression, a grant was made of this convent to Terence O'Birne.*

The convent of Enniscorthy, in the barony of Scarewalshe, county of Wexford, was founded by Donald Cavenagh, for Franciscans of the Strict Observance, A.D. 1460. This convent continued to flourish until the 31st of Henry VIII., when an inquisition was held, and in the 37th of Elizabeth, it was granted, together with the manor of Enniscorthy, to Sir Henry Wallop, to hold by knight's service, at the annual rent of £10 16s. 4d., Irish.†

The convent of Bantry, in a barony of the same name, county of Cork, was erected for Conventual Franciscans, by Dermot O'Sullivan Beare, in 1460. In the sixteenth century, this beautiful convent became a mass of ruins.

The convent of Moyne, in the barony of Tirawley, county of Mayo, was founded for Franciscans of the Strict Observance, by M'William Bourk, A.D., 1460. Provincial chapters had been held here in the years 1464, 1498, 1512, 1541, and 1550. In the 37th of Elizabeth, a grant was made of the convent of Moyne to Edmund Barrett, to hold the same for ever, by fealty, at the annual rent of 5s.‡

The convent of New Abbey, on the river Liffey, and near Kilcullen-bridge, county of Kildare, was founded in the year 1460, by Sir Roland Eustace, for Franciscans of the Strict Observance. In 1582, a lease of this abbey was granted to Edmund Spencer at the yearly rent of £3 Irish.§

The convent of Inishircan, an island in the county of Cork, between Cape Clear and the mainland, had for its founder Florence O'Driscol, and was given to the Strict Observants in 1460. The citizens of Waterford, having in 1537 made a descent on this island, the convent, as well as the fortress and villages, fell into their hands, and were levelled to the ground.‖

The convent of Adaire, in the barony of Kenmey, county of Limerick, was founded by Thomas earl of Kildare, and Joan his wife, daughter of James earl of Desmond, A.D. 1465. This extensive and splendid convent, flourished until the 37th of Elizabeth, when it was granted, together with the possessions of the Trinitarian, Dominican, and Augustinian convents

* Harris' Ms. † Aud. Gen. ‡ Id. § Id. ‖ Smith, vol. i. p. 141.

in Adaire, to Sir Henry Wallop, for ever, in free and common soccage, at the annual rent of £26 17s. 8d.*

The convent of Athenry, in a barony of the same name, county of Galway, had for its founder Thomas earl of Kildare, in 1464. At the suppression it was confiscated to the crown.

The convent of Monaghan was founded on the site of the ancient abbey of St. Moeldod, in 1465, by Phelim Mac-Mahoune, for Conventual Franciscans. It was granted at the suppression to Edward Withe.†

The convent of Lislagutin, in the barony of Iraghticonnor, county of Kerry, was erected in 1465, by Conchovar (O'Connor), prince of Kerry, for Strict Observants. A grant was made of this convent to Sir Edward Denny.‡

The convent of Kilcrea, in the barony of Muskerry, county of Cork, was founded by Cormac M'Carthy, prince of Desmond, in the year 1465. The founder and Thomas O'Herlihy, bishop of Ross, were interred within the choir of this convent. On the accession of James I., the Catholics, confident that the storm had blown over, undertook to repair the abbey of Kilcrea. They soon, however, found themselves disappointed. James, if possible, surpassed his predecessors in intolerance; while this splendid convent became a prey to the fury of the times, and in its very ruins affords an awful but splendid exemplification of the architectural grandeur and religious spirit of ancient days. The abbey of Kilcrea was first granted to lord Muskerry but in 1650 it was taken by Cromwell, and soon after transferred to his favourite lord Broghill.§

The convent of Donegall was founded for Strict Observants in the year 1474, by Odo Roe, prince of Tyrconnell. Menelaus M'Carmacan, bishop of Raphoe, and Roderic O'Donnell were interred here in the sixteenth century. The convent of Donegall had the best selected library of any in the kingdom; but in the 35th of Henry VIII., it became a prey to the rapacity of the times. The Annals of the Four Masters had been compiled in this convent.‖

The convent of Roscrea, in the barony of Ikerrin, county of Tipperary, was founded by Mulruany O'Carrol, A.D. 1490. By an inquisition taken in 1568, it was granted to Thomas earl of Ormond.¶

The convent of Rosserelly, in the barony of Clare, county

* Aud.-Gen. † Harris' Tab. ‡ Aud.-Gen.
§ Smith, v. i. p. 210. ‖ See cent. xvii. c. iii. ¶ Harris' Tab.

of Galway, was erected by lord Granard, for Strict Observants, in 1498. A chapter was held here in 1509. At the suppression, it was consigned to the earl of Clanricard.*

The convent of Bonamargy, in the county of Antrim, was erected for Franciscans of the third order, by the family of M'Donnell, in 1498. A grant was made of it to the same family.

The convent of Dungannon, in the county of Tyrone, was erected for Franciscans of the third order by Con O'Neal, in 1499. It was conceded to the earl of Westmeath, who assigned it to sir Arthur Chichester.†

CONVENTS OF THE AUGUSTINIAN ORDER.

The convent of Boriscarra, in the county of Mayo, belonged originally to the Carmelites, but in 1412 was ceded to the Augustinians by pope John XXII. At the suppression, the property attached to this convent, and valued at 13s. 4d., was confiscated to the crown.‡

The convent of Bennada, in the barony of Leyney, county of Sligo, was founded in 1423, by means of a member of the order, named Charles. By an inquisition taken in the 11th of James I., the possessions consisting of half the quarter of Knockglasse, became merged in the general confiscation.§

The convent of Dunmore, in a barony of the same name, county of Galway, was erected by Walter de Bermingham, in the year 1425.‖ During the sixteenth century, this convent was completely levelled to the ground.

The convent of Ardnary, in the barony Tyreragh, county of Sligo, was erected about the year 1427, but the name of the founder has not been mentioned.¶ It was suppressed in the 36th of Henry VIII.

The convent of Naas, in a barony of the same name, county of Kildare, was founded in the year 1484. The name of the founder has not, however, been ascertained. By an inquisition, taken in the 26th of Elizabeth, this convent, with 120 acres of land in Goingerstown, and in the p[illegible] of N[illegible] parcel of its possessions, was granted to Nicholas Aylmer, f[illegible] a term of fifty years.**

The convent of Morisk, in the county of Mayo, owed its foundation to the O'Malleys, lords of that country, about the

* Aud.-Gen. † Ware's Mon. ‡ King, p. 196. § Id. p. 122.
‖ Calendar. ¶ Allemand. ** Aud.-Gen.

close of the fifteenth century. In the 33rd of James I., this convent, with a quarter of land adjacent thereto, was confiscated to the crown.*

The convent of Callan, in the barony of Kells, county of Kilkenny, had for its founder James earl of Ormond, about the year 1487. The last prior was William O'Fogarty. On the 13th of December, 1557, this convent, with four acres in Callan, three gardens, and three messuages, together with the abbey of Athassel, in the county of Tipperary, was granted for ever to Thomas earl of Ormond.†

CONVENTS OF THE CARMELITE ORDER.

The convent of Frankfort, in the barony of Ballyboy, King's County, was founded for Carmelites, under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin, by Odo O'Molloy, about the year 1430. This convent and its possessions were granted, at the period of suppression, to Robert Leicester.‡

The convent of Rathmullen, in the barony of Kilmacrennan, county of Donegall, was erected at the close of the fifteenth century by M'Swiney Fannagh, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.§ During the confiscations of Elizabeth, this convent had been completely demolished.

The convent of Castle Lyons, in the county of Cork, was founded by the family of Barry.‖ It continued until the 11th of Elizabeth, about which time it became numbered among the ruins of the country.

The convent of Cork dated its origin from the fifteenth century; but the name of the founder as well as the records of its suppression have perished.¶

The convent of Galway owed its foundation to the family of De Burgo. The Carmelites unintimidated by the terrors that surrounded them, continued after its suppression to impart the blessings of religion to the faithful in this district; in 1648, they officiated in their chapel at Galway, and were among the number of those who had appealed to the pope against the censures by which the country had, at that time, been so unhappily distracted.**

* Ch. Rem. † Aud.-Gen. ‡ Harris' Tab. § Ware's Mon.
‖ Hib. Dom. p. 292. ¶ Id. p. 752. ** Id. p. 684, 752; see cent. xvii. c. i.

CHAPTER III.

Religious and Literary Characters of the Fifteenth Century—General Observations.

Augustin M'Graidan, a learned Augustinian canon of the abbey of Lough Rie, in the county of Longford, has been ranked by our annalists among the early writers of the fifteenth century. They have not, however, been enabled to leave on record any circumstantial account of him, or indeed of his writings,—an omission which may, with great probability, be attributed to the unsparing ravages committed in this literary retreat at different periods, and particularly at the close of the sixteenth century. The only works of his that now remain are his Lives of the Saints of Ireland, and a chronicle which he continued to his own time.* This latter work had been brought down to a later period by another hand; a portion of which, in manuscript, was in the possession of Ware, and is preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford. Augustin M'Graidan, died in November, 1405, and was interred in the above-mentioned abbey.

Patrick Barret, an Augustinian canon of the abbey of Kells, in the county of Kilkenny, flourished in the commencement of the fifteenth century. He repaired to Rome about the year 1400, at which time he was, by the pope's provision, advanced to the vacant see of Ferns, and soon after returned to Ireland, when he was immediately put in possession of the temporalities. During his incumbency, the church of Ardcolm had been appropriated to the abbey of SS. Peter and Paul at Selskar. The amiable disposition of this prelate, as well as his learning, had served to render him exceedingly popular. In 1410, he undertook, though with great reluctance, the office of chancellor, at that time vacant by the resignation of archbishop Cranely, which situation he filled for three years with great applause. He has written a catalogue of his predecessors in the see of Ferns, and died the 10th of April, 1415.†

Philip Norris, a secular priest, repaired at an early age to the university of Oxford, where he was educated and

* Ware's Writers. † Id. p. 62.

honoured with the degree of doctor of divinity. Having returned to his native country about the year 1427, he withdrew to the county of Louth, and was promoted to the vicarage of Dundalk, by its patron John Blakeny. Anxious to advance himself still more in the pursuit of literature, he at length made application to the primate, John Swain, who allowed him to retire to the continent, on condition that he should return to his vicarage within seven years, and in the meantime provide for his church, by placing it under the administration of a vigilant curate. Philip, however, had not returned to his parish within the time specified by the archbishop, on which account he was, in 1435, distrained in two parts of his vicarage upon the statute of absentees.* A considerable part of his time had been spent in England, where Philip Norris had acquired a new degree of notoriety, by the unbecoming invectives which, on several public occasions, he had thought proper to pour out against the religious state, and especially against the mendicant orders. At length a remonstrance was presented, on the part of the Dominicans, to pope Eugene IV., which was immediately replied to by a rescript, directed to the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, ordering them to have the pastor Philip cited before them, in consequence of his uncanonical conduct. The idea of a man intruding himself on the notice of the public, by becoming the vilifier of religious communities, while at the same time he had been practically abandoning his own flock, was alone sufficient to create a general sentiment of indignation against him. Philip accordingly made a most prompt and humble submission; he received forgiveness at the hands of his superiors, and was allowed to return to his parish. Not many years after, Philip Norris obtained the prebendary of Yaygoston, in St. Patrick's Church, Dublin, and at length became dean of that cathedral, where he died, A.D. 1487. He has written† "Declarationes quasdam," lib. i.; "Lecturas Scripturarum," lib. i.; "Sermones ad Populum," lib. i.; "Contra Mendicitatem Validam," lib. i.

Malachy O'Lachnan, a learned secular priest of the diocese of Killaloe, contributed, about the close of this century, to diffuse a spirit of religious fervour among the faithful, by variety of productions both in prose and verse. The history of this invaluable writer, like that of many of his contemporaries, has perished; while the annals of those times have merely recorded the year of his death, 1489, and a work of

* Regis. Swain, tom. i. p. 631. † Bale, cent. xiv. no. 99.

his, entitled "Antiquum Missale," containing a collection of prayers and lessons out of the sacred Scriptures.*

CHARLES MAGUIRE, the celebrated author of the Annals of Ulster, flourished at the close of the fifteenth century. He was a native of the county of Fermanagh, a canon of the church of Armagh, and dean of Clogher. This learned ecclesiastic ranked among the most distinguished of his day, as an antiquarian, a philosopher, and a divine, and has written "Annales Hiberniæ usque ad sua tempora." These annals are sometimes termed *Annales Senatenses*, from a place called Senat-Mac-Magnus, where they had been compiled;† they are, however, more generally known by the title *Annales Ultonienses*, or the Annals of Ulster, because in them are chiefly recorded all the most interesting events that have occurred in that province. They commence at the year of Christ 444, and come down to the death of the author, 1495. These annals were revised by Roderick Cassady and continued to the year 1541. Charles Maguire has likewise written a work entitled, "Ængusius Auctus," or the martyrology of Ængus enlarged;‡ in which he inserts the biography of those saints omitted by Ængus, and draws his information from the writings of Marian Gorman and other martyrologists. He was also the author of certain Scholia or Annotations on the Registry of Clogher. This learned writer, to whom the Irish nation is so deeply indebted, continued his laborious researches until the period of his death, which occurred on the 23rd of March, A.D. 1495.

During the fifteenth century, the events of the nation, both ecclesiastical and civil, appear to have directed their course through the same continued channel, and much in the same fashion as in the age which had already passed by: governors, chancellors, and justices, succeeded each other with a rapidity even unprecedented; enactments were passed which could have no other effect than to exasperate the already-outraged feelings of the native Irish without the pale; while the rulers of the day, afraid to venture beyond the borders, and still anxious to raise their fortune on the ruins of the country, were obliged to have recourse to the lowest shifts of fraud and very often to a monopoly of the estate belonging, by right immemorial, to the altar and the sanctuary. The usual scheme of keeping many of the rich sees vacant for a series of years, although an obsolete one, was as fondly cherished as ever; and while the poverty of the exchequer had been deplored in times

* Harris's Writers. † A.A. SS. c. xiii.; O'Flaherty's Ogygia. ‡ A.A.SS. c. v.

deep and eleemosynary, the property belonging to the Church was sure to be diverted from its proper source, and turned into a different channel.

Another feature peculiarly characteristic of the fifteenth century, appears to have arisen out of the use which had, at this period, been made of the ecclesiastical authority. The censures of the Church have been often employed, and were found a most effectual remedy for the suppression of crime, when all other means became ineffectual; but the conversion of this spiritual power into a state instrument, was looked upon at this period as a grievance loudly and universally deprecated. We have seen, that by a statute of the Irish parliament under Edward IV., the prelates of the kingdom had been obliged, under the penalty of one hundred pounds, to pronounce sentence of excommunication on such of the king's subjects as the authorities should think proper to denounce disaffected; nor had the indenture of an Irishman, or his subjection to the government been ratified, but on the express condition of his readiness to submit to such censures. In times like these, when a reclamation against palpable abuses had been construed into an indisputable mark of disaffection, this statute could have no other effect than to render desperate the already fermented state of the public mind; it was in the power of the civil officer to put his own construction on the act of the subject; and were he maliciously inclined, he might at once create a collision between the clergy and the people, alike injurious to religion and society. By the wisdom and temperance of the prelates these evils were, however, averted. At length this enactment, odious in itself, and detested by all, became a dead letter, and the maxim was now more generally acknowledged, that justice dispensed with an impartial hand, is the only steady and permanent basis on which the fidelity of a people and the tranquillity of an empire can securely rest.

Between the prevalence of disease and the awful pressure of the times, the spirit of the nation was, at the close of the fifteenth century, considerably broken down. During all these severe visitations, the convent and the monastery were so many asylums, within whose friendly gates, the victim of disease as well as the child of poverty, found shelter and relief. Among these establishments a considerable number had, by the very nature of their institute, and by the express provision of the founders, been public hospitals and national alms-houses; property to an immense amount had been left in trust to them, while the dispensers of these alms, influenced

by religion, devoted their lives to the noble task of alleviating the wants and soothing the sorrows of their fellow-creatures. The origin and nature of this religious property, consecrated, as it had been, to the service of the poor, have been already sufficiently explained: the unfeeling manner in which it had been torn from them, shall be faithfully developed in the history of the subsequent chapters.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Schism under Henry VIII.—Its introduction into Ireland—George Brown attempts to establish the Supremacy of Henry VIII.—Has recourse to legislative enactments—Sacrilegious Conduct of the Schismatics—Heretical Doctrines promulgated under Edward VI.—George Dowdall, archbishop of Armagh—History of Staples and Bale—Public discussion in St. Mary's Abbey—Account of Travers, Lancaster, and Casey—Restoration of the ancient faith under Mary—Elizabeth queen of England—Protestantism enforced by law—Its insignificant progress in Ireland—Persecution of the Irish Church—Defection of Miler Magrath and of Hugh Curwin—History of the Catholic bishops and priests who suffered under Elizabeth—Irish Colleges on the Continent—Awful state of the Church of Ireland at the close of the sixteenth century.

From the moment in which the English had formed the design of invading Ireland, religion was the grand pretext on which the justification of all their proceedings was supposed to have been grounded. When Henry II. had, through the agency of John of Salisbury, applied for the bull of Adrian IV., a reformation of morals was the object contemplated.* In like manner, when the brief of Alexander III. had been put into the hands of the same monarch, religion was again introduced, and "the rude and disordered Church of Ireland was to have been placed on the principles of rigorous and reformed discipline." How all these noble objects had been accomplished—how religion, education and humanity had been advanced by those adventurers, from the moment in which they first landed in Ireland down to the present period, both the civil and ecclesiastical records of the country bear a melancholy and an awful testimony. The events of the sixteenth century will form a new act in this historical tragedy; and although the characters be different, and the scenery altered, yet the frame-work, the machinery is the same; and the sacred name of religion is still employed as the pivot upon which the design and execution of the whole plot are to be kept together and supported.

Henry VIII. succeeded his father on the throne of England

* See cent. xii. c. 1.

in 1509. If contemporary writers may be credited, this young prince, then in his nineteenth year, had been highly gifted with many natural endowments, both of mind and body. These blessings, however, were soon abused; while experience shows that such characters, when once abandoned to the fury of their passions, generally become the most desperate of profligates. Shortly before his accession to the throne, and in compliance with his father's request, Henry married, by particular dispensation, Catherine, princess of Arragon, the betrothed wife of his brother Arthur. From the desperate means resorted to by Henry for the purpose of invalidating this marriage, and his illicit attachment to Anne Boleyn, a door was opened to schism, plunder, and profanation, throughout the English dominions, about seventeen years afterwards.

Meanwhile, the fifth general council of Lateran had been summoned in 1512, and on the part of the Irish Church, there attended at it Mauritius de Portu, archbishop of Tuam, together with Thomas Halsay, bishop of Leighlin.* About the same period, two provincial synods had been held in Dublin;† and in 1523, a national synod was convened at Galway.‡ It is to be regretted that the decrees of this last synod have not been handed down to us. Some writers have been led to conjecture that the doctrines of Luther, which had at the time been gaining ground over the continent, might have formed one of the principal causes for thus convening the prelates of the Irish nation, and that measures had been taken to prevent the contagion of heresy and schism from getting any access to the faithful in this country: it is, however, far more probable, that morals and local discipline were the only subjects which had, on this occasion, been brought under discussion.

It is unnecessary to occupy any space in this chapter, by entering into a detail of the origin and nature of those innovations which Martin Luther had, at this time, been preaching up, in defiance of the Catholic Church, with which Christ had promised to abide for ever, and in manifest contradiction to all that was great or grand in antiquity—to the learning, the wisdom, and the sanctity of ages. Like every other heresy that sprung up in the Church, that of Luther may be readily traced to its proper source. There never yet appeared a heresy or a schism in the Christian world, that did not take its rise either from disappointed ambition, or revenge, or lust; or,

* See chap. iii. and Binius' Conc. 9 tom. † See chap. ii.
‡ Ware's Bishops, p. 6.

more properly speaking, from the three put together. When Luther's noxious tenets had been making their way through Germany, among the many publications which appeared, that in defence of the seven sacraments may be noticed, and of which Henry VIII. had been at least the reputed author. It was dedicated to pope Leo, on which occasion Henry obtained from that pontiff the distinguished title of *Defender of the Faith*—a title still retained by his successors on the throne of England.

Henry had now lived upwards of seventeen years with his lawful wife Catherine, when all the symptoms of his real natural character began to show themselves. He suffered himself to become the victim of one of those passions already mentioned, and thus the orthodoxy of Henry in England, as well as the faith of Luther in Germany, were both wrecked and perished alike on the same rock.

The divorce, which the king had so anxiously sought for, could not be obtained, while Wolsey, his principal agent, after having at first acted the part of a time-serving sycophant, fell at length under the king's displeasure, and died in disgrace. However, in 1534, Henry found a willing and a ready instrument in Cranmer, who had been that very year promoted to the see of Canterbury: the marriage ceremony was privately performed between the king and Anne Boleyn, while Cranmer pronounced the former marriage with Catherine to be null and void from the beginning. To complete the iniquity of this proceeding, the instrumentality of the legislature was employed; as if human laws could possibly loosen that which was already bound in heaven. In the parliament which met on the following January, the act of Cranmer was confirmed, and at the same time Henry was declared the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England. In this manner did the schism commence; on the following year an act was passed for the suppression of religious houses; and the confiscation of ecclesiastical property became general over England.

Henry's next object was to devise means by which his newly-assumed title might be recognized in Ireland. For this purpose he consulted the notorious Cromwell, who, from being a menial in Wolsey's kitchen, had become chancellor of England, and under the new supremacy was constituted vicar-general, both in spirituals and temporals. Cromwell, already Lutheran at heart, readily entered into the views of his master; experience had made him acquainted with the ruling passions of the monarch, while the spoils which he now anticipated from the wealthy and extensive monasteries of

Ireland, presented means ample enough for their most extravagant and uncontrolled gratification.

The see of Dublin having, at that time, been vacant, Cromwell's first object was to select a fit instrument by which both the English schism and the tenets of Lutheranism might, with the more effect, be circulated from the metropolis. George Brown, an Augustinian, and at that time provincial of that order in England, was the person whom Cromwell considered best adapted for the accomplishment of his designs.* Brown had been previously a rank Lutheran, and under the mask of a grave and religious deportment, lay concealed a heart and mind fitted for the most desperate enterprize. He was accordingly consecrated in London by Cranmer, and immediately after sailed for Dublin, accompanied by certain commissioners, whom the king had appointed as assistants in preaching up the doctrine of lay-supremacy to the people of Ireland. Before their departure from London, they underwent the necessary course of instructions: the nobility were to be overawed by threats; splendid promises and high prospects were to be held out to the ecclesiastical body; while bribery, on the one hand, and the king's displeasure on the other, were to be alternately employed according as the subject might seem to require. Thus furnished, they set out for Dublin, confident that the clergy, nobility, and people of Ireland, would at once cheerfully enter into their measures. On their arrival in that city they soon learned, to their disappointment, that the task was not so easy as they had been led to imagine. Some of the prelates, and as many of the nobility as could conveniently attend, having been summoned to the castle, Brown undertook to open his commission, and gravely called on them to subscribe to the strange and astounding doctrine of the spiritual supremacy of Henry king of England. The announcement of such a proposition was heard by all present with astonishment, while the primate, George Cromer, instantly rose from his seat, and openly protested against it as an innovation: the same day he issued letters to all his suffragans; likewise to the clergy of his province, and summoned them before him. The daring attempt of raising a schism in Ireland, and [illegible] profane conduct of the archbishop of Dublin, [illegible] by the primate to his clergy; he called on them to gather around and support the religion of their fathers, and in the meantime, emissaries were despatched to Rome, for the [illegible] of acquainting the sovereign pontiff with the nature of the

* Rymer, tom. iv. p. 560.

schism by which the Church of Ireland was now, for the first time, so formidably threatened.

The excitement which had, by this time, been created among all ranks, both in and out of the pale, became alarming. The descendants of the ancient Irish looked upon death as preferable to an abandonment of the creed of their ancestors; while the English inhabitants of the pale manfully resisted the schism and clung faithfully to the apostolic chair. Brown, thus disappointed, would have fled from Ireland at the time, but he dreaded the resentment of Henry: he trembled at the prospect of the scaffold which, doubtless, would have been prepared for him had he ventured to return to England. In the meantime he addressed a letter to Cromwell, acquainting him with the forlorn prospect of his affairs; he assures him, that the king's commission had been treated with contempt; that he and his vicegerentship became the subject of public scorn; that so steadfast were the Irish people in clinging to the ancient faith, that they might be said to equal, if not to excel, the heroism of the primitive martyrs; and, in short, that nothing less than the authority of parliament and the enforcement of rigorous laws, could extort from them even a partial acknowledgment of the king's claim to the title of supremacy.

Agreeably to these instructions, the deputy, lord Grey, received orders to summon a parliament, which accordingly met at Dublin, on the 1st of May, 1536. In this servile assembly, which served as a sort of after-piece to the conventicle held already at Westminster, Henry VIII. was declared the sole and supreme head on earth of the Church of Ireland; all appeals to the court of Rome, in spiritual causes, were prohibited, while any subject who should, in future, attempt to maintain the supremacy of the Apostolic See, was to be apprehended and rendered subject to a præmunire.* Thus, through means of a corrupt parliament and the terrors of a tyrant, did schism for the first time get a footing in this country.

These enactments would, however, have been of little avail in advancing the object of Brown's mission, had they not been aided by some more powerful considerations. The state authority with which, in those times, ecclesiastical dignitaries had been not unfrequently invested, and above all, the princely revenues attached to some of the sees were, to the needy, a perpetual source of temptation, against which human nature, when left to its own resources, would find it a difficult task

* Vide Statutes 28th Henry VIII.

to contend. It is to causes such as these that we must trace the defection of Eugene Magennis, bishop of Down and Connor, whose example was immediately adopted by Roland Burke, bishop of Clonfert, Florence Gerawan, bishop of Clonmacnois, Matthew Saunders, bishop of Leighlin, and Hugh O'Cervallan, bishop of Clogher.* These prelates, although invested with the administration of the respective sees, had not as yet been placed in possession of the temporalities; they swore fealty to Henry in the year 1541, and thereby received the wages of their sinful servility. Among the second order of the clergy, there had been a few who, from similar motives, scrupled not to compromise their religious principles, by detaching themselves from the unity of the Catholic Church. Dominick Tirrey, rector of the church of Shandon, in the city of Cork, was advanced to that see by Henry VIII., and held possession of the temporalities until his death, although Lewis Macnamara had been promoted thereto, by provision of pope Paul III.† William Miagh had, in like manner, been placed over the see of Kildare, and became a member of the privy council; while Alexander Devereux, abbot of Dunbrody, after having made a surrender of that splendid establishment, and subscribed to the new supremacy, was immediately elevated to the see of Ferns. Before, however, this act had been put into execution, he had taken care to provide, in a manner the most ample, for the future comforts of his own family. Having appropriated a considerable portion of the possessions of the abbey, he bestowed on Stephen Devereux the estate of Rattlestown, with all the lands extending from the moor of Clonard to Bishop's Lands, and to the mearings of Ballymathy. He continued in the see until 1566, during which year he died at Rethard, a village in the county of Wexford, where he was interred in the chancel of the parish church.

The great moving passion which had hitherto worked the schism through all its stages, soon began to make its appearance: the spirit of avarice was to be appeased by plunder: and accordingly, an act was passed for the suppression of religious houses. In this manner did the work of destruction commence while Brown, with his associates, was among the first to pull down the cross from the altar, and revel amidst the profanation of the sacred vessels of the sanctuary. Gray, the deputy, had now that opportunity in his hands which he had long wished for in his heart. For years was he compelled to throw

* Liber Munerum Publicorum Hib. v. ii. p. 17 et seq. † Ware's Bishops

himself on the remnants of a shattered fortune; but the means which he now enjoyed of repairing it, were more than sufficient to silence those occasional whisperings of conscience which might, perchance, still linger in his breast. While the schismatics in Dublin had been enriching themselves with the spoils of the sanctuary in that city, the lord deputy was actively engaged in plundering the churches of Ulster. The splendid and venerable cathedral of Down was first gutted, and afterwards burned to the ground by this incendiary; at the same time the tombs and relics of Sts. Patrick, Brigid, and Columbkille, were demolished, and the ashes scattered with the winds of heaven. The image of the Blessed Virgin was torn from the high altar of the abbey of Trim, and profaned in the public market: the relics of the martyrs, after having been turned into mockery, were cast on the streets and thrown out on the high-ways; while the image of Christ crucified was brought from the abbey of Ballibogan, and the crozier of St. Patrick from Christ Church, and were both indignantly committed to the flames.* But the confiscation of the property belonging to the religious houses was that on which the plunderers had been most particularly intent. Among the abbeys which had been at this time suppressed, the most celebrated were those of Mellifont, in the county of Louth; Jerpoint and Graignemanagh, in the county of Kilkenny; Baltinglass, in the county of Wicklow; Dunbrody, Tintern, and Ferns, in the county of Wexford; Tracton, in the county of Cork; Abbington, in the county of Limerick; Monasterevan, in Offaly; and Trim, Duleek, and Beetiff, in the county of Meath. Among the priories may be mentioned, those of St. John of Jerusalem (Kilmainham); the Holy Trinity (Christ Church), Dublin; Conal and St. Wolstan's, in the county of Kildare; Kenlis, in Ossory; St. Patrick's, in Down; All Saints, near Dublin; Athassell, in the county of Tipperary, and the priory of the Blessed Virgin, in the town of Louth.† In the parliament held under St. Leger in 1541, an act was passed, granting the full and free disposal of all the abbeys and priories to the king, who, as Ware remarks, soon after disposed of their possessions to his nobles, courtiers, and others, reserving to himself certain revenues or annual rents:‡ by another act of this parliament Henry was, for the first time, solemnly proclaimed king of Ireland.

The multiplied indignities thus outrageously heaped upon the Irish people—the attempt to wrest from them the sacred

* Register Eccl.; Ware's Annals of Henry VIII. p. 99. † See chap.
‡ Ware's Annals, p. 105.

deposit handed down by their fathers—the sacrilegious insults offered to their altars, and the public plunder of their churches and religious establishments, had so powerfully worked on their national and religious feelings, that in a short time the whole nation rose up in arms. The Catholics of the north were led on by O'Neil; O'Brien of Thomond had the command of the army in the south.* Owing, however, to that unfortunate spirit of rivalship and division, which has at all times been the bane and curse of Ireland, these leaders began to despair of being able to make head against the common enemy, and submission to the English power was the consequence. Henry, however, was too artful not to learn a lesson from the experience of the past. He was well aware that conciliation and kindness, although forced and affected, were more formidable engines in winning over the hearts of the Irishmen, than all the terrors arising from the dungeon or the scaffold. Accordingly, he invited almost all the Irish chieftains to repair to his court; received them with gracious favour; conferred on them honours and dignities, and sent them back with every assurance of his royal confidence, and loaded with gifts and presents.

While Henry VIII. and his courtiers had been thus rioting amidst the profanation of the Church, Brown and his partizans were determined on raising the whole fabric of Luther's heretical doctrines on the foundation of the schism which had been already laid. Their intentions had at first been artfully disguised, and the whole plot, not having emanated from the royal fountain, was obliged to be conducted with great craft and secrecy. In fact Henry VIII. with all his impiety, never attempted to espouse the heresy of Luther: all he wanted was money, and the unbridled gratification of his infamous passions. These made up his religion, his heaven, and his God; and he enjoyed them all by the schism which he caused, and by the plunder of the monastic establishments. Henry, then, was a schismatic; but there is no proof that he was ever a heretic. As soon as he discovered that heresy had found its way into his dominions, he became, it is said, most indignant; but he little expected that Cromwell, his vicar-general, and Brown, his favourite, should become the most active agents in giving circulation to such tenets. At all events, Henry summoned the parliament in 1539, and caused an act to be passed, usually termed the six articles, by which it was made criminal to deny the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament—the adminis-

* Holinshead, p. 190.; Stanihurst.

tration of the Eucharist under one kind—the celibacy of the clergy—the obligation of vows of chastity—private Mass, and auricular confession. The king gave his sanction to these articles, and death was to be the punishment of those who should oppose them obstinately, or severe imprisonment, according to his majesty's pleasure.

The primate George Cromer, after an incumbency embittered by continued troubles, died in 1542. Upon his death, Henry, through the influence of the deputy St. Leger, had George Dowdall, vicar-general to the late primate, appointed to the vacant see;* while at the same time the learned Robert Waucop, though blind from his infancy, was consecrated archbishop of Armagh by pope Paul III.† This prelate was a native of Ireland, became a doctor of divinity at Paris, was afterwards appointed legate *a latere* from the pope to Germany, and was present at the council of Trent from the first session in 1545 to the eleventh in 1547. By the exertions of this extraordinary man, the Jesuits had, in 1541, been introduced into Ireland. John Coulur was the first of the society who had settled in this country; Alphonso Salmeron, Paschale Broet, and Francis Zapata arrived soon after. The archbishop Waucop never returned to his see; he was employed in the management of several important commissions on the continent until 1551, in which year he died at Paris, and was interred in the convent of the Jesuits in that city.‡

In the year 1546, Henry VIII. was drawing near his end; during his unfortunate career on this earth, he was a living sink of lust, and a wretched victim to the vilest passions. He lived a tyrant, hated and dreaded by all; and he died as he lived, on the 28th of January, 1547. He had six wives: two of whom were repudiated; two beheaded; one died in childbed, and the last would have ended her days on a scaffold, had Providence permitted the monster to continue much longer on earth.

The council of Trent had been holding its sessions since the year 1545, and although religion and the state of society had been at that period frightfully convulsed in Ireland, there had been in attendance at the council Thomas O'Herlihy, bishop of Ross, Donagh Mac-Conrad, bishop of [illegible], Eugene O'Hart, bishop of Achonry.§

Henry VIII. was succeeded on the throne of England by his son Edward, then in the tenth year of his age. The duke

* See chap. ii.
† Hist. Cath. t. ii.; Ware's Annals.
‡ O'Sullivan, p. 79.
§ Ware's Bishops.

of Somerset, the young king's maternal uncle, assumed the title of protector, and for a time continued to govern the kingdom with even more despotic sway than had ever marked the career of Henry himself. Somerset was a rank Lutheran: he had already caused the tenets of Protestantism to be enforced in England; the book of common prayer had been compiled by his directions, and his reformation, as it is called, was, by the terrors of the prison and the gibbet, making rapid strides over that country. Having thus far succeeded, he judged it now time to make the experiment on Ireland. It was first intended to summon the parliament and commence by penal statutes. This scheme having been, however, for the present abandoned, a proclamation was issued, enjoining the performance of the new liturgy of the English Church in all places of worship, with orders that all bishops and parish priests throughout the kingdom should, at the same time, yield their assent and conform to the royal mandate.*

That the schism of Henry would at length break out into open heresy was indeed expected. The prelates and clergy of Ireland foresaw that the surrender of their faith would, at some time, be demanded from them; they were, accordingly, prepared to submit to any sacrifice sooner than renounce the creed of their fathers. Among the foremost in opposing the innovation was George Dowdall, primate of Armagh: Brown of Dublin espoused the cause of the innovators, and on the following Easter Sunday, A.D. 1551, he caused the new liturgy to be, for the first time, read in the cathedral of Christ's Church, in his own presence, that of the deputy, and a few of the magistrates.

The deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger, not finding the prelates so submissive to the orders of the proclamation as had been expected, caused writs to be formally directed to all the archbishops and bishops of the kingdom, in pursuance of which they were summoned to appear before him in Dublin. The meeting took place in the council chamber; but no sooner had the deputy concluded with reading the proclamation, than the primate, George Dowdall, arose, and openly protested against the whole scheme as a daring innovation. The primate forthwith retired from the room, while the entire body of clergy who were present departed along with him, except the unhappy Brown, Staples, bishop of Meath, and John Bale, an itinerant Carmelite, who was soon after thrust into the see of Ossory as the price of his apostacy.

Staples was a native of Lincolnshire, and held for some time a situation in the hospital of St. Bartholomew, in London. During the schism, in Henry's reign, his orthodoxy became the subject of just suspicion, while by his immoral conduct, he is said to have forfeited almost every mark of respect from his flock.* On the other hand, Bale was well known to be one of those dangerous, rambling adventurers who, in times like the period of which we are treating, hawk about their conscience from one mart to another, ever ready to tender it to the highest and best bidder. He was born in the county of Suffolk, but became a Carmelite at Norwich.† Taking advantage of the general confusion which had prevailed, Bale fled from his convent, and set out by preaching sedition first in York and afterwards in London, for which he was cast into prison. Here he would have remained, had he not abandoned his faith: Bale became an apostate; made application to Cromwell, and was set at liberty. Not meeting with much encouragement in England, he made his way into Germany; but that country having been already overstocked with too much merchandize of the same description, he took his leave of the *reformers* there and set sail for Ireland. Soon after the meeting already mentioned, Bale was consecrated by George Brown, and placed in the see of Ossory. The infamous conduct of this intruder, during the few months which he spent in Kilkenny, was not to be tolerated by the Catholic inhabitants of that city; for while he was in the act of reviling their religion, and of making a jest of their faith, he was assailed by the populace; five of his domestics were slain, and he himself narrowly escaped. Bale enjoyed his ill-gotten dignity but six months, when Mary ascended the throne. Dreading that vengeance would at length overtake him, and feeling no burning desire for enjoying the palm of martyrdom, he suddenly disappeared, and took refuge in Switzerland. John Bale never returned to Ossory; during the reign of Elizabeth he came back, it is said, to England, where he spent the remainder of his days in comparative obscurity, and died about the year 1563.‡

Brown, Staples, and Bale may serve as excellent samples of the other reformers of the sixteenth century. These are the sort of characters that came over to this country [illegible] to turn into scorn that ancient and venerable faith, by the belief and practice of which, in the days of our sainted forefathers, the name of Ireland was extolled over Europe. The

* Rymer, tom. xv. p. 206. † Scriptores Britan. cent. viii
‡ Rymer, tom. xv. p. 563.

Cyprians, the Jeromes, and the Augustines of former days are to sink in the shade—the fathers of antiquity were all in the dark—the whole Christian world was one melancholy chaos, over which the gloom and horrors of night had been hovering for fifteen hundred years, until, at length, the divorce of Henry VIII., Luther's disappointment, and the rich plunder of the altar and sanctuary, raised up such men as George Brown and John Bale, and the moment they appeared, all was brightness, forsooth, and the world was again enlightened! Their qualifications as theologians, and their admirable method of reasoning, are elegantly of a piece with the rest of their character. When at the meeting convened in the council chamber, the primate with his prelates had quitted the assembly, and Brown had taken the proclamation in his hands, he stood up and addressed these words to the few individuals who had still remained in the room: "This order, good brethren, is from our gracious king and from the rest of our brethren in England, unto whom I submit, as did Christ to Cæsar, in all things just and lawful, making no question, why or wherefore; as we own him our true and lawful king."* The excellence of this reasoning can be equalled only by the consistency which must at once appear between the obedient language of this brief address, and the principle of individual judgment, of which these dogmatisers had made so great a boast. The archbishop Brown will put no question—not even why or wherefore; and yet will he tell his followers: Take the Scripture—ask why and wherefore—acknowledge no tribunal, and be your own judge of controversy.

The public disputation which, at the special desire of the viceroy, had taken place soon after in St. Mary's Abbey, in the presence of the clergy and a vast concourse of people, had nearly contributed to give the fatal blow to Protestantism in Ireland.† The doctrines of the Catholic Church were powerfully defended by the primate; while Staples of Meath appeared as the advocate of the heterodox party. The Catholics in triumph claimed the honour of victory; but wealth and titles were advantages which exclusively belonged to the state party, and rendered them as obstinate in their movements as ever. After this signal defeat, it was apprehended that an attempt would have been made on the life of archbishop Dowdall; at all events, the king and council of England deprived him of the title of primate, which was conferred on the see of Dublin, and he was soon after obliged to withdraw

* Ware's Life of Brown, p. 156. † MS. Lawrence

to the continent. An Englishman, named Goodacre, was substituted in his place, and on the following February was consecrated by Brown, in the cathedral of Christ Church.

Bribes, threats, and promises, were now held out in great abundance; stations of trust and honour were presented to the laity; promotions, wealth, and pleasure, were placed before the eyes of the clergy. To the honour of the Irish priesthood be it stated, all these alluring temptations to recreancy had been spurned and treated with contempt. Out of the whole episcopal body, as it stood in the beginning of the reign of Edward VI., not one could be induced to abandon the religion of his fathers, except Staples, bishop of Meath, together with Magenis of Down, and Burke of Clonfert, both of whom, under the influence of their avaricious propensities, had long since subscribed to the schismatical law-doctrines of Henry VIII. Besides Bale, of whom mention has been already made, there were some few priests weak and wicked enough to follow his example; and these, immediately after their apostacy, were recompensed with mitres, riches, and pleasures, in exchange for their faith. The number of these ecclesiastics was not, indeed, considerable—three only are mentioned in any of our authentic annals; namely, Robert Travers, Thomas Lancaster, and William Casey. Travers was consecrated bishop of Leighlin in 1550, and became the first Protestant bishop of that ancient see. Ware represents him as a cruel and covetous man, and an oppressor of the clergy: the same writer refers to the testimony of Thadeus Dowling, chancellor of Leighlin, as his authority.* Lancaster was consecrated during the same year by Brown, and placed in the see of Kildare. The revenues of that diocese not having been considered sufficiently ample to meet the various demands of his extravagance, the deanery of Kilkenny was annexed as a supplement to it. Lancaster and Travers were, however, obliged to retire in the reign of queen Mary; they were both deposed by George Dowdall, archbishop of Armagh. The third individual, William Casey, was consecrated likewise by Brown in 1551, and was immediately after promoted to the bishopric of Limerick.† As soon as Mary began to remove intruders out of the Church, Casey, like his companion, John Bale of Ossory, judged it more prudent to retreat from the conflict; he accordingly retired in company with his wife to some part of the continent.

During the reign of Edward VI., notwithstanding the various means that had been resorted to, the cause of Protes-

* Ware's Bishops, p. 44. † Id.; Lib. Mun. Public.

tantism made very little progress in Ireland. The English inhabitants of the pale, as well as the native Irish, openly denounced it as an innovation; and wherever its doctrines had been circulated, treachery, turbulence, and ruin were but a few of the many evils which inseparably followed in its train.* Edward, however, continued to reign but six years, five months, and twenty-two days; and Mary ascended the throne on the 6th of July, 1553.

The restoration of the ancient religion of the country, the return of the primate, and the removal of immoral ecclesiastics, are the principal events that characterize the reign of this princess. At the time of Edward's death, and during the administration of Croffts, the state of Catholicity in Ireland was deplorable. The clergy, in many places, were obliged to retire and conceal themselves from the fury of their pursuers; churches and places of worship were closed, the celebration of the divine mysteries was suspended, and religion appeared to have been threatened with all the horrors of sanguinary persecution. Providence, however, interfered, and on Mary's accession to the throne, the clergy were again placed over their flocks, while the friends of order and of morality began to congratulate each other on the anticipated downfall of novelty, and on the happy restoration of ecclesiastical discipline and ancient truth. The return of George Dowdall to the archiepiscopal see of Armagh, in 1553, gave reality to these expectations. No sooner had this excellent prelate been replaced in his see, than he commenced the real work of religious reform. For this purpose he convened a national synod in St. Peter's Church at Drogheda, at which almost all the Catholic bishops of the kingdom attended. "In it," says Ware, "several decrees were made for reviving the rites that had been formerly practised in the Church, and some decrees were also passed against ecclesiastical debauchees." On the following April, 1554, the primate, together with William Walsh, doctor of divinity, and afterwards bishop of Meath, received a royal commission, investing them with authority to proceed against immoral ecclesiastics, and to depose those prelates who, by their recreancy, had done such mischief to the fold of Christ. Accordingly, on the 29th of June, Edward Staples, bishop of Meath, was removed from his see. Brown, archbishop of Dublin, was punished in the same manner, and immediately after, Lancaster of Kildare, and Travers of Leighlin, were likewise deposed.†

* O'Sullivan, p. 120, et seq. † Ware's Annals; Jac. Pa[illegible]

The archiepiscopal see of Dublin having now become vacant by the removal of George Brown, Hugh Curwin, a native of Westmorelandshire, archdeacon of Oxford, and chaplain to the queen, was appointed to succeed him, and was consecrated in St. Paul's Church, London, in September, 1555. On his departure for Ireland, he was furnished with a letter from her majesty to the dean and chapter of Christ Church,* which mark of royal condescension, the archbishop Curwin afterwards very badly repaid. During the reign of Mary he appeared a firm supporter of Catholicity, but when that princess was no more, and that Protestantism had, in all its terrors, been revived under Elizabeth, the ungrateful Curwin forgot all his former protestations, and became, if possible, even a more abandoned character than Brown, his heterodox predecessor in the see.

The rigorous measures pursued at this time in England by the queen's ministers, are condemned by some and justified by others. One thing, however, is certain, truth stands not in need of such auxiliary; and particularly the truths of the Catholic Church. These rest not on the terrors of the rack or of the prison, but on the foundation of the rock, upheld by the unerring promises of Christ himself. During the repetition of these frightful scenes, it is remarkable that no blood had been spilt in Ireland on the score of religion. An inherent generosity, and that spirit of forgiveness so peculiar to Irishmen, may satisfactorily account for this most happy circumstance. Moreover, the very inconsiderable progress which Protestantism had at that time made in Ireland, and the class of individuals by whom it was advocated, had tended to create among all ranks one general feeling of contempt, rather than any sentiment of satisfaction or revenge. It is well known that several English families had at that period repaired to this country, where they found a hospitable asylum, and were sheltered from the fury of the storm, by the generous and noble-minded Catholics of Ireland.†

On the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, in 1558, a new era commences, and in the sacred name of the Gospel of peace, torrents of Christian blood are let flow. Elizabeth, by education a bigot, and by nature an unprincipled dissembler, had already resolved to uphold Protestantism, and cause it to be established throughout her dominions. It was the only chance she had of keeping the sceptre secure in her hands. By the pope, and by the laws of the Catholic Church, she was

* Ware's Annals. † Id.

declared illegitimate; for which reason, had she professed Catholicity, her claim to the throne was upset, and Mary queen of Scots would, by legitimate descent, have the best right to the crown of England. Hence Elizabeth was driven to the alternative either of renouncing her title, and of being supplanted by a rival, or of sacrificing conscience, and proclaiming herself the advocate of Protestantism. The latter was adopted, and the means which she employed sufficiently evince what were the natural feelings of her mind and heart. For the purpose of overthrowing the ancient faith of Ireland, and of raising Protestantism on its ruins, Elizabeth resolved to draw the sword, and by penal edicts, force her Catholic subjects to surrender the religion of their country and their fathers.

In 1559, the lord deputy, Thomas earl of Sussex, received orders to summon a parliament. At that time the whole population of Ireland, both in and out of the pale, were almost without an exception Catholics: out of every ten thousand there was scarcely one of any other denomination—in fact, the great bulk of the nation knew not even the meaning of the word Protestant. The parliament, which had been packed on this occasion, was little more than a legislative mockery; one-half of the nation having been disfranchised,* and even the few who had been summoned (seventy-six in number) were notoriously hired minions—bribed and corrupt tools in the hands of the government. The nobles of the country were at the time Catholics;† these, therefore, had been carefully excluded. In short, as Hooker remarks, "this assembly was more like a bear-beating of disorderly persons, than a parliament of wise and grave men."‡ In this profligate and packed parliament, the first penal statutes had been framed for stripping the Irish of their religion, and setting up Protestantism in its place. The following acts, selected as a specimen, may serve to give the reader some notion of the persecuting spirit by which the legislature had at this time been actuated.

I.—"Any clergyman who refuses to use the book of common prayer in his church, or who used any other form of worship rite, ceremony, or manner of celebrating the Lord's Sup[per] *openly* or *privily*, than was laid down in the said book of common prayer, was to forfeit all the profit or income of his benefice, for one year, and also suffer imprisonment for six

* Leland, v. ii. p. 272. † Analecta Sacra, part i. p. 47.
‡ Hooker apud Hollinshed, v.

months. II.—For the second offence, he was to forfeit his income for ever, and suffer imprisonment at pleasure. III.—For the third offence, he was to suffer imprisonment for life. IV.—Laymen, for the first offence, were to undergo imprisonment for one year; and for the second, imprisonment for life. V.—Every person in the kingdom, absenting himself from the usual place where common prayer was read on Sundays and holidays, was subject to a fine of twelve pence, and also to *the censures of the Church*."* By express enactments, all appeals to Rome were strictly forbidden; the laws regarding religion which had been enacted in the reign of Mary, were annulled, and every individual, whether lay or ecclesiastic, in possession of livings or offices was, under a penalty of forfeiting the same, obliged to come forward and take *the oath of supremacy*. These acts of oppression filled the country with dismay: the churches became deserted, the clergy had, in most places, being obliged to fly and conceal themselves in the recesses of the mountain, while every unprincipled hypocrite was at liberty to tear down the altar, plunder the church, and pollute the sanctuary. "All over the kingdom (says Leland) the people were left without any religious worship; and under pretence of obeying the order of state, they seized all the most valuable furniture of the churches, which they exposed to sale without decency or reserve."† While the people of Ireland evinced an heroic determination to suffer death sooner than renounce the religion of their fathers, the innovators on their part demonstrated that blood, sacrilege, and licentiousness were the frightful but favourite objects they had contemplated. That this truth may be placed before the reader in an unquestionable point of view, we shall take the liberty of briefly referring to the testimony of some of their own writers. "Whatever disorders (says Spencer) you see in the established church through England, you may finde here, and many more —namely, *grosse simony*, *greedy covetousness*, *fleshy incontinency*, *carelesse sloath*, and generally *all disordered life* in the common clergyman."‡ "So deformed and overthrown a Churche (says Sidney) there is not, I am sure, in any region where the name of Christ is professed. Such horrible spectacles there are to behold, as the burning of villages, the ruin [illegible] the view of the bones and skulls of the dead, who, partlie by murder partlie by famyn, have lied in the fields unburied, [illegible] hardlie any Christian with drie eies could beholde."§ "I knew

* Lib. Stat. p. 201.
† Leland, v. ii. p. 274.
‡ Spencer, p. 139, 140.
§ Sidney, v. i. p. 24, 109

it was bad (observes Strafford), very bad in Ireland, but that it was so stark nought, I did not believe."* "There were few churches to resort to (says Leland), few teachers to exhort, fewer still who could be understood, and almost all, at least for the greater part of this reign, of scandalous insufficiency."†

Such are the characters, who came over to this country in the sixteenth century, for the purpose of upsetting the ancient religion of the nation. These are the individuals, with their *gross simony*, *greedy covetousness*, *fleshly incontinency*, and *disordered lives*, who had the barefaced impiety to pull down the altars erected and revered by the sainted fathers of the Irish Church, trample on the cross of Christ, and expose the sacred vessels of the sanctuary for sale in the public market.

It must not be surprising that such unexampled outrage on the feelings of the nation should have produced the most formidable reaction. O'Neil in the north, and Desmond in the south, had recourse to arms; the terrors of civil war spread from one extremity of the kingdom to the other; what escaped from the sword fell a victim to the flames, while the whole face of the country presented the hideous spectacle of one great, indiscriminate, national slaughter-house. In the midst of these awful scenes, the Catholic priesthood of Ireland stood by the people; many of them came forth, like the martyrs of old, and publicly preached against these novelties, now attempted to be forced upon the nation. Among these apostolic men, William Walsh, a native of Waterford, and bishop of Meath, stood most conspicuous.‡ He denounced the innovators at Trim and all over his diocese, exposed the absurdities of their book of common prayer, and proved it to be a compound of Calvinism, Lutheranism, and exploded heresies, long since anathematized by the Church of the Christian world. This zealous prelate was arrested and cast into prison. After having suffered many indignities, he was at length, by the queen's orders, banished the kingdom, and (in 1577) died an exile at Complute in Spain, where he was interred in a monastery of the Cistercian Order, to which he belonged. At the same time Thomas Leverous, bishop of Kildare, stood forth in defence of the Catholic faith, and exposed the masked impiety of these self-constituted reformers. He also was bound in chains: by means of his friends, however, he effected his escape, and afterwards, in order to gain a livelihood, was reduced to the necessity of opening a school at

* Strafford, v. i. p. 187. † Leland, v. ii. p. 459. ‡ Ware's Bish.

Limerick. This venerable prelate, worn down by the hand of time, and sinking beneath an accumulation of sufferings, died at Naas, A.D. 1577, in the eightieth year of his age.*

Notwithstanding the enactments of 1559, and the merciless rigour with which they had been executed, the clergy, both secular and regular, had found means of holding meetings, and of arranging their ecclesiastical concerns occasionally in Dublin. For the purpose, therefore, of excluding them totally from the metropolis, the earl of Essex issued a proclamation in 1563, by which all priests, secular and regular, were interdicted either to meet or to take up their abode in the city; this instrument was, moreover, accompanied with a republication of the former edict, obliging all heads of families to attend the Protestant service each Sunday, or pay the fine specified by law †

After the death of O'Neil, the ministry became more confident of success, and made additional efforts to extend the new law-religion over the country. Between the statute-book, the informer, and the sword, we may readily conceive what must have been the melancholy condition of the Church of Ireland at this period. The episcopal sees were laid desolate; the parish churches torn, plundered, and profaned, were to be seen in all directions of the kingdom without either a pastor or a congregation, while, in the meantime, whole groups of unprincipled English ecclesiastical adventurers were drafted over into Ireland, and on these the bishoprics and other church-dignities were liberally conferred, according as the Catholic clergy had been ejected out of the sees and parishes. These intruders, immediately on their appointment, had directions to suppress the Catholic institutions in the respective dioceses, and to establish Protestant schools on their foundation.‡ To complete this system of juvenile proselytism, a corresponding code of laws had been framed, by which parents were compelled to send their children to these schools: the violation of the statute was attended with pecuniary fines, which were soon after changed into penalties for high treason. In the meantime the notorious proclamation of 1559 underwent another edition; and every individual in the kingdom was again commanded to come forward and acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of Elizabeth.§

Every means within the reach of refined and systematic cruelty had been now employed, to seduce the Catholic priest-

* Ware, Bishops; Cox's Hist. of Irel. p. 328. † Ware's Annals.
‡ Irish Statutes, p. 346. § Peter Lombard, Com. de Lib. c. 10

hood of Ireland, and force from the people a surrender of their faith; the ingenuity of the persecutors had been exhausted, but the results which they anticipated were far from being attained: the firmness displayed by both priests and people became the admiration of their very enemies. There had been, indeed, some few exceptions; yet when the history of these frightful times is taken into account, and its consequences in Ireland contrasted with that melancholy defection which had, to a great extent, taken place in other countries, it must be admitted, that the fidelity of the Irish priesthood had, at this time, entitled them to the applause of all the great and enlightened nations of Europe. From among the whole body of the episcopal order, we find but two solitary individuals whose apostacy stands on record. The names of these prelates are Miler Magrath, bishop of Down, and afterwards translated to Cashel, and Hugh Curwin, archbishop of Dublin.

Miler Magrath was a native of the county of Fermanagh, and had at an early age embraced the institute of St. Francis.* That sordid spirit of avarice which had afterwards so inseparably pursued him through life, and which drew down on him, even from Protestant writers, such severe but well-merited reproaches, seems to have been the rock on which the faith of this prelate unfortunately perished. The indulgence of this, his evidently predominant passion had, in the first instance, disqualified him from embracing that humble institute, to which, in the face of Heaven, he had solemnly bound himself, and the foundation whereof is poverty—rigorous, sublime, evangelical poverty. If the subsequent events of his life may be taken as a criterion, it would appear that Miler Magrath had thus made his way into the sanctuary, for the purpose of advancing himself to some station in which wealth and dignity might be found combined, and under the peculiar circumstances of this age, rendered instrumental to the gratification of his favourite passions. However, his attention or (as authenticated tradition will have it) his unabated obsequiousness to certain high personages, both in Spain and in the Netherlands, had, after some time, brought him into notice.† He was recommended in a manner the most flattering to Paul V., and by provision of that pontiff was ultimately advanced to the see of Down. Miler, notwithstanding his consecration and canonical appointment to the see, was refused possession of the temporalities. He evinced for some time a considerable degree of resignation; despairing, however, of

* MS. in Archiv. Lovan. † Id. fol. [illegible]

attaining the object on which his heart was placed, and blinded by that passion in which he had, through life, so fondly indulged, he lost sight of conscience, submitted to Elizabeth, and renounced his religion. For the purpose of stimulating others to adopt the example of this fallen prelate, he was soon after translated to Clogher, and from thence to the united sees of Cashel and Emly, in February, 1571. The revenues of the archdiocese not having been sufficient to meet the cravings of an indulged passion, Miler made still further advances, and obtained a commendatory grant from Elizabeth, by which he held the sees of Lismore and Waterford in his possession for a period of twenty-five years. These sees he, however, resigned in 1607, having first received, in the shape of retribution, the bishopries of Killala and Achonry, both which dioceses he held until his death.* When to these we annex the vicarage of Kilmacallan, the rectory of *Infra Duos Pontes*, in Elphin, the rectories of Castle-Conor and Skrine in the diocese of Killala, and the prebend of Dougherne, with the rectory of Kilorhin in the diocese of Achonry,† some estimate may be formed of the temporal advantages which this unhappy prelate had derived from the sacrifice of his conscience. He became infirm, and had been confined to his bed during the last two years of his life. He died in December, 1622, at the advanced age of one hundred years.

That Miler Magrath, moved at the recollection of his past career, had at length retracted and died in the bosom of the Catholic Church is a fact which, notwithstanding the contrary assertion of Protestant writers, cannot for a moment be questioned. For some time previously to his illness, this prelate had formed the determination of retracing his steps, and to this effect he very properly communicated his intentions to the reverend Maurice Ultan, at that time provincial of the Franciscan Order in Ireland. This excellent superior undertook with readiness the execution of the charitable office now confided to his care; he repaired to Cashel, and at the earnest request of Miler himself, had, without delay, letters official addressed to the nuncio apostolic, residing at Brussels, and at that time entrusted with the management of the Irish Church. In reply to this communication, the father provincial received soon after a most satisfactory letter from the nuncio; which document having, it is probable, been never before published, and being, moreover, elucidatory of the whole subject, we shall take the liberty of laying before the

* Ware's Bishops. † Harris's Bishops.

reader, both in the words of the original,* and in a fair, correct, literal translation.

"To our beloved very reverend father in Christ.

"I have read with great attention all those particulars which you have signified to me regarding the individual, the lord Miler Magrath. I praise exceedingly that thought which he has manifested, of returning back to the bosom of the Church. It will be in your power seriously to exhort him not to abandon the resolution which he has formed, but rather to employ all his strength and energy in bringing it to an issue; and for this purpose let him depart from Ireland as soon as possible. Anxious as I am at this moment, and ardently solicitous for his salvation, I shall, on my part, receive him here with most tender affection, and I shall, by every service and means in my power, endeavour to effect, that our most holy father may act with clemency towards him; being fully persuaded that his holiness will look on him returning once more to life, with the same paternal benevolence which he is accustomed to extend to all, and will pardon his errors. May God protect thy paternity.

"Most affectionately.

"Brussels, 29 January, 1612.

"To our beloved, the Very Rev. Father in Christ,

"Maurice Ultan, Provincial of the Friars Minors in the kingdom of Ireland."

It is then a most undeniable fact, that the prelate Miler Magrath had come to the resolution of returning to the

* We here subjoin a copy of the original document, which written, signed, and sealed by the nuncio himself, is preserved in the archives of the Franciscan Convent at Wexford.

"Dilecto nobis in Christo admodum reverendo.

"Accurate legi quæ mihi significas circa personam Domini Mileri Magrait. Laudo summoperè quam præ se fert ad Ecclesiæ gremium redeundi cogitationem. Poteris illum hortari seriò ut susceptam mentem non deponat, sed potius illam ad exitum perducere omnibus nervis adnitatur, in eamque finem quanto matùrius Hiberniam deserat. Ego salutem ipsius toto jo animo inhians, teneriori illum amplexu hic excipiam, daboque meis officiis operam, ut Sanctissimus Dominus noster clementer cum illo agat; planè mihi persuadeus fore ut sua sanctitas paterna, quâ in omnes utitur, benignitate hunc resipiscentem aspiciat, illiusque errata condonet. Deus Paternitatem tuam custodiat.

"Bruxellis, 29 Januarii, 1612.

"Patris, tuæ Amantissimus."

"Dilecto nobis in Christo Adm. Revdo. Patri, Fratri, Mauritio Ultano, Minor. Observan. Regni Hiberniæ Provintiali."

Catholic Church, and, moreover, that such had been his intention for some years prior to the period when the natural infirmity of old age had placed him on the bed of sickness. It would have been well had he followed the admonition of the nuncio and withdrew from the country; but the good work seems to have been deferred from season to season, until at length the mercy of Heaven itself interposed, and reduced him to that state in which the mind of man no longer fluctuates, and in which all former intentions are sure to be realized. Miler Magrath had, previously to his death, been two years confined to the bed of sickness. It is natural to think that the determination, which in comparative health he had already formed, could no longer be deferred, and hence it is generally allowed, that this is the period in which his actual reconciliation with the Catholic Church had been effected. During the first year of his confinement he also composed his own epitaph,* from which, in the absence of every other document, the fact of his conversion might be fairly inferred. Conscious of the fallen state to which he had been unhappily reduced—woefully convinced that mere human strength is but a feeble support in the hour of trial, and anxious to offer himself as an example and a caution to his fellow-countrymen, he places the following words of the inspired writer at the close of his epitaph:† "It is the Lord who judges me; *let him who stands take heed, lest he fall.*" This certainly is an open, an humble, and a distinct avowal of the melancholy fall of this exalted ecclesiastic; and when coupled with the other authentic testimonials which we have already produced, must necessarily leave on the mind of every unbiassed man, an unshaken conviction, that Miler Magrath had sincerely retracted the errors of his past life, and had at length died a contrite and obedient child of the Catholic Church.

The character of Hugh Curwin, or more properly Culwen,

* Ware's Bishops.

† The following is the epitaph of Miler Magrath. It was composed by himself, and has been inscribed on his monument in the cathedral of Cashel:—

"Venerat in Dunum primò sanctissimus olim,
Patricius, nostri gloria magna Soli,
Huic ego succedens, utinam tam sanctus ut ille,
Sic Duni primo tempore Præsul eram.
Anglia, lustra decem sed post tua sceptra colebam,
Principibus placui, Marte tonanti, tuis.
Hic ubi sum positus, non sum, sum non ubi non sum,
Sum, nec in ambobus, sum sed utroque loco.
Dominus est qui me judicat. (1 Cor. iv.)
Qui stat, caveat ne cadat."

to whom we have already referred, forms an odious compound of dissimulation, perfidy, and base ingratitude. Curwin (as we have already seen*) had been raised to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin by queen Mary, and during the entire of her reign professed himself a sincere supporter of Catholicity. Had Mary allowed her feelings to be embittered by the recollection of past events, Curwin could have no chance to become a partaker of her bounty. He had been one of the most violent advocates for the marriage between Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, and even delivered a public discourse to that effect before the king, in the royal chapel at Greenwich, but was soon after triumphantly refuted by the virtuous and learned Peto.† Mary, on her accession to the throne, evinced an almost unexampled display of magnanimity: she forgave Curwin, and raised him to the dignity of one of her own chaplains. Within the short space of five days after his consecration he had, by the bounty of his royal patroness, been appointed lord chancellor of Ireland, and in less than two years after, was constituted lord justice together with Sir Henry Sidney. Dignities, both civil and ecclesiastical, having been thus prematurely lavished upon a man who had but some short time before emerged from the inferior duties of a chaplaincy, served only to beset his mind with reflections altogether different from those which belonged to his sacred vocation. When Mary was no more, and Elizabeth had ascended the throne, those propensities which Curwin had too fondly cherished, soon began to manifest themselves in a new and more extensive sphere. His ambition, and his inordinate love for pleasure, became the fatal source of his ruin; he forgot his high estate, and yielded in the very commencement of the storm. To aggravate his guilt, and swell up the account which he had to yield at the bar of an all-seeing Judge, the unfortunate Curwin undertook to hold ordinations after his apostacy. The bishop Loftus of Armagh, Craik of Kildare, John Devereux of Ferns, and Cavenagh of Leighlin, received their consecration at his hands.‡ Besides other favours which had been now, in overflowing abundance, heaped upon him he was, by commission from Elizabeth herself, constituted keeper of the great seal of Ireland; and in 1563 became a second time lord chancellor.§ Ireland; however, was a theatre of too limited a range for the full gratification of Curwin's towering ambition; he was anxious to figure, for a season, in

* See page 403.
† Athenæ Oxonien.
‡ Ware's Bishops; Lib. Munerum Publ.
§ Rymer, t. xv. p. 528.

some of the wealthy, influential sees of England, and, at length, had found means of having himself translated to the diocese of Oxford. His career in the new bishopric was but short: he continued in that see for about twelve months, and died at a place called Suinbroch, near Burford, in November, 1568.

Elizabeth's policy, and the embarrassed state of her affairs, had hitherto constrained her within comparatively moderate bounds; she never appeared in her real character until about the year 1580. In presenting even an outline of the frightful persecution which now commenced, language becomes perfectly useless. It would appear (says an ancient writer) that the infernal pit itself had conspired with the dark and deadly passions of men, to root out the very name of Catholicity from the country.* The nation, from one extremity to the other, was filled with groups of hired informers; the clergy were pursued with more unsparing ferocity than the very beasts of prey; and of those who suffered (De Burgo remarks), the names and the number can be known only in the just and eternal records of the book of life.† From among these illustrious victims, a few shall be selected: to present a complete and circumstantial detail would require volumes.

Dermot O'Hurley, archbishop of Cashel, renowned for his learning, his eloquence, and his able refutations of the heresies of the day, was, from the moment of his arrival in Ireland, marked out as the special object of their hate and vengeance. This prelate had completed his studies at Louvain, where he graduated, and at length became professor of canon law in the university of that city. During the pontificate of Gregory XIII. he repaired to Rome; here his superior talents and acquirements had soon rendered him conspicuous; he was introduced to the notice of that pope, and after some time, was by him consecrated and promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Cashel. For some years previously to his return from the continent, the intruder Miler Magrath had occupied the metropolitan chair; the persecution had, moreover, by this time burst out in all its fury: Dermot, however, proceeded unintimidated through his diocese; he travelled from one district to another, and ultimately from county to county, consoling, exhorting, and confirming the people. Having been prevailed upon to remain for some days at the residence of Thomas lord baron of Slane, in the county of Meath, he was there recognized by the chief justice of the Queen's Bench, who procured,

* O'Daly, Relat. Persec. Hib. † Hib. Dom. p. 600.

without delay, two confidential messengers, and sent intelligence to Loftus, then Protestant archbishop of Armagh and chancellor of Ireland.* The treacherous designs of the chief justice were, fortunately, discovered by some of the family; they apprized the venerable prelate of the storm which was gathering, and earnestly besought him to consult his safety by flying from the fury of his pursuers. Dermot, yielding at length to the tears and entreaties of his friends, was conveyed privately from the mansion, and proceeded as far as the town of Carrick-on-Suir, in the county of Tipperary. Here he was arrested, and having been placed under an armed escort, was conducted before the chancellor in Dublin. Loftus left no means untried in endeavouring to upset the constancy of the prelate. He promised to reconcile him to Elizabeth, and even allowed him to maintain all his former opinions on other doctrinal points, provided he would but acknowledge her supremacy. This proposal the archbishop instantly rejected. A second offer was now made. He was to be restored to favour and reinstated in the see of Cashel, if he would even consent to reject the title which he had received for that see from the pope, and take out a new title of inauguration from the queen. These terms having been in like manner rejected, the archbishop O'Hurley was remanded to prison, and ordered to be bound in heavy irons. His enemies, already thirsting for his blood, hastened soon after to the prison and commenced the work of torture. He was first bound to a stake, his arms and legs having been covered over with pitch, salt, oil, and sulphur; fire was then slowly applied, and managed with such barbarous dexterity, that they effectually contrived to keep their victim in torture for several hours.† The night having thus passed over in one melancholy round of insults and sufferings, he was led out by his executioners at day-break and conveyed to Stephen's-green, where he was again put on the rack and ultimately strangled, A.D. 1583. His body was removed in the evening by the faithful, and deposited in the neighbouring oratory of St. Kevin, which was then almost in ruins. This church was, some years after, repaired, and several miracles are said to have been wrought at the tomb of this holy and illustrious sufferer for the faith of Christ.‡

PATRICK O'HELY, bishop of Mayo, together with his companion Cornelius O'Rourke, had, about the same period, triumphed over the terrors of persecution. Patrick O'Healy was

* Hist. Cath. c. xix. † O'Daly, Relatio. Persecut. Hib. p. 16
‡ Analecta Sacra, in appendix, p. 7

a native of Connaught, and at an early age retired to the convent of Complute in Spain, where he prosecuted his studies with great applause, and embraced the institute of St. Francis. In obedience to the command of the minister-general of his order (Christophorus a Capite Fontis), he repaired to Rome in 1577, and on the following year was consecrated bishop of the diocese of Mayo, by pope Gregory XIII. Anxious to afford the consolations of religion to his afflicted countrymen, Patrick soon after returned to Ireland, accompanied by Cornelius O'Rourke, a holy and zealous priest, the partner of his subsequent trials and sufferings. After having encountered many difficulties, particularly on the coast of Armoric Gaul, they at length landed in safety at Dingle, a seaport in the county of Kerry.* The spies and minions whom Drury, the deputy, had at this time stationed in all the harbours along the southern coast of Ireland, soon recognized these venerable strangers; they were taken into custody, and conducted under a strong guard to the residence of the earl of Desmond. This nobleman, unwilling to take an open part in these tragical events, and still anxious to avoid the displeasure of Elizabeth, had cautiously given directions to have them transmitted to Limerick and presented before Goulden, the constituted military commissioner in that district. The prelate and his companion were, by the directions of this officer, loaded with irons and cast into the public prison. Here they remained until Sir William Drury had arrived at Kilmalloc, in the beginning of August, 1578, at which time they were ordered to be conveyed from Limerick and brought into the presence of the deputy. Threats, promises, and various other means having been tried without effect, they were sentenced to be first put to the torture and afterwards strangled in the presence of the garrison. These orders of Drury were executed with an unusual degree of barbarity. The holy prelate and his companion were placed on the stretching rack; their hands and feet were then broken with hammers, and large needles were applied and thrust with great violence under their nails; after having been kept for a considerable time in this state of torture, they were taken from the rack [illegible] the branches of a neighbouring tree.† Their bodies were afterwards hung in chains, and remained suspended for fourteen days, during which time they were used as a target by the savage soldiery in their shooting exercises.‡ The suffering

* Wadding, Vita SS. † Arthur a Monasterio, in suo Martyrologio.
‡ Auctor Theat. p. 50.

prelate, while placed on the rack, had warned Drury that before many days he himself must appear at the bar of an all-seeing Judge; which prophetic declaration was eventually realized: this iniquitous governor in less than eight days after died in great agony at Waterford, of a distemper which had completely baffled all medical skill. The bodies of the martyrs were soon after conveyed to Kilmalloc, by Gerald earl of Desmond, and buried with great solemnity in the convent of the Franciscans at Clonmel.*

Richard Creagh, archbishop of Armagh,† distinguished alike for sanctity and for the many learned works which proceeded from his pen, may, with justice, be numbered among the illustrious sufferers of these awful times. This venerable prelate had scarcely arrived in his native country when the storm began to collect around him. His unremitted zeal, and the high station which he occupied in the Catholic Church, inflamed still more the malice of his enemies; he was arrested in 1565, and transmitted to London, where he was put in chains and imprisoned in the Tower. In this place of confinement he continued for five weeks; by the mediation of some friends he was unexpectedly liberated. When, at length, the fury of the persecution had broke out in 1580, he was again arrested, and after undergoing a lengthened series of sufferings in Ireland, he was conveyed to London, and committed a second time to the Tower. During his confinement in the dungeons of this fortress, promises of high preferment had been held out to him, provided he would abjure the Catholic faith. These promises, however, were just as ineffectual as the terrors of the prison; they had been repeatedly urged, but the prelate continued inflexible. His enemies, determined even on wounding his character, had at length contrived to institute a new series of accusation against him. They procured a female, the daughter of his gaoler, whom they bribed; on her they prevailed to accuse the holy prelate of having offered violence to her person. The appointed day of trial had arrived, and that the feelings of his friends might suffer as well as the character of their prelate, a number of the Catholic nobility had been summoned on the occasion. His accuser made her appearance; the moment, however, she cast her eyes on the innocent and injured victim, the hand of an invisible power touched her soul with remorse; she declared that the charges alleged against him were all malicious and false, and that the archbishop was both an innocent and a holy man. His

* Brnodin, Passio Martyr, p. 437. † See chap. ii.

enemies thus discomfitted, had him now arraigned under the penal statutes of the day; in the meantime the primate, heroically persisting in his faith, was re-committed to the Tower, and sentenced to imprisonment for life. The malice of his persecutors continued unabated: while chained in the Tower, he was forced to pass through a prolonged ordeal of privations, and was at length poisoned, on the 14th of October, A.D. 1585.*

REDMOND O'GALLAGHER, bishop of Derry, was put to death during the continuance of the same persecution. While traversing along the mountainous districts of his diocese and attending the sick, he was overtaken by a band of soldiers, and after being literally mangled, this venerable prelate died in the seventieth year of his age.†

EDMUND MAGAURAN succeeded the primate Richard Creagh in the metropolitan chair. This prelate, while in the act of hearing the confession of a dying man, was mortally wounded, near Armagh, in 1598.‡

CORNELIUS O'DUANE, bishop of Down and Connor, together with Patrick O'Logher, a learned and holy priest, suffered about the same time. They were both put on the rack and died together, during the administration of Arthur Chichester.

To these might be added a lengthened catalogue of prelates, who escaped the sword, but were still more grievously persecuted or driven into exile. Among these sufferers are named Edmund Tanner, bishop of Cork and Cloyne; Thomas O'Herlihy, bishop of Ross; Thaddeus O'Ferrall, bishop of Clonfert, and Hugh Lacy, bishop of Limerick. These prelates lay concealed amidst the caverns of the mountains, and thus escaped the fury of their pursuers. Maurice Fitz-Gibbon, the predecessor of Dermot O'Hurley in the see of Cashel, became an exile, and died in Spain about the year 1580. Nicholas Skerret, archbishop of Tuam, after having been flogged and incarcerated, withdrew to the kingdom of Portugal, and died at Lisbon in 1583. Peter Power, bishop of Ferns, became a suffragan to the archbishop of Compostella, and died an exile in Spain, in 1587. Thomas Strong, bishop of Ossory, became also a suffragan to the archbishop of Compostella, and died at Compostella, in 1601. Moriarth O'Brien, bishop of Emly, died in the prison of Dublin, in 1586. Bishop Brady, of the order of St. Francis, and bishop of Kilmore, after having been incarcerated for a length of time, in one

* Analect. Sacra. de rebus Cath. Hib. de Processu. Martyr. p. 46 et seq.
† Analecta in Process. Marty. p. 40. ‡ Ibid.

and tortured, died at a very advanced age near Multifernam, in the county of West Meath.* During this age of terror and death, the storm of the persecution was directed with similar fury against the second order of the clergy, both secular and regular. Fergal Ward and John O'Duad, priests of the order of St. Francis, were tortured and put to death, under the administration of Drury: the former at Armagh, and the latter at Moyne in the county of Mayo. Fergal Ward was a native of Tirconnel, and was exceedingly venerated for the simplicity of his life, and the labours which he encountered in exhorting and animating the people. He travelled over the whole province of Ulster, visiting in particular those lonely districts in which the congregations had been scattered, without sacrifice, sacraments, or the consolations of religion. While on his journey to Armagh, he fell into the hands of the persecutors, and after having been flogged with great barbarity, was at length suspended from the branches of a tree by means of a cord or cincture which they had separated from his habit. John O'Duad was discovered by his pursuers, while in the act of hearing the confessions of the faithful in the retired mountainous parts of the county of Mayo. He was offered his liberty, with a further assurance of ample rewards, if he would but disclose the confessions of the people. The refusal which he peremptorily gave, served at once to inflame the implacable vengeance of his persecutors. They seized the cord with which his habit had been bound, and after placing it around his head, near the temples, they forced and screwed it with such violence, by means of an instrument employed for the purpose, that his eyes burst out of their sockets, and in this frightful state of torture he expired on the 9th of June, 1579.†

Daniel O'Nielan, a laborious and zealous priest of the diocese of Cloyne, remarkable for his hospitality and humane attention to the poor, was put to death in a manner the most revolting, by two satellites, named Norris and Morgan, who had the command of the northern district of the county of Cork, under the administration of Adam Loftus. This apostolic man, filled with solicitude for the people, was in the habit of making occasional journeys to the neighbouring villages, for the purpose of affording consolation to the dying and afflicted. He was at length overtaken by his pursuers, and conducted, under a strong military guard, to the town of

* O'Sullivan, Hist. Cath.; Analecta Sacra in Append.
† Ex Synop. Prov. Hib. p. 66.

Youghal. Norris and Morgan, already thirsting for his blood, had refused him even the opportunity of making a defence. They conducted him to the top of a high tower then called Trinity, and having fastened a rope around his waist and arms, they flung him headlong from the battlements. The rope, however, not being sufficiently strong to meet the violence of the shock, the suffering victim was instantly precipitated and left a mangled corpse on the ground. Nor was the fury of his executioners yet satiated; observing some signs of life still remaining, they caused him to be carried to a mill not far distant, and having secured him with chains to the wheel, they allowed it to revolve with increased velocity, until the body, disfigured and lacerated, retained no longer the appearance of a human form.* This holy priest suffered on the 28th of March, A.D. 1580.†

DANIEL O'HANRICHAN, PHILIP O'SHEA and MAURICE SCANLAN, three aged priests, natives of the county Kerry, suffered death for their faith during the same year. The labours of these missionaries had not been confined to the district of Kerry. During the lapse of thirty-three years they had been employed in preaching the divine word and administering the sacraments in almost every county throughout Ireland. At length, worn down with age and infirmity, they returned to their native country, and during the persecution of 1580 were prevailed upon to take shelter in the town of Lislaghton. On the 6th of April in that year, while the agents of Elizabeth had been scouring the country, these three venerable priests, two of whom were blind with age, took shelter in the sanctuary, and while in the act of offering themselves to their Maker, and of praying for their enemies, were beheaded; their bodies having been afterwards awfully mangled by the soldiery.‡

JOHN O'LOCHRAN, EDMUND SIMMONS and DONATUS O'ROURKE, priests of the order of St. Francis, were cruelly tortured and put to death in the convent of Down, by a licentious soldiery, under the command of a military commissioner named Britton. This unfeeling leader, after filling the country with dismay, had resolved to take up his quarters for the winter in this ancient town. On his approach the inhabitants fled, and took shelter in the adjacent country, while the clergy were entreated to consult their safety and reserve themselves for better days. Anxious to enjoy those spoils which he had already antici-

* Bruodin, Passio Martyr, p. 439. † Author. Theat. p. 82
‡ Passio Mart. p. 440.

pated, Britton lost no time in repairing to the convent of Down. Here he met the three venerable fathers, but the booty which he had expected was not to be obtained. They were, accordingly, given up to the military; and after having undergone a variety of torture, were at length brought out in the garden, and strangled from the branches of a large oak which overhung the sanctuary.*

Maurice Kenrehan, parish priest of Mullanahone, in the county Tipperary, had, in company with great numbers of his congregation, been compelled to take shelter in the caverns of the desolate and extensive mountain of Slieve-na-mon, while rewards, to an enormous amount, had been offered for his apprehension by Wallop, at that time treasurer of Ireland. Spies and other hired minions had been employed; the whole country was scoured by military parties, yet the object of their search had found means to escape their vigilance. At length, on the eve of All Saints, and while he had been engaged in administering the last sacraments to the dying, he was arrested and conducted along bye-ways towards Clonmel. The officer of the guard, named Furrows, anticipating a reaction from the people, proposed to his companions that their victim should be instantly despatched. He was, accordingly, tortured in a manner the most inhuman; at length, his head having been severed from his body, the trunk was dismembered and cut up into fragments. These were left scattered on the high road. His head was conveyed in triumph by his executioners to Clonmel.†

Thadæus Donald and John Hanly, both Franciscans, and members of the convent of Bantry, became victims to the fury of the persecutors about the same period. These fathers had been exceedingly esteemed for their zeal in preaching to the people, and had, during a great part of these stormy times, accompanied the faithful along the wild and almost inaccessible shores of the southern coast of Ireland. Having had occasion to revisit the convent, on their return to Bantry, they fell into the hands of their enemies. The constancy of these holy men was now assailed with threats and promises, but without effect. They were, accordingly, conducted to a steep rock, which hung with frightful altitude over the ocean; and having been tied back to back with their own cords, they were dashed with violent precipitation into the abyss beneath. These venerable fathers suffered on the 10th of August, 1580.‡

* Synop. Prov. Hib. p. 64. † MS. Louvan.; O'Daly, p. 162.
‡ Brood. in Passio Mar. p. 452.

Patrick O'Logher, a learned priest of the diocese of Down, after having suffered incarceration in company with his bishop, Cornelius O'Duane, was put to death about the close of this century. They had been both arrested on the same day; were bound in chains and conveyed to Dublin, where they were cast into prison. Here they would, at the time, have ended their days had not an accidental circumstance served, for the moment, to assuage the malice of their persecutors. Two leaders of the English party, Smith and Bagnell, had fallen into the hands of the Catholics, and were detained in secure custody, as hostages for the bishop and Patrick O'Logher. An exchange was agreed upon, and both Cornelius and Patrick were set at liberty. They were, however, immediately after seized by the same party, and having been remanded to Dublin, were both put on the rack and afterwards hanged, drawn, and quartered, in the common prison.*

John O'Molloy, Cornelius Dogherty, and Calfrid Ferral, three Franciscans, had distinguished themselves about the year 1588, and at length became the devoted victims of the malice of their enemies. These apostolical men had spent upwards of eight years in traversing the mountainous parts of the province of Leinster; abiding particularly in those unfrequented districts in the counties of Wicklow, Carlow, and Wexford, to which the people had been driven in great multitudes for shelter. They proceeded from mountain to mountain, offering the divine mysteries, encouraging the dying, and administering the sacraments. Their journeys had been generally performed by night, and as the acts of their order state, their bed was the rock of the mountain, while their usual earthly comfort consisted of nakedness, cold, and hunger. In defiance of the dangers by which they were encompassed, these great men clung with the affection of fathers to their afflicted countrymen; they shared in their sufferings, partook of their sorrows, and never separated from them until they had at length fallen a sacrifice to their enemies. While pursuing their journey through a remote district of the Queen's County, they were overtaken by a party of cavalry, bound [illegible] foot, and carried, amidst the insults of a brutal [illegible] garrison of Abbeyleix. Here they were flogged and put on the stretching rack: having endured this torture for a length of time, they were ultimately strangled, beheaded, and quartered, and thus, with the spirit of Christian martyrs, [illegible]

* MS. Louvain. ; O'Daly, p. 162.

generously lay down their lives in support of the religion of their country and their fathers.*

The persecution of Elizabeth, although unparalleled in the annals of tyranny, was still incomplete. It has been remarked of old, that the blood of the martyrs was the fruitful seed of Christianity; the same observation could, with equal propriety, be at this time applied to the priesthood of Ireland. The sword was drawn, and the blood of the clergy flowed in abundance; but the same sword had scarcely been suffered to rest in the hand of the executioner, when a new generation, as brave and as determined as the former, rose up in the sanctuary. To prevent even the possibility of this ministerial succession—to root the Catholic priesthood altogether out of the country, and, in short, to brutalize the people, the ordinary national sources of knowledge were at length closed by law, and Catholic education, both private and public, was proscribed throughout the kingdom. This was the crisis which awakened and drew forth the sympathies of Europe; it created an universal spirit of indignation against the blood-thirsty misrule of England; it branded the very name of Protestantism, even at its birth, with disgrace and infamy. In Spain, in France, the Netherlands, and other nations of the continent, the name of ancient generous Ireland was still fondly cherished; the reminiscences of the days of old were traditionally handed down and preserved with hallowed gratitude; its colleges, its teachers, its learning, its hospitality, became once more the subject of general panegyrism; and many a heart deeply affected at the suffer-

* Synop. Prov. Hib. p. 86; Bruodin, Passio Martyrum.

Besides these venerable sufferers, we find in the aforesaid acts a long catalogue of priests of the Franciscan Order, who became victims to the persecuting fury of the sixteenth century. Among these the most remarkable were: Roger MacCeneguil, of the convent of Armagh, flogged to death in 1565; Danial Doolan, of the convent of Youghal, beheaded in 1569; Thadæus Daly, of the convent of Askeaton, hanged, bowelled, and quartered in Limerick, A.D. 1579; John Connoly, of the convent of Askeaton, beheaded in 1582; William Ferrall, of the convent of Askeaton, hanged and quartered in 1582; Thadæus O'Moran, of the convent of Timoleague, flogged and strangled in 1582; Felix O'Hara and Henry de Laboyde, of the convent of Sligo, both hanged and cut in quarters in 1582; Roger Donnellan, Charles Gorgan, Peter Gillan, Patrick O'Kenna, Roger O'Henlan, and John Pillan, from various convents in the province of Leinster, incarcerated in the prison of Dublin, A.D. 1582; Dermitius O'Mulrony, of the convent of Galbally, county of Limerick, beheaded in 1588; Thadæus O'Boyle, of the county of Donegal, mangled and beheaded in 1588; Patrick Brady, of the convent of Monaghan, tortured and beheaded in 1588; Donatus O'Muirhily, of the convent of Irrelagh, (Mucross) stoned to death in 1589; Matthew O'Leyn, of the convent of Kilkenny, tortured and beheaded in 1590; Terence Magennis, Magnus O'Feallan, and Oge Mac-Laughlin, of the convent of Multifarnam, confined in the prison of Ballyhay, and afterwards in that of Dublin, where they died, A.D. 1591. Synop. Prov. Hib. p. 33, et seq.; Wadding de Scrip. p. 102, et seq.

ings of its priesthood, was now ready to receive them with welcome, and afford them shelter from the vengeance of their persecutors. Colleges for the reception of Irish students were in a short time established in various parts of the continent: protected and munificently endowed by Philip II., king of Spain, and other benefactors, they soon multiplied; and while the Irish Church was enabled to calculate on a regular supply of invaluable missionaries, the malice of their enemies was confounded, and their very name became a bye-word of contempt and scorn throughout Europe. The Irish seminary at Lisbon was founded and endowed by cardinal Zimenes, in 1595. The cardinal had ever after taken a lively interest in the welfare of this establishment, and by his own directions was honourably interred in its church. Another Irish establishment was founded about the same time at Evora, by cardinal Henriquez. The Irish college of Douay, in Flanders, dates its foundation from the year 1596. Christopher Cusack, a learned priest of the diocese of Meath, had, by his influence, contributed exceedingly in advancing this literary establishment. By his exertions, likewise, the colleges at Lisle, Antwerp, Tournay, and St. Omer, had been founded.* Seminaries were established in Bourdeaux, Toulouse and Nantz, for Irish students, under the patronage of Anne, queen of Austria; the Irish College on the hill of St. Genevieve, in Paris, was a gift from the French government, and to which the baron De St. Just had been a great benefactor.† In 1582, the college of Salamanca was founded for Irish students, by the states of Castile and Leon, Philip III. being its principal patron; and about the same time two extensive seminaries, one of them a royal establishment, had been erected at Seville, for the education of Irish missionaries. Among the principal benefactors of these establishments, Sarapater, a learned canon of the cathedral of Seville, has been particularly noticed. During the last year of this century, the baron George Sylveria founded the Irish College at Alcala de Henares: this establishment he afterwards richly endowed, and it became, in the seventeenth century, a source of incalculable benefit to the Irish mission.‡

These, and other similar establishments, rising in rapid succession throughout the continent, had, in the space of a few years, absolutely defeated every object which the exterminating statutes of Elizabeth had presumed to contemplate. The consequences of this disappointment may be readily conceived: the spirit of the persecution had hitherto been grievously

* Harris, vol. ii. p. 252. † Messingham, Florilegium, N. 35. ‡ Ibid.

violent,—it now became desperate and infuriated. Proclamations were issued and published without number, and all persons who had children, relatives, or wards in foreign countries, were commanded to deposit the names of the absent individuals with the local magistrate, within ten days, to have them recalled within four months, and on their return to have them presented before the authorized authorities. After that period they were prohibited to send money to any students, to receive them into their houses, or to afford them hospitality or shelter. Those transgressing were to be considered traitors, and punishments were awarded them by law. These edicts were accompanied by a regular catechetical manual, or book of instructions, composed for the purpose, and ingeniously adapted to the taste and practical habits of the judicial commissioners dispersed over the country. The instructions themselves formed a sort of text-book, and were comprised in eight general chapters. The first chapter exhibited a brief outline of the manner in which the commissioners should open their respective courts of investigation against the Catholics. The second regarded the qualifications, appointment, and proper training of informers and other agents, necessary for the befitting execution of the laws. In the third, fourth, and fifth chapters, the chief questions to be proposed, and the form of the interrogatories, had been distinctly arranged. The sixth chapter referred to those who stood accused of having given reception or encouragement to priests; and in the seventh and eighth, the several degrees of punishment specified by law were recapitulated.* The edict which came out in 1584 served to complete the persecution; it shall be presented to the reader without any commentary, and is to the following effect: "And if from henceforth any priest shall be detected within these realms, he shall, *ipso facto*, be guilty of high treason: wherefore, let him first be hanged, then cut down alive, and afterwards beheaded, bowelled, and burned. His head is to be set on a spike and exposed in the most public place. But should any person receive or entertain a priest, he shall suffer the confiscation of his property, and be hanged without the hope of mercy."†

In this manner did the tempest unabated roll over the Church of Ireland; the scene of terror became general; the country with all its loveliness, and religion with all its blessings, appeared alike involved in the same universal wreck. Between plunder and profanation, racks and gibbets, pestilence

* O'Daly, Relat. Persecut. Hib. p. 201 et seq. † Ibid. p. 209.

and famine,* the blood of the people and of the Lord's anointed, what a revolting spectacle must not this unhappy land at the close of the sixteenth century present to the nations of the civilized world! And all this done under the pretext of religion, and in the name of that blessed and eternal Gospel of charity and peace, which the Redeemer of the world came down to establish among men! This chapter shall close with a few concise extracts illustrative of the subject, and for obvious reasons selected from the works of Protestant writers themselves.

"The miseries which the wretched Irish endured," says Leland, "were affecting even to their very enemies: thousands perished by famine, and the hideous resources sought for allaying the rage of hunger, were more terrible than even such a calamity."† "The famine of Jerusalem," observes Cox, "did not exceed that among the Irish."‡ "Whosoever," writes Hollinshed, "should travel from one end to the other of all Munster, even from Waterford to the head of Smerwicke, which is about six-score miles, he would not meet anie man, woman, or child, saving in townes and cities, nor yet see anie beasts, but the very wolves, the foxes, and other like ravening beasts; many of these laie dead, being famished, and the residue gone elsewhere."§ "Notwithstanding," says Spencer,‖ "that the same (Ireland) was a most rich and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle, that you would have thought they should have been able to stand long; yet, in one year and a-half they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any stoney heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came, creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves. *They did eat the dead carrions*, happy where they could find them; yea, *and one another soon after, insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves*;

* "In the space of a few months, upwards of 3,000 died of starvation in Tyrone."—Morisson, ap. Curry, p. 50.

† Vol. ii. p. 487. ‡ P. 447. § Vol. vi. p. 419.

‖ This same Spencer, immediately after this famine and plague, recommended Elizabeth to execute the abominable plan of destroying the fruits of the earth throughout the country; in order, as he observed, that the Irish might be driven to the necessity of devouring one another. "The end will, I assure you, be very short (says Spencer); for although there should none of them fall by the sword, nor be slain by the soldier, yet there being kept from *manurance*, and their cattle from running abroad, by this hard restraint *they would quickly consume themselves, and devour one another*. The proof whereof I saw sufficiently in the late warres of Munster."

and if they found a plot of water-cresses or shamrocks, there they flocked, as to a feast, for the time; yet, not being able long to continue therewithal, that in a short space there were none almost remaining, and *a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of both man and beast.*"*

CHAPTER III.

Successors of St. Patrick—Episcopal Sees—Religious Foundations of the Sixteenth Century.

The metropolitan see of Armagh had, since its foundation, been governed by seventy-two prelates in regular succession. The same unbroken series was continued through succeeding centuries, notwithstanding the countless efforts which had been made to crush even the name of Catholicity throughout the country. On the death of Octavian, in 1513,

John Kite, a native of the city of London, was, by provision of Leo X., advanced to the primatial chair, and was restored to the temporalities on the 20th of May, 1514. This prelate, after having presided over the see about eight years, resigned, and was afterwards appointed bishop of Carlisle in England.* He died in the village of Stepney, near London, on the 19th of June, 1537, and was buried in the chancel of the parish church.

George Cromer, an Englishman, distinguished for his learning, prudence, and gravity, was appointed archbishop of Armagh, on the resignation of the former primate, and was consecrated in April, 1522.† The unbending firmness of this prelate had gained him many admirers, among whom the high-minded, but unfortunate, Gerald earl of Kildare was not the least conspicuous. Scarcely had the troubles arising out of the imprudence of this family subsided, when the primate found himself involved in new difficulties. The novel pretensions of Henry VIII. to ecclesiastical supremacy, and the violent efforts which had been made to create a schism in the country, occasioned scenes such as the Church of Ireland had never before witnessed, and in which this prelate maintained a conspicuous part.‡ He continued the uninfluenced and able defender of the Catholic faith until his death, in March, 1543, and was succeeded in the see of Armagh by

* Vol. i. p. 165. † Ware's Bishops. ‡ See chap. i.

George Dowdall.—This prelate, distinguished as the leading advocate of Catholicity during the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, was a native of the county of Louth, and had been for many years prior of the Trinitarian monastery of Ardee, in the same county.* When the commissioners of Henry VIII. had been busily employed in suppressing the religious houses throughout the kingdom, this meek and amiable man, submitting to the necessity of the times, patiently retired from the monastery, and was constituted by the primate his official or vicar-general in the archdiocese of Armagh.† His inoffensive demeanour and untainted loyalty, combined with the influence which he possessed over O'Neal, and other Irish chieftains of Ulster, had rendered him a general favourite with the nobility of the pale; the deputy, St. Leger, professed the highest esteem for his virtues, and became his avowed friend and patron. On the decease of the primate in 1543, George Dowdall, together with Edmund, dean of Armagh, was appointed guardian of the metropolitan church during the vacancy; and on the following October, he presided at a convocation of the clergy in St. Peter's Church, Drogheda.‡ In the meantime his patron, St. Leger, had been actively engaged in preparing the way for his promotion to the archiepiscopal chair. He made an early and personal application to the king himself in his behalf, and pourtrayed the character of the new candidate in such favourable terms, that Henry readily assented to his appointment, and gave directions that a mandate to that effect should be forthwith issued.§ George Dowdall was accordingly consecrated by Edward Staples, bishop of Meath, about the beginning of December, 1543. This appointment of the new primate proceeded simply from the mandate of the king himself; nor had it at the time received the confirmation of the Holy See. As soon as an official account of these proceedings had reached Rome, Paul III., then sovereign pontiff, made provision for the see: he appointed Robert Waucop, a learned Irishman, whose history we have already introduced in the former chapter, and had him consecrated bishop of Armagh.‖ However unfavourable this train of circumstances may appear, we must not from thence draw the conclusion that [illegible] Dowdall had been among the [illegible] to or acknowledged the spiritual supremacy of Henry VIII. Between the act of his surrendering the monastery of Ardee

* Archdall. Mon.
† Ware's Bishops.
‡ Dowdall's Regist. fol. 10.
§ Patent, 35 Henry VIII.
‖ Palavicini Hist. Con. Trid. l. 6; Mac-Mahon, Jus. Primat. p. 719.

and the death of archbishop Cromer, a period of two years had elapsed, during which time he exercised the powers of vicar-general under that metropolitan. Considering, therefore, that the primate, George Cromer, had through life manifested a decided opposition to the schism, it must, without doubt, be admitted that his vicar-general deputed by him had adopted a corresponding line of conduct. Nor can his promotion to the see even by Henry VIII., be fairly construed into an argument against his orthodoxy. He was, as has been already remarked, introduced to the notice of that monarch by his friend and patron, Sir Anthony St. Leger. On this occasion his conciliating and peaceable habits, as well as his fidelity to the laws, had been enthusiastically extolled; the advantages which might naturally be expected to arise from his popularity were also carefully enumerated, and hence it is generally presumed, that the advancement of George Dowdall to the see of Armagh, had received the assent of Henry without being accompanied by any obligation of acknowledging such an unpalatable doctrine as that of the supremacy of the king of England. The exact circumstances of the case had not, it is probable, been communicated to Rome at the time of the appointment and consecration of Robert Waucop; it is certain, however, that this prelate had never returned to the see of Armagh. The subsequent interesting events connected with the primacy of George Dowdall have been already noticed. During the reign of Edward VI., he became the avowed and powerful champion of Catholicity, and was compelled to withdraw from his native country. He retired to the continent, and lived for some years an exile with the abbot of Centre in Brabant. As soon as Mary had ascended the throne, the primate, George Dowdall, was recalled: at this period, likewise, the primatial title which, under Edward VI., had been conferred on the see of Dublin, was restored to Armagh, and on the same day, a grant *in commendam* was made to him of the precincts of the late dissolved hospital of St. John at Ardee.* He lived to see that ancient faith, which he himself had so zealously supported, ultimately re-established throughout the kingdom; on this occasion he announced a jubilee, which, in 1555, had been celebrated all over Ireland, with unusual solemnity. About the close of Mary's reign, this laborious prelate proceeded on some ecclesiastical business to England, and died soon after at London, where he was interred on the 15th of August, A.D. 1558.†

* Lib. Munerum. Pub. vol. ii. † Ware's Bishops

Richard Creagh, the immediate successor of George Dowdall in the primacy, was the son of an opulent merchant in the city of Limerick. His parents, having designed him for the mercantile profession, had taken care to bestow on him a suitable education, and among other acquirements, he attained, even at an early age, a competent knowledge of the French, Spanish, and other languages of the south of Europe. After some time Richard embarked in his father's business, and made several voyages to and from Spain with considerable success. Having, on one of these occasions, disposed of the merchandize, which he had brought from Ireland, and conveyed a store of other commodities on board, he withdrew to a neighbouring church, with an intention of assisting at the divine mysteries, on the morning appointed for sailing, and just as the crew had completed their preparations for the voyage. While he had been thus employed, his companions, conceiving that he was on board, weighed anchor and set sail. When Richard returned to the shore, the vessel, although at a considerable distance, was distinctly within view; he made signs to them frequently, but, as may be presumed, without effect; at length, resigning every hope of their return, and reconciling himself to the will of Providence, he sat down pensive on the shore. The pursuits of a worldly life had never been congenial to the natural impulse of his mind; he had, at first, ventured to launch into these busy avocations, out of mere compliance to the command of his parent; and he had never relinquished the idea of separating himself from them, as soon as some favourable circumstance might conveniently permit. While deeply engaged in these thoughts, his attention was suddenly attracted by the unusual heaving of the vessel, which, from some mismanagement of the crew, was almost instantly buried in the sea, and every one on board perished.* This event was interpreted by Richard as an explicit manifestation of Providence; he accordingly formed an immediate resolution of consecrating himself to the service of religion, and soon after retired to Louvain, for the purpose of pursuing his ecclesiastical studies. Here he made considerable progress, and at length became eminently distinguished as a theologian and canonist. He afterwards removed to Rome, where, in consequence of his merits, he was nominated by the pope, and consecrated archbishop of Armagh. Of his sufferings during the intolerant sway of Elizabeth, particular notice has been already taken:† he was twice im-

* O'Sullivan, tom. ii. l. 4 † See chap. i

prisoned in the Tower of London, when at length he suffered in defence of his faith, having been poisoned on the 14th of October, A.D. 1585. This prelate has written a Treatise on the Irish Language; an Ecclesiastical History; a Chronicle of Ireland; Controversies of Faith; a Catechism in Irish; and the Lives of the Irish Saints.*

EDWARD MACGAURAN, a native of Ulster, was promoted to the metropolitan see of Armagh, and consecrated at Rome soon after the decease of the primate Richard Creagh. From the peculiar state of the times, this prelate could find no opportunity of returning immediately to his native country, nor did he arrive in Ireland until about the beginning of the year 1594. The fury of the persecution had, at this time, been carried to such frightful excess, that it was absolutely impossible for any Catholic bishop, placed in the see of Armagh, to enter on the public discharge of his episcopal functions. Thus circumstanced, the venerable prelate was driven to the necessity of seeking shelter in the unfrequented retreats of the poor, and of occasionally concealing himself in the mansions of the leading Catholic gentry of Ulster. Ample rewards had been offered for his apprehension by the lord deputy Russell, but without success. Maguire, lord of Fermanagh, and other Irish chieftains, invited him to remain with themselves, and by this means succeeded for a considerable time in protecting him from the hands of his pursuers. At length, having been recognized by one of the itinerant satellites, and while engaged in receiving the confession of a dying man, he was mortally wounded, and died near Armagh, A.D. 1598.†

The melancholy state to which the ancient hierarchy of Ireland had being reduced during the greater portion of the sixteenth century, may be readily conceived from the brief, but correct, outline which we have already drawn of these awful times. WILLIAM ROKEBY, HUGH INGE, and JOHN ALLEN, were the only prelates by whom the archiepiscopal see of Dublin had been governed, if we may except the two first years of Curwin's administration: during almost the entire reign of Elizabeth this see had been vacant, until at length Matthew de Oviedo, Spanish Franciscan, had been consecrated archbishop of Dublin, in 1559.‡ William Rokeby was translated from the see of Meath in 1512, and on his decease in 1521, Hugh Inge was in like manner translated from the diocese of Meath to that of

* Stanihurst, Descr. Hib. c. vii.; Ware.
† Analect. Sacra in Processu Martyr. p. 44. ‡ See cent. xvii. chap. i.

Dublin.* The incumbency of this latter prelate continued until 1528, when John Allen, treasurer of St. Paul's in London, had, through the influence of Cardinal Wolsey, been appointed to succeed him. The patronage by which archbishop Allen had obtained the see, became the fatal cause of his ruin. During the administration of the earl of Kildare as lord deputy of Ireland, some false charges of misgovernment had been alleged against him; he was cited to London, and on his arrival was committed to the Tower. Before his departure from Ireland, Kildare, contrary to the advice of his friends, had taken an unaccountably imprudent step; he committed the sword of office to his son Thomas, a rash, impetuous young man, and placed him over the administration of the country. The earl had scarcely reached London, when a report of his having been put to death in the Tower was industriously circulated, and at length prevailed so powerfully over the feelings of the lord Thomas, that he threw down the sword of state in the presence of the council assembled at St. Mary's Abbey, and flew into open rebellion.† Having laid waste a considerable portion of the pale and besieged the castle of Dublin, he now resolves to take summary vengeance on all his enemies, among whom the Butlers, Cardinal Wolsey and John Allen were supposed to be the most inveterate. Archbishop Allen, alarmed at the danger to which he was exposed, had embarked for England; the vessel, however, having been stranded near Clontarf, he was obliged to conceal himself in the hamlet of an adjacent village. Thither the lord Thomas repaired, accompanied by his two uncles Owen and John, and a numerous train of adherents; they arrived before the village at day-break, where, forcing the venerable prelate from his bed, they conducted him into the presence of their leader, and inhumanly murdered him by dashing out his brains. The aged earl, on receiving the melancholy tidings of his son's rebellion, became inconsolable and died broken-hearted; the lord Thomas and his five uncles, having been afterwards tried and condemned for high treason, were executed at Tyburn, on the 3rd of February, 1536.‡

The history of the other sees, particularly in the days of Elizabeth, presents little more than an awful record of all those woes and sufferings which the martyred fathers of antiquity had been permitted to undergo during the unrelenting persecutions of primitive times. To have access to the head of the church at this frightful crisis, was a task of no small

* Ware's Bishops. † Stanihurst; Cox, p. 228
‡ Ware's Annals; Hollinshed, p. 92.

difficulty; nevertheless, the prelates of Ireland, in 1597, received an indult from Clement VIII., which may serve to illustrate the penitential spirit of our forefathers up to this period. In this document was embodied a dispensation from the abstinence of flesh-meat on all Wednesdays, and from the abstinence of white meats on Fridays and Saturdays;—a religious discipline which had been hitherto conscientiously observed throughout the country.*

The order which has been hitherto observed throughout this work, leads us at length to the historical recollections of the monastic foundations of ancient days. The reader must have been already aware that these establishments had taken their rise from the piety of Catholic times—the olden happy days of our forefathers. They had been instituted by the wealthy and the powerful as a becoming, but humble, tribute to the great Author of all gifts—they were the consecrated sanctuaries of religion—the privileged asylums of the destitue and afflicted. Some of these religious foundations had been intended principally for the spiritual benefit of those who had a vocation to embrace the rigours of their institute; others had been established and richly endowed with a view of affording the means of attaining religious perfection in the sanctuary, and at the same time of imparting relief to the sick and the poor of the surrounding country. Hence it is that an immense number of the opulent and extensive abbeys of Ireland were either hospitals for the sick or asylums for the poor; and hence also property to an amazing amount had, centuries after centuries, been legally bequeathed, and given in trust, to these establishments, for the exclusive benefit of the sick, or for the relief of the unemployed and distressed poor of Ireland. A general outline of these religious and national foundations has been already presented; we now come to the period of their suppression; while, in order to reduce the subject within as narrow a compass as possible, and at the same time place before the eyes of the reader a more distinct view of the whole melancholy train of calamities inflicted on the nation by this plundering event, we shall notice only some of the most remarkable of those establishments which, either by charter, by religious bequests, or by immemorial usage, had been constituted alms-houses and public hospitals. It must, however, be remarked, that the total amount of property attached to each respective foundation cannot, at this distant period, be exactly ascertained; nevertheless, from the numerous munificent

* See Constitutiones Provin. Metrop. p. 66.

bequests which we have on record, and from the authenticated roll of the possessions, as they stood when the reign of confiscation commenced under Henry VIII., we are enabled to form a tolerably competent idea of the unfeeling outrage—the crying injustice which, by the alienation of this national property, had been so wantonly committed on the wretched outcast poor of this long-distracted, ill-treated, and most unhappy country.

The priory of Kilmainham, near Dublin, founded for Knights Templars by Strongbow, about the year 1174, merits a distinguished place among the charitable institutions of those times. This priory was both an alms-house and public hospital. In process of time its possessions extended through almost every county in Ireland, and were situated particularly in those of Dublin, Meath, Louth, Carlow, Kilkenny, Waterford, Cork, and Galway. At the time of its suppression, in the 32nd of Henry VIII., it had three gardens, and an orchard within the walls; three other gardens and 370 acres of meadow, on the north side of the Liffey; 80 acres on the south side of Golden-bridge; 191 acres in the Newtown of Kilmainham; the lands of Chapel-Izod, Kilmehanack, Clontarf, Baldoyle, and Donnybrook, together with the townlands of Ballynetra, Ballymony, Castle Tymon, Inisbohin, Cullinmore, Cullinroe, and fifteen others, in the county of Dublin.* The number of tenements which it possessed in Dublin and other places was amazing; and among the churches of which it had the advowson, tithes and alterages, may be noticed those of Kilmainham, Clontarf, Chapel-Izod, Palmerstown, Ballyfermot, Corgagh, and Kilpool, in the deanery of Wicklow; Crevagh in the deanery of Tacheny; Rathmavis, and St. Columba in Kells; the churches of Ardmayle and Ballyeychane in the county of Tipperary; and of Ballygavern and Galmoy in the diocese of Ossory. This asylum continued to flourish until the 32nd Henry VIII., when its doors were closed, and the property of the poor torn from them for ever. Portions of its possessions were granted, by Elizabeth, to Anthony Deringe, William Browne, and to the burgesses of the town of Athenry in the county of Galway.†

The abbey of Louth, founded in the fifth century, was rebuilt in 1148, for Canons Regular of St. Augustin, by Donchad O'Carroll, prince of Orior, and Eleu O'Kelly, bishop of Clogher. This abbey was a public alms-house, celebrated in ancient days for its hospitality to strangers, and in after times for its unceasing charity to the poor. It flourished until the

* King, p. 236. † Aud.-Gen.

33rd of Henry VIII., when an inquisition was held, and the following property, which had for so many years afforded relief to the indigent, was unreservedly confiscated: a hall, dormitory, etc., three parks, three gardens, 200 acres of arable land and 40 of pasture, in Louth; 16 messuages and 280 acres in Corder; 16 messuages and 230 acres in Coleridan; 340 acres and 10 messuages in Canon's Rock and Iniskene; 500 acres and 39 messuages in Kilcronie; 6 messuages and 30 acres in Donelston; 6 messuages and 150 acres in Termonfeghan, together with the tithes of 18 townlands. This charitable foundation was suppressed, and granted, with nineteen townlands, to Sir Oliver Plunket, at the annual rent of 9s. 10d. Irish.*

The priory and hospital of St. John the Baptist, without the west gate in Thomas-street, Dublin, was founded for the relief of the sick, by Ailred le Palmer, in 1188. The Trinitarians, or order for the redemption of captives, had been placed over this establishment, while, by its charter, it was obliged to contain fifty beds for the sick poor.† In 1361, there were 115 patients supported in this hospital; in consideration whereof, Edward III. granted it the deodand for twenty years. Its possessions were situated principally in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Tipperary, and Limerick. Among the churches of which it had the advowson, were those of Grilly, in the county of Meath; Clonyms, Fethard, and Crompstown, in the county of Tipperary; Kilternan, Boulek, Corkmoyle, and Straffan, in the diocese of Dublin. Its immense possessions, branching into several counties, together with the hospital itself, were granted in the 33rd of Henry VIII. to James Sedgrave of Dublin, for a stipulated fine, and an annual rent of 2s. 6d.

The abbey of Kells, in the county of Meath, derived its origin from St. Columba, and had in every age been celebrated for its attention to the wants of the poor. The grants bequeathed to it by Hugh de Lacy, in 1173, consisted of 36 townlands. Richard Plunket was the last abbot, and in the 33rd of Henry VIII. it possessed 90 acres in the townland of Kells; 86 acres in Grangestown; 82 acres in Corbally; 16 messuages and 300 acres in Malerdone; 220 acres in Kilbride; 350 acres in Kiltome, together with 19 rectories. These several possessions were granted to Sir Gerald Plunket.‡

The priory and hospital of Nenagh, in the county of Tipperary, was founded about the year 1200, by Theobald Walter (Butler), for Canons Regular of St. Augustin. The founder bequeathed to this hospital 12 carucates and 140

* Aud.-Gen. † King, p. 57 et passim. ‡ Harris' Tab

acres of land in Cloncurry and Balnath, on condition that it should provide at least thirteen beds for the sick.* In the 5th of Elizabeth, this priory, and its appurtenances, namely, one water-mill, 300 acres of arable and pasture land near Nenagh; 140 acres in Ballygrange; 160 acres in Cloghprior; 300 acres in Ballyalle, together with the advowson of 18 rectories, were granted for ever to Oliver Grace, at the yearly rent of £39 10d.† This hospital was closed against the sick in the reign of Edward VI., and its property was totally confiscated in the 5th year of Elizabeth.

The abbey of St. John, in the city of Kilkenny, was founded in 1211, by William Mareshall, earl of Pembroke, for Canons Regular of St. Augustin; and by a clause in the original grant, it was set apart as an asylum for the indigent poor of that city. Agreeably to the will of the founder, relief had been here administered to the indigent until the 31st of Henry VIII., when Richard Cantwell having been the last prior, the property bequeathed to the poor became merged in the general spoliation. In the roll of its possessions were included 96 acres on the north side of the bridge, and upwards of 900 acres in Grange, Brownstown, and other parts of the county, together with the rectories of St. John, Clara, Jerpoint, Tubbert, Newtown, Muccalee, Castlecomer, Jenkinstown, and St. Mary, New Ross.‡ The abbey and 100 acres, 40 gardens, a mill in Maudlin-street, with 200 acres in Drakeland, were granted to the mayor and citizens of Kilkenny, to hold the same for ever in mortmain.§ The ruins of St. John's Abbey, forming an immense chain of splendid marble windows, presented a truly magnificent appearance. These venerable ruins, so ornamental to the city of Kilkenny, were, however, demolished for the purpose of erecting on the site thereof a mean, paltry, insignificant parish church.

The priory of Enniscorthy, in the county of Wexford, was founded about the year 1211 for Canons Regular of St. Augustin, by Gerald Prendergast, with a clause that relief should therein be dispensed to the poor. The founder accordingly endowed it with two carucates of land at Oernath, the lands and tithes of St. Brigid near Ardee, together with the churches of St. Senan, St. Brigid, and St. John. [illegible] time it became amazingly enriched, and continued (agreeably to the terms of the grant) a public asylum for the poor, until the work of spoliation commenced in the sixteenth century. This priory and its possessions were conceded in 1581 to Edward Spencer.‖

* Monast. Angl. v. ii. † Aud.-Gen. ‡ King, p. 212. § Aud.-Gen. ‖ Id.

The abbey of St. Wolstan, in the county of Kildare, was erected A.D. 1202, by Adam de Hereford, for Canons of the order of St. Victor. This abbey was a public alms-house until the year 1540, when the plunder commenced, and its possessions, a great portion of which had been bequeathed to the poor, were unreservedly seized upon by the commissioners of Henry VIII. It had at the time 4 gardens, 4 parks, 8 orchards, 120 acres at the west side of the priory, 2 water-mills, and the whole course of the Liffey; 4 messuages, and 110 acres near Stacumney; 5 messuages and 260 acres at Parsonstown; 130 acres in Priorstown; 325 acres in Corbally and Straffan; 80 acres in Cordreny, in the county of Dublin; together with the rectories of Stacumney, Killadownan and Donaghmore in the county of Kildare. This charitable foundation and all its possessions were granted, in 1540, to Allen of Norfolk, master of the rolls, at the annual rent of two knights' fees.*

The priory and hospital of Ardee, in the county of Louth, was founded by Roger de Pippard, for Trinitarians, A.D. 1207. For the more ample support of this hospital, the founder assigned to it three carucates of land in Atherdee, and the patronage of the churches of Stackillin and Dovenathmain. Its possessions became in a short time very considerable, while the sick were received without distinction within its wards. George Dowdall was the last prior when this hospital surrendered, in the 31st of Henry VIII.; and the property, which by right belonged to the destitute poor of Ireland, was confiscated; namely, 11 messuages, 56 acres, and 2 water-mills in Ardee; 180 acres of pasture in Shanlys; 140 acres in Purchestown; 220 acres in Blakeston; 230 acres in Ashfield, together with 15 rectories. A second inquisition was held under James I., when various other property was discovered and granted, together with the hospital, to Sir Garret Moore.†

The priory and hospital of St. John, in Drogheda, on the Meath side of the river, was erected by Walter de Lacy for Trinitarians, in the reign of king John. The sick and infirm were received in this hospital until the 31st of Henry VIII. John Dave was the last prior; when the following parcel of its possessions were confiscated: a garden, an orchard, and 13 acres on the banks of the Boyne; one stang and 223 acres in Southfelde; 86 acres near Gennettshill and various tenements in West-street, Friar-street, Fish-shambles, and John-street. In the reign of Edward IV., the hospital, together with its possessions, was sold to James Sedgrave, at the annual rent of 10s. 10d.‡

* Chief Remembrancer † King, p. 68. ‡ Chief Remembrancer.

THE COMMANDERY AND HOSPITAL OF KILLURE, in the county of Waterford, was founded for Knights Templars, at the close of the twelfth century. This establishment was an alms-house and an hospital. In the 32nd of Elizabeth, the following parcel of its possessions were alienated: the townlands of Quillen, Kilbride, Monawee, Kill, St. Laurence, with 160 acres of arable land. It was granted by Elizabeth to Nicholas Aylmer, at the annual rent of £13 6s. 8d.*

THE PRIORY AND HOSPITAL OF DUNDALK was founded by Bertram de Verdon for Trinitarians, about the close of the reign of Henry II. The sick, the aged, and infirm were admitted into this hospital. At length, in the 31st of Henry VIII., this house of charity was suppressed, and granted, with the following parcel of its possessions, to Henry Draycot: 120 acres, part of the demesne-land of the priory; 12 messuages, 3 parks, and 184 acres of arable land near Dundalk; 36 acres in Le Lurgen, together with the rectories of Dundalk, Dromiskin, and 15 others, all situated in the county of Louth.†

THE COMMANDERY AND HOSPITAL OF KILCLOGAN, in the county of Wexford, was founded by O'More of Leix, at the close of the twelfth century, for Knights Templars. In 1326 this establishment was consigned to the Hospitallers. It continued a public asylum, and administered to the wants of the sick until the 32nd of Henry VIII., when it was suppressed. The following parcel of its possessions has been registered in the inquisition of that year. The commandery, with 125 acres, forming the demesne lands of the hospital; 60 acres in Ballygellah; 120 acres in Rochestown, besides reprises; 250 acres in Scorlock and Hore's lands; 24 burgages in the Fayth of Wexford; 23 burgages in John-street, Wexford; and the advowson of the parishes of Hook, Templetown, Kilbride, Whitechurch, St. Michael in Wexford, and Duncormick.‡ This hospital and its possessions were granted to Sir Henry Harrington, at the annual rent of £35 16s. 8d.

THE ABBEY OF ATHASSEL, in the county of Tipperary, was founded for Canons Regular by William Fitz-Adelm de Burgo, in the thirteenth century. This abbey was an alms-house: and from the days of the founder down to [illegible] property had, to an immense amount, been bequeathed to it in pure and perpetual alms. By an inquisition held in the 5th of Edward VI., the following parcel of its possessions were confiscated: 180 acres, part of the demesne-lands of the priory; 260 acres of arable, and 100 of pasture, in the town-

* Aud.-Gen. † Id. ‡ Chief Rememb

land of Athassel; 8 messuages, and 280 acres in Clonaul, together with the rectories of Athassel, Clonmel, Tipperary, and 29 others. The abbey of Athassel, and part of its possessions, were granted to Thomas earl of Ormond.*

The abbey of Carrick-on-Suir, was founded about the close of the twelfth century, by William de Cantwell, for Canons Regular of St. Augustin, and was afterwards made subject to the hospital of St. John de Acon, London. This abbey was an asylum for the poor, until the 28th of Henry VIII., when it was suppressed, and granted to Thomas earl of Ormond, with an adjoining park, and a carucate of land in Ballnacanagh.†

The priory and hospital of St. Mary, Drogheda, without the west gate, was founded about the year 1206, by Ursus de Swemele, as the charter specifies, for the aid and support of the sick. To this hospital, over which the Trinitarians were placed, the founder bequeathed all his lands in Ireland, viz.: the lands on which the priory had been erected, containing 40 acres, with the lands of Kilneir and Odina, and sundry tenements in the town of Drogheda. In this charitable institution, relief was administered to the sick until the 31st of Henry VIII. when its gates were closed against them, and the property confiscated without reserve. The mayor and burgesses of Drogheda obtained a grant of the hospital, with 30 acres in the townland of Carlingford; 6 acres in the townland of Glaspisteil; 12 acres in Strabane; various messuages in Dundalk; the lands of Priortown and the rectory of Inishsmothe, in the county of Louth.‡

The priory and hospital of Castledermot, in the county of Kildare, was founded in the thirteenth century for Trinitarians, by Walter de Riddlesford. It was an alms-house and an asylum for the sick. In the 23rd of Elizabeth it was granted to Sir Henry Harrington, with 40 acres of land; part of the demesne of the hospital; 3 messuages; 130 acres in Grangeford, and 6 townlands in the county of Kildare.§

The priory and hospital of St. John the Baptist, in Down, was founded by John de Courcey for Trinitarians. This asylum, in which the sick had been received, was granted to Gerald earl of Kildare, with two carucates of land in Woodamstown 1 carucate in Ballingarricke, and 2 in Carricknalt, together with the nunnery of Lismullen, in the county of Meath, including 150 acres of arable, and 20 of pasture land in the county of Meath; 60 acres in Harrets-

* Chief Remem. † Lodge, vol. ii. ‡ Aud.-Gen. § Id.

town; 280 acres in Clotterstown; 97 acres in Belgrecourt, county of Dublin; 560 acres in Balmacaren; and 450 acres in Dunsinck and Paynestown.*

The priory and hospital of Kilkenny-West, in the county of Westmeath, was founded for Trinitarians by the family of Tyrrel, in the thirteenth century. The sick had been received within its walls, until it became a prey to the rapacity of the times. In the 11th of Elizabeth, it was granted, with twelve messuages and two carucates of land, to Robert Dillon.†

The commandery of Kilmainham-beg, in the county of Meath, was erected for Knights Templars, by Walter de Lacy, in the reign of Richard I. At the suppression, this hospital was granted at the yearly rent of £63 12s. 2d. to Sir Patrick Barnwell, together with the townlands of Syddaurat, Michelstown, Gardourat, Begstown, and various tenements in Donaghpatrick and Kells.‡

The commandery of Kilsaran, in the county of Louth, was erected for Knights Templars by Maud de Lacy, in the reign of Edward II. This hospital, in which the sick were received, was suppressed at the same time with the former. Its possessions lay in the counties of Louth, Dublin, and Meath; and among its rectories were Rochestown, Gormanstown, Cremartyn, Archerstown, Kilmaynock, Poleveran, and Keppeck.§

The priory and hospital of St. John the Baptist, Kells, county of Meath, was founded for Trinitarians in the reign of Richard I., by Walter de Lacy. The charitable bequests, which at various times had been made to this hospital, and through its agency conferred upon the poor, became at length very considerable. It continued an open and public asylum for the sick, until the commissioners of Henry VIII. had entered upon their novel plan for reforming the charity of the Gospel. In the 31st year of his reign the sick were ejected, the house of mercy was suppressed, and the property which had been religiously bequeathed to the poor, was outrageously torn from them. It was afterwards granted to Richard Slayne, with a fractional portion of its possessions: 74 acres, being the demesne-lands; 19 messuages; a wa mill; 3 closes, and 100 acres of pasture near Kells; 40 acres in St. John's Rath; 70 acres in Mollaghe and the townland of Corison, together with the rectories of St. John in Kells, of Stonehall, and of Durvaghe in O'Reily's country.‖

In this brief selection, we have noticed only some of the

* Aud.-Gen. † Id. ‡ King, p. 71. § Id. ‖ Chief Rememb.

most remakable of those establishments, in which the property bequeathed to the sick and destitute poor of Ireland had been deposited. They were the hallowed asylums of charity—the consecrated sanctuaries of repose for helpless, desolate, suffering humanity. On this subject, however, no comment shall be offered. The facts already advanced shall speak for themselves; they may serve to delineate the character of that frightful epoch in which they occurred, and make us acquainted with one of the principal sources of all the woes and calamities of our unhappy country.

To these public asylums might be added a lengthened catalogue of similar institutions, all of which had been spoliated and demolished in the sixteenth century. Among these the following may be noticed:—the priory and hospital of Athy, founded in the thirteenth century for Trinitarians, by Richard, lord of Rheban; the priory and hospital of Newtown, for Trinitarians, in the county of Meath; the commandery and hospital of Clonaul, in the county of Tipperary; the hospital of Kilmainham-Wood, in the county of Meath; the hospital of Kinalekin, in the county of Galway; the hospital of Teagh-Temple, in the county of Sligo; the hospital of Randown, in the county of Roscommon; the hospital of Killarge, in the county of Carlow; the hospital of Kibarry, in the county of Waterford; the hospital of Adair, for Trinitarians, in the county of Limerick; the hospital of Rhinerew, in the county of Waterford; the hospital of Kilhill, in the county of Kildare; the hospital of Ballyhack, in the county of Wexford; the hospital of Crook, in the county of Waterford; the hospital of Tully, in the county of Kildare; the hospital of Dulek, in the county of Meath; and the hospital of Any, in the county of Limerick.

CHAPTER III.

Religious and Literary Characters of the Sixteenth Century— General Observations.

Maurice De Portu, archbishop of Tuam, eminent for his scriptural illustrations, and learned commentaries on the writings of Scotus, flourished in the commencement of the sixteenth century. The family name was O'Fihely. He was born in the county of Cork, near Baltimore—a place remarkable for its commodious and beautiful harbour; on which account he was generally known among his contemporaries by the distinctive appellation of De Portu. With an intention of embracing the Franciscan institute, Maurice, at a very early age, repaired to Padua, in Italy, where he made his religious profession, and prosecuted his studies with such success, that after a period he took out a degree of doctor (*ex utroque jure*), and taught for several years in the university of that city with unbounded applause. During his residence in this ancient seat of literature, Maurice undertook the revision of the

Reportata, the Dialectic Questions, and other works of Scotus, which he illustrated with valuable notes, and relieved from the obscurity with which such abstruse and metaphysical subjects had unavoidably abounded.* About the same period, he published his "Enchiridion of Faith," and his "Dictionary of the Sacred Scriptures," which latter work was reprinted in 1603, at the request of the illustrious Matthew Zane, patriarch of Venice.† The reputation of this learned man was not confined to Italy; his commentaries were received in most of the schools throughout the south of Europe, and opened a correspondence between him and many of the most eminent teachers in the universities of that age. Among the number of these may be noticed the learned John Camers, who, in his notes on the 35th chapter of Solinus, thus writes:—"In the year following, Mauritius de Portu, a native of Ireland, of the order of St. Francis, became eminent for his extraordinary knowledge of divinity, logick, philosophy, and metaphysicks. It is scarce possible to relate how obliging and courteous, how holy and religious he was in his conversation. He had by him several written monuments of his learning; but his unexpected death prevented their immediate publication. Six hundred letters, which he has written to me on several occasions, must show the intimate friendship which subsisted between us; with the reading of which I am infinitely delighted; so great is the love of true friendship, even beyond the power of the grave." In consequence of his piety as well as his learning, he was held in peculiar esteem by pope Julius II., and in June 1506, was advanced by that pontiff to the archiepiscopal see of Tuam, then vacant by the death of Philip Pinson. The archbishop Maurice, together with Thomas Halsay, bishop of Leighlin, attended at the fifth council of Lateran, in 1515. On the following year he returned to Ireland, but had scarcely reached Galway when he was seized with a sudden illness, and died in the Franciscan convent of that town, where he was interred on the 28th of May, 1516. Anthony Wood, Possevin, and others, enumerate the following works which have proceeded from his pen:‡ Expositio, sive Lectura accurata [illegible] in Quæstiones Dialecticas D. Johannis Scoti, in Isagogen Porphyrii; Venice, 1512. Commentaria D[illegible]is Subtilis[illegible] in duodecim libros Metaphysicæ Aristotelis emendata, et Quotationibus, concordantiis atque annotationibus decorata: Venice, 1507. Epithemata in insigne formalitatum opus, de

* Wadding de Script. † Possevin, Apparat Sacr. Orig. Franc. pars i.
‡ Athenæ Oxonienses, v. i. p. 9.

mente Doctoris Subtilis; Venice, 1514. Dictionarium Sacræ Scripturæ, universis concionatoribus utile et necessarium; Venice, 1603. Epistolæ diversæ ad Johannem Camersium (Sexaginta). Maurice De Portu has likewise written the life of John Duns Scotus, and a book of distinctions, which has been preserved among the Franciscans at Ravenna.

Nicholas Maguire, bishop of Leighlin, has been justly ranked by our annalists among the learned writers of the sixteenth century, He was born about the year 1460, in the county of Carlow; but in compliance with the prevailing custom of this age, he retired to Oxford, where he received his education. On his return to his native country, his talents and acquirements were soon appreciated, and, after some time, he was appointed to the prebendary of Ullard, in the diocese of Leighlin. Besides his extensive scholastic knowledge, and his intimate acquaintance with the writings of the ancient fathers, Nicholas became particularly celebrated for his elaborate and successful researches into the history and antiquities of his native country. A revision of its ancient annals, a correction of its chronology, and other subjects of national interest had been projected, and were in a state of considerable progress, when he was obliged to yield to the wishes of his superior, and undertake the government of the diocese of Leighlin. After his promotion to that see in April, 1490, he devoted the greater portion of his time to the pastoral charge now committed to his care, and being one of the most eloquent preachers of the day, his discourses were attended with extraordinary success. This excellent prelate died in 1512; the only portion of his writings which have been published are a life of his predecessor Miles Roche, and his Chronicle, which has been of great service to succeeding annalists, and particularly to the learned Dowling, in 1598.*

Thomas Fitch flourished in the early part of the sixteenth century, and was the author of some valuable records, which are occasionelly referred to by modern antiquarians. Having studied at Oxford, he became a Canon Regular of St. Augustin, and sub-prior of the church of the Holy Trinity (Christ Church), Dublin. He has written a work, entitled, "De rebus suæ Ecclesiæ," which has been generally called the "White Book of Christ Church." To Thomas is likewise attributed the "Necrology," or book of obits of the said church. Thomas Fitch died on the 16th of January, 1517, and was interred in Christ Church.†

* Ware's Writers. † Ware; Harris' Writers.

Roderic Cassidy, the learned continuator of the Ulster Annals, contributed by his talents and research to spread additional light around the antiquities of his native country. He was a distinguished divine, a civilian and a philosopher, and became archdeacon of Clogher under the learned Patrick Cullen, bishop of that diocese, in 1520. By the united labours of these two eminent men, that invaluable record, the *Register of the Ancient Diocese of Clogher*, had been completed, together with a catalogue of the prelates of that see. The Ulster Annals (as has been already observed) were commenced by Charles Maguire, and brought down to the year 1495;* the work was resumed by Cassidy, and continued to the last year of his own life, 1541. He has likewise enriched the first part of these national annals by the addition of several interesting events, and had intended to illustrate the whole record with a supplement and a variety of scholia, demonstrating its chronological accuracy, but the infirmity of old age prevented him. This learned antiquarian died at Clogher, A.D. 1541.

David De La Hoide, an eminent writer of this age, was born in the barony of Carbury, county of Kildare, about the year 1526. He received his education in Merton College, Oxford, where he took his degree of master of arts in 1553, and afterwards obtained a distinguished rank among the literary characters of those times. "He was (says Stanihurst) an exquisite and profound clerk, extremely well versed in the Greek and Latin languages, and an expert mathematician, antiquary, and divine."† When Elizabeth ascended the throne, the doctrine of the queen's spiritual supremacy was rigidly enforced in the universities: it was, as might be expected, indignantly rejected by numbers, and among these the learned De La Hoide stood particularly conspicuous. In 1560 he published an able dissertation, in which he exposed the novel absurdity of constituting a woman the head of a church; on which account he was expelled the university, and was afterwards obliged to take refuge on the continent. The only works of this learned and conscientious man which have escaped the fury of those times, are an oration addressed to Jasper Haywood, entitled "De Ligno et Fœno," in allusion to the name of that personage; also, "Schemata Rhetorica in tabulam contracta."

Patrick Quemerford, a native of Waterford, and a distinguished alumnus of the university of Oxford, was about the same time pursued by the intolerant spirit of the laws, and

* See cent. xv. c. iii.

† Descrip. Hib. cap. vii.

obliged to take refuge in a foreign land. Soon after his ordination, in 1562, he removed to Louvain, where he renewed his studies with such brilliant success, that after some time he took out a degree of doctor of divinity, and became one of the most eminent lecturers in that university. The desire which he had always cherished of combining the religious with the literary life, had at length induced him to become a member of the society of the Jesuits; accordingly, he removed to Spain, where he was honourably employed for many years, and obtained unbounded applause in some of the most celebrated colleges of that kingdom. He is said to have written many learned tracts on philosophical and theological subjects. During his residence in Ireland he published a treatise, entitled "Answers to certain Questions propounded by the Citizens of Waterford;" together with a collection of sermons; likewise, "Carmina in laudem Comitis Ormondiæ."*

Richard Stanihurst has, by his several learned productions, contributed to add to the literature of this age. He was a native of Dublin; his father, James Stanihurst, was recorder of that city, and had been elected speaker of the Irish House of Commons in several parliaments. Richard Stanihurst was also, by the marriage of his sister Margaret, uncle to James Usher, archbishop of Armagh. Having completed his course with considerable success at Oxford, where he took a degree, he removed to London, and applied himself to the study of the law at Furnival's and Lincoln's Inns. About this time he published his "Commentaries on Porphiry," a production of his youthful days. His next work, "De Rebus in Hibernia Gestis," appears to have been digested immediately after, if we may be allowed to judge from the general outline of its statements, and the object which it is presumed the author had at that time in contemplation. This production comprises a valuable store of interesting historical materials, but like other treatises of a similar description, it abounds with repeated errors, and most palpable misrepresentations. The encouragement which, even from an early period, had been held out to vilify the character of this country, was, in the sixteenth century, carried to an extravagant and shameless extent. Its natural resources, its history and its language, were depreciated by some; the religion and education of its people, their habits and morals, were satirized and unsparingly maligned by others. Should a writer feel anxious to advance himself through the medium of court patronage or of popular retribution, he was

*Athen. Oxon. vol. i.

generally constrained to go along with the current of the times; and it was most probably from a source such as this, that the numerous misstatements contained in the aforesaid work of Stanihurst had taken their rise. "He was prejudiced (says Keating) by the rewards which had been promised him; but he lived to repent this injustice; and when he had entered into orders, he promised publicly to retract all the falsehoods he had published, for which purpose a writing was drawn up, with an intention of having it printed in Ireland."* His work "De Rebus in Hibernia Gestis," was published in four books, at Antwerp, in 1584, together with an appendix from Giraldus Cambrensis. On his return to Ireland, Richard Stanihurst resolved on applying himself to the practice of his legal profession, but being soon disgusted with the intolerant spirit of the times, he left the country, and retired with his family to Brussels. In this city his wife died, by whom he had a son named William, who afterwards became a Jesuit and an excellent writer.† After the death of his wife, Richard took holy orders, and became chaplain to the archduke Albert, at that time residing in Brussels as governor of the Spanish Netherlands.‡ About this period he completed his Life of St. Patrick, in two books, edited also at Antwerp, in 1587. His other works are Hebdomeda Mariana ex Orthodoxis Catholicæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Patribus Collecta; Antwerp, 1609. Hebdomeda Eucharistica; Douay, 1614. Brevis præmunitio pro futura concertatione cum Jacobo Usserio Hiberno, qui conatur probare, Pontificem Romanum verum esse Antichristum; Douay, 1615. He has written, in the English language, a Description of Ireland; a translation of the first four books of Virgil's Æneid into heroic verse; and a translation of some of the Psalms of David. Richard Stanihurst died at an advanced age in Brussels, A.D. 1618.

One of the principal characteristics of Christianity is, that its truths had been diffused over the nations of the earth without the help of either wealth, power, or persecution. A few individuals, bereft of all human aid, but assisted by Heaven, went forth to plant the cross, and to proclaim a Gospel, every maxim of which was in direct opposition to the long-cherished prejudices and favourite passions of mankind. The sword was drawn; the great and mighty of the earth rose up: the philosopher in his pride—the tyrant in his wrath; villages with their population—cities with their multi-

* Preface, p. 9.
† Biblioth. Script. Soc. Je
‡ Miræus, De Stat. Rel. lib. i., c. 52.

tudes—the whole world was arrayed in hostility against them, yet they succeeded, and by meekness and forbearance, by truth and conviction, they laid prostrate the superstitions of ages, and on the ruins thereof, erected the cross and the triumphant Gospel of a crucified Saviour. On the other hand, error and impiety can make no advance unless accompanied by cruelty and the whole train of human calamities: hence it is, that the surest index of a fallacious system is the misery, the woes, the scourges, which, in its rise and progress, it never fails to employ and unsparingly inflict on mankind. The truth of this observation is more than abundantly illustrated by the history of religion in its various forms and revolutions, throughout the different states and nations of the world. Let us take for example Mahometanism, and place it before us as a criterion. The impostor himself set out on the principle of actual compulsion; he put weapons in the hands of his followers; he drew the sword, and plundered and exterminated every man who refused to receive the peculiar system which he unauthoritatively had thought proper to force upon them. From Arabia his successors penetrated into Asia: the rich plains of Palestine, of Asia Minor and Persia, were soon covered with the dead, and crimsoned with the blood of their inhabitants. Villages, towns, and cities were sacked and demolished; public security as well as private property became alike the objects of fanatical fury; confiscations, outrageous despotism, the plunder and blood of the people, marked the footsteps of the innovating religionist; while these beautiful countries, so blessed by Nature, were literally transformed into an almost desolate waste, over which terror and death seemed to maintain an awfully universal and undisputed dominion. Such is the brief but correct outline of both Christianity and Mahometanism in their rise and progress: it now remains with the reader to determine, from the historical facts already stated, to which of the two does the event usually termed the Reformation of the sixteenth century bear the nearest and most natural resemblance. The limits of these remarks prevent us from entering into further illustration: the point at issue is, however, an axiom—a melancholy and a heart-rending one to this unhappy country.

We shall now turn our attention to the unparalleled outrageous plunder which had been committed on the sick and destitute poor of Ireland; still keeping in view the contrast between ancient and modern times—between those ages of Catholicity, when the sick had hospitals and the poor had alms-houses, without any expense or tax on the public, and this our day, when

the unemployed, the infirm, and the destitute, are confined in work-houses, while the erection and expenditure thereof must fall principally on the shoulders of an already overburdened, impoverished, and confessedly tottering community. Before Henry VIII. began his confiscations we had numberless hospitals and alm-houses in this country. To these asylums an immense portion of property had been bequeathed by divers charitable persons; and these bequests were expressed in such a manner, that those who had the property in trust, that is, the priors and abbots, were rendered incapable of appropriating the smallest portion of it to their own use. These hospitals had been bound by charter as well as by their institute, to keep a certain number of beds in readiness for the sick; while the alms-houses were thrown open to the public, and every man in want of bread—the friendless and the destitute met a welcome reception, nay more, they had a claim to the relief which was there freely and generously administered. In forming, therefore, an estimate of the public plunder which had been committed under the pretext of a religious reformation, we abstract altogether from that part of the property which, by donation, personal acquirement, and right, appertained to the ecclesiastic bodies themselves: we take into account only that portion which exclusively belonged to the infirm and the destitute poor of the country, and which we have seen has been shamelessly torn from them. But most assuredly, Christianity must have been outrageously abused, when its sacred name is employed for purposes so base and revolting: we may read of ancient and of modern autocrats, and deprecate their doings, but let history, even in its blackest page, point out any one nation under heaven where human beings have been so oppressed, merely because they were unwilling to give up the religion of their fathers and adopt the whims and fancies of a wicked monarch, and of a corrupted and an abandoned court. If the religious institutions of ancient times were to be upset, and if the property appertaining *exclusively to these institutions* was to be sacrificed, be it so; but the great question still remains, why invade the rights of the poor? Why demolish the public hospital? Why close the door of the alms-house, or confiscate that property which by fair and legal bequest, by natural justice belonged to the sick, the infirm, and the unemployed destitute poor of Ireland? The answer to these queries will lead us to the very source of these evils: it may be readily traced in the historical outline which has been presented in the foregoing sheets, and will be still more forcibly elucidated by both the civil and ecclesiastical events of the subsequent century.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Sufferings of the Church of Ireland under James I.—Intolerant proceedings of Knox and Chichester.—Apostolical letter of Paul V.—State of Catholicity on the accession of Charles I.—History of the Supreme Council.—Ormond creates a division among the Confederates.—Arrival of the Nuncio Rinuccini.—Meeting of the Prelates at Waterford.—Censures of the Nuncio and their consequences.—Synod of the Prelates at Loughrea and James's-town.—Awful progress of Cromwell through Ireland.—History of the Bishops and Priests who sealed the Faith with their Blood.—Remonstrance of the Irish Clergy under Charles II.—State of the Church of Ireland under James II. and William III.

The wrongs hitherto inflicted on the Catholics of Ireland were, without doubt, multiplied and grievous; they were, however, but a mere prelude to the crucible through which the same persecuted but faithful people were, during the entire period of the seventeenth century, doomed to pass. When the sceptre of England had been placed in the hands of the Stuarts, and that James I. ascended the British throne in 1603, the hope of obtaining justice began once more to beam upon Catholic Ireland. Many of those who had been forced into exile returned to their native country: churches were rebuilt—monasteries repaired—the sacred duties of the sanctuary were resumed, and the offices of the Church were performed with undisturbed safety throughout the Kingdom. This state of comparative tranquillity was not, however, suffered to continue: the mercenary spirit of James had rendered him callous to the feelings of humanity, as well as to the dictates of religion; and whenever wealth was to be accumulated or favouritism indulged, both religion and humanity became alike disregarded. Scarcely had this monarch been placed on the throne of England, and the hopes of the people began to revive, when the storm with renewed fury appeared to collect around them. It was ushered in by the publication of an edict dated the 4th of July, 1605; the enactments of Elizabeth were to be rigorously enforced with the following additional announcement: "It hath seemed proper to us to proclaim, and we hereby make known to our subjects in Ireland, that no toleration shall ever be granted by us; this we do for the purpose of cutting off all

hope that any other religion shall be allowed, save that which is consonant to the laws and statutes of this realm."*

The publication of this edict threw the country once more into a state of despondency. It was considered by some as having emanated from the deputy, without having, perhaps, obtained the royal sanction; nevertheless, that it was the sure forerunner of new and frightful calamities, was a truth which no one presumed to question. The clergy were once more obliged to conceal themselves—the nobility were harrassed—the oath of supremacy was renewed, and every means were adopted to gain acquiescence or force it violently on the nation. Such an attempt was, however, as fruitless as it was oppressive; the resolution of the Catholics of Ireland was not to be shaken; while the monarch was left to the mortifying reflection, that his edict had tended only to impart new vigour to the already avowed determination of the people. When open persecution fails, intrigue and the seeds of division are the last materials that remain in the hands of a despot. A new oath is devised, and Catholics of every class are called upon to adopt it as the only test of their allegiance. The substance of this oath regarded principally the well-known and, at that time, almost universally received doctrine among schoolmen, by which the pope's direct or indirect power over temporalities was maintained, together with the right of deposing princes who should happen to come under the public censures of the Church. Every Catholic is aware that this doctrine forms no article of his faith; it was, as has been already stated, a mere question in the schools—at this day it is exploded; yet, at the time of which we are treating, the introduction of such a doctrine, set forth in the shape of an oath, and presented as a state document, produced no small share of discontent and alarm throughout the kingdom. Among the divines and canonists no inconsiderable division prevailed; some maintaining that such oath could be taken as an evidence of fidelity to the ruling power, while others were for adhering to the old scholastic doctrine, inasmuch as in the formula of the oath the opinion itself was emphatically termed both *impious* and *heretical*. The question, however, was put at rest by the brief of Paul V., in 1606, which was immediately followed by another at the close of the same year; in both of these briefs the oath was declared unlawful.† The reader must be sensible that the discussion of this subject comes not within the sphere of this analysis. One thing is

* O'Daly, Relatio Persec. Hib. p. 232. † Ibid. p. 255.

certain, give the people liberty—give them that justice to which they are entitled—open the door to toleration, and such oaths become unnecessary, such questions become at once both unmeaning and innocuous.

The firmness of the Catholics effected what might be termed a respite of about four years. During this brief period, the repose which the country seemed to enjoy, resembled more the awful stillness of the grave, than the flourishing tranquility of a contented and a happy nation. The materials of destruction were gathering—the lava was already collected, and nothing was wanted but the bursting of the crater to make the scene more terrific than ever. In Ireland as well as in England there were agents ready and willing to commence the execution of such a task. This class, in both countries, was numerous enough, while the sphere in which they moved, and the power which they fortunately had not in their hands, served only to cast a deeper tinge on the darkness of their character. At length, in 1610, the proclamation of Chichester, the then deputy of Ireland, furnished the opportunity which had been so anxiously desired.* The sword is drawn, and the altars and priesthood of the country are once more yielded up to the rapacity of the fanatical bigots of the day. It is unnecessary to allow insertion to this document; it was merely a transcript of the edict already published in 1605. By some it was read with scorn; others pitied the man who seemed to be so little acquainted with the spirit of the nation; and all were determined to stand round their religion,—the only undestroyed monument of their ancient national grandeur. Notwithstanding this unshaken resolution on the part of the Catholics, the spirit of the proclamation was followed up, while Chichester, like another Nero, was not unfrequently seen to revel amidst both the ideal and real scenes of its consequences.

Time, however, at length developed the utter incompetency of the governor, nor was it until the arrival of Knox from Scotland that either Chichester or his agents could summon courage sufficient enough to meet the united resolve of the Catholics of this country. Knox (a name sufficiently notorious in the annals of those times) had just been nominated bishop of Raphoe; he held, moreover, the title of supreme prelate: and partly by his obsequiousness, but much more from his inveterate hostility to the Catholics, he obtained the second seat among the counsellors of the kingdom. Before his departure from London, Knox entered into a solemn engage-

* O'Daly, p. 267 et seq.

ment to extirpate the Catholic religion in Ireland; while the king, on his part, invested him with powers the most ample. The new apostle had scarcely arrived in Dublin when he presented himself before the deputy, and in language grave and eloquent set forth the high commission with which he had been entrusted. Chichester, partly from inclination, but much more through dread of the monarch, instantly yields assent; and thus was Knox, under the name of a Christian bishop, authorized to draw the sword and revel amidst the sufferings of his fellow-men. From among the many edicts issued on this occasion, the following shall be selected:*—First, all bishops and priests are to quit the kingdom under penalty of death; secondly, whoever shall harbour a priest shall be punished by the confiscation of his property; thirdly, no papist shall send his son or relative beyond the seas for education, under the usual penalty; fourthly, no papist shall attempt to discharge the duty of schoolmaster in the kingdom; fifthly, all persons, of every age, sex, and rank, shall be present at the service of common prayer on the Lord's Day.

The disappointment which Knox and his followers experienced, must have served as an additional stimulant to their propensity for intolerance. They came to this country under an impression that abundance of church-property still remained; the altar with the magnificence of the sanctuary was shining brilliant before their eyes; and although they pretended to hold the Bible in one hand, they had the other already stretched out to grapple with the spoils. But unfortunately these were all gone,—they were swept away by Elizabeth and her predecessors; while the trifling fragments which remained were carefully collected, and already secured by their own countrymen. During the persecution of Knox, the small humble chapels, which the people of Ireland had with difficulty erected, were plundered and defiled; the altars were demolished; plate, vestments, and chalices were converted to profane uses. Not content with despoiling the sanctuary, it was an occurrence by no means unusual to break into the houses of the nobility and the more comfortable classes, and carry away cups, goblets, and other furniture, under pretence that they were popish vessels belonging to the service of the Church.†

The constancy and heroism of the Catholics of Ireland became now a general subject of eulogy throughout the different nations of the continent; while Paul V. addressed to them

* Porter's Eccl. Annal. p. 249. † Ibid. 252.

an apostolical letter, in which he compares them to the martyrs of primitive times, exhorts them to perseverance, and points out the rewards which in a better world must await them.* "Ye glory in that faith (he adds) by which your fathers procured for their country the distinguished appellation of an Island of Saints. Nor have the sufferings which ye endured been allowed to remain unpublished; your fidelity and Christian fortitude have become the subject of universal admiration, and the praise of your name has long since been loudly celebrated in every portion of the Christian world. Wherefore, be steadfast and persevere: our prayers shall be unceasing."

On the return of Chichester to Ireland, in 1615, the persecution was resumed; but as Cecil and the king himself were obliged to acknowledge, it only served to render the Catholics more united and determined than ever. So astonished were the most incapable of their adversaries, that Chichester was wont to declare, "that popery must be something inherent in the soil of Ireland; that the very air and climate must be infected therewith; when, sooner than abandon it, men were determined on renouncing obedience to their prince, all regard for their posterity, and even their own temporal happiness and lives."†

The deputy, Sir Oliver St. John, who succeeded Chichester in 1616, even surpassed his predecessor in intolerance. This governor, immediately on his arrival in Dublin, caused his proclamation for the arrest of priests to be published. Armed commissaries, headed by the notorious Boyton, scoured the country; the houses of the nobility were pillaged; numbers were cast into prison, while terror and despair once more covered the face of the kingdom.‡ Such was the melancholy state of affairs, when the Catholic prelates of Ireland suggested the propriety of addressing a supplicatory remonstrance to all the orthodox princes of Europe, and particularly to Charles III. of Spain. There was nothing either in the object or in the terms of this document which could even remotely be construed either into disaffection or disrespect for the sovereign under whose laws they were doomed to live. It exhibited a full and faithful outline of persecutions hitherto unparalleled [illegible] an earnest supplication that the Spanish monarch would interpose, and by admonitory influence prevail on James to relax the severity of those statutes which had been so long and so unsparingly enforced against his Catholic subjects.§ This

* Hibernia Resurgens, ab. David Roth, Ep. Ossorien. † Porter, p. 280.
‡ Analecta Sacra, p. 356. § Id. p. 440.

appeal seems to have produced the desired effect; in 1622 Carey, viscount Falkland, was appointed lord deputy, and was, moreover, invested with power from the king to allow to the Irish Catholics the unrestricted exercise of their religion.* This just and benign commission would most probably have been put into execution, had it not been prevented by James Ussher, then Protestant bishop of Meath, and afterwards of Armagh. With such vehemence did this zealot and his faction prosecute their scheme, that on the following year the former sanguinary edicts were renewed, while the clergy, both secular and regular, were once more ordered to quit the kingdom within forty days, or be subject to the penalties specified by law.† Such was the lamentable condition in which the people of Ireland stood when James I. closed his mortal career. He died on the 27th March, 1625.

Charles, who succeeded on the demise of his father, would, perhaps, have acted justly towards his Irish Catholic subjects, had that spirit of religious phrenzy, by which the nation was then distracted, and the interested advisers by whom he was surrounded, allowed him to act agreeable to the impulse of his own feelings. He certainly intended to grant liberty of conscience to the Catholics of Ireland, but as Ware testifies, he was ultimately prevented by the Protestant hierarchy;‡ accordingly, in 1629, we find the usual edicts revived, but with just as little prospect of breaking down the spirit of the people as ever. The writers of those times, in general, give Charles great credit for his liberality and good intentions towards Ireland; but it must be admitted, that like the rest of the Stuarts he was weak, timid, and vacillating: he made use of his friends to serve his own private views; and whenever it answered his purpose, he allowed them to become the victims of the caprice and cruelty of their enemies.

Hitherto we have seen Protestant rulers and Protestant prelates issuing edicts, and with fire and sword pursuing their Catholic fellow-subjects: the scene at length is changed; the spirit of discord, which assuredly belongs to every innovation, is now evoked, and one Protestant faction draws the sword against the other, until at length the throne is upset, and the monarch himself ends his days on the scaffold. [illegible] at the instigation of Laud archbishop of Canterbury, [illegible] in 1637, to force Protestant episcopalian doctrines, with the liturgy of the English Church, on the Presbyterians of Scotland. The experiment proved to be a fatal one: a formidable

* Ware, ad an. 1622. † Id. ad an. 1623. ‡ Id. ad an. 1626.

resistance is made, and in a short time the whole nation is up in arms. In the meantime, the governors to whose care the management of Ireland had been intrusted, used every means to harrass the Catholics: new confiscations were threatened, the prisons were thrown open, and a general extermination was virtually proclaimed. To sources such as these must be traced the insurrection of 1641; while, to oppression on the one hand, and resistance on the other, must be attributed those frightful scenes which the civil history of these times so lamentably unfolds.

The cause of the Puritans was by this time rapidly advancing in England: a great portion of the Irish parliament, and nearly all the officers of state, professed themselves in favour of their views; while, it was well known, that had they succeeded in the overthrow of monarchy, their first act would be to extirpate the Catholics of Ireland, or cause them to be transplanted as colonists along the wilds and desert shores of the West Indies.* Thus circumstanced, the Irish Catholics thought it high time to consult their own preservation. Every law, both divine and natural, imperatively called on them to stand round their religion and secure their altars, their lives, and their property, from the destruction by which they were all inevitably and now alike threatened. In 1642, a general convention of the nation was determined upon, the city of Kilkenny being the place appointed for the deliberation of its affairs. Besides the Catholic nobility and prelates of the kingdom, this memorable assembly was composed of a certain number of the most influential men chosen from each city, town, and county. The freedom of their religion, of their country, and of their king, being the great object for which they had confederated, they came to the resolution of recurring to the only means now in their power, their own union, their strength, and their arms; and they bound themselves by a solemn oath, never to sheathe the sword until they saw their religion free, their king constitutionally independent, and they themselves in possession of their natural and inalienable rights. At the same time the prelates and clergy were called on, as citizens and as the guardians of religion, to come forward and co-operate with their countrymen. In compliance with the demand of the nation, a synod was convened at Kilkenny early in the month of May, in which it was unanimously resolved—"That, whereas, the Catholics of Ireland have taken up arms in defence of their religion, for the preserva-

* Bruodin, Descriptio Rel. Hib. p. 63.

tion of the king, already threatened with destruction by the Puritans, as likewise for the security of their own lives, possessions, and liberty; we, on the part of the Catholics, declare these proceedings to be most just and lawful. Nevertheless if, in the pursuit of these objects, any person or persons should be actuated by motives of avarice, malice, or revenge, we declare such persons to be guilty of a grievous offence, and deservedly subject to the censures of the Church, unless upon advice they change their intentions, and pursue a different course. Given at Kilkenny, 12th of May, 1642."* Thus animated, the Catholics of Ireland are now determined to insist on their rights; and that their proceedings might be conducted with order and becoming dignity, a council of twenty-four is selected out of the general body. The members comprising this tribunal were denominated the Supreme Council of the Confederated Catholics of Ireland: Richard Butler, viscount Mountgarret, was their president; and to the decision of this council the entire nation bound itself to pay implicit obedience. The success which attended their arms during this and the following year, surpassed even the hopes of the most sanguine; in a few months they found themselves in possession of Cork, Limerick, Galway, Sligo, and Duncannon, then considered the most fortified part of the kingdom; they had, in short, all Ireland in their hands, except Dublin and a few forts in the north. Notwithstanding the brilliant and unprecedented success which, up to this period, had crowned the arms of the confederates, nothing more was insisted upon than the original demand; namely, the natural and equitable enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. To this right they were entitled; and considering the embarrassed state in which the affairs of Charles were then placed, their terms would, most undoubtedly, have been accepted, were it not for the treachery and double-dealing of Ormond, then lord lieutenant of Ireland. This governor was an avowed enemy of the Catholics. For some time he indulged the hope of being able to reduce them in the field, but perceiving himself disappointed, he at length found means of prevailing on their leaders to come to a cessation. A peace was agreed upon for twelve months, on condition that each party should continue in the undisturbed possession of those places which they then occupied, while the Catholics, in submitting to it, may be said to have laid the foundation of their subsequent discomfiture.†

* Bruodin, ld. ed. Romæ, 1721. † Porter, Annal, p 287.

Early in the following year, Charles, now reduced to the greatest distress, directed Ormond to prolong the peace, and come upon any terms with the Catholics, provided they would but assist him in putting down his rebellious subjects in England. On this occasion seven delegates were selected, and sent by the supreme council to London; namely, viscount Muskerry, Alexander Mac Donnell, Nicholas Plunket, Sir Robert Talbot, Dermod O'Brien, Richard Martin, and Severinus Brown.* To all the terms proposed by this delegation, with the exception of one, Charles readily assented. The delegates, among other matters, insisted on the secure possession of all the churches then in their hands, and of the property belonging to each; this they urged as forming an essential clause in the conditions of the treaty. The king, however, seemed reluctant; alleging that should he be a party to such a concession, he would inevitably raise up against himself even those very Protestants who had already taken up arms in support of his cause. It is very remarkable that not many months previously, the same observation had been used by Innocent X. in the presence of the secretary, Richard Belling, and of Father Luke Wadding, at that time the confidential agent of the Catholics of Ireland at Rome.† Scarcely had the delegates departed from London, when Charles found it necessary to come into the terms already proposed. The earl of Glamorgan, a nobleman for many reasons highly esteemed by the Catholic body, is therefore despatched to Ireland, and soon after concludes the long-desired peace with the confederates; granting them, in the name of his majesty, both the free exercise of their religion, and the perpetual possession of all the cathedrals, parish churches, and convents which the Catholics then enjoyed, together with the property appertaining to each of these establishments.‡ The confederates, on their part, are pledged to raise a force of 10,000 men, this body to embark forthwith for England and assist Charles in reducing his enemies to subjection. Had Ormond allowed matters to remain in this state, Ireland would enjoy peace, the fanatics of Scotland would be compelled to submit, and England, it is probable, would not be disgraced by shedding the blood of it sovereign. But the measures agreed to by Glomorgan were too favourable to the Catholics. Ormond declares the treaty to be null and void, and in a manner as treacherous as it was unjust, causes the earl to be cast into prison, insisting at the same time that to him alone were intrusted the proper powers

* Carte, v. i. p. 499. † Belling. Annot. in Pontium, p. 182. ‡ Bruodin, p. 78.

of treating with the Catholics, and of placing the question at issue on a constitutional and permanent basis. Hitherto the union which prevailed in the Catholic body was the great cause of all their success. For the purpose, therefore, of creating a division amongst them, Ormond artfully drew up the formula of a new treaty, consisting of thirty articles, but so ingeniously arranged, that the interest of the laity was consulted, while the principal points on which the clergy insisted were altogether rejected.* This scheme, which bespeaks the policy as well as the malice of the author, had the desired effect; and henceforth we find nothing but discord pervading the councils of that body, which had up to this period evinced such unexampled unanimity. Such was the critical state in which the affairs of the supreme council and of the Catholics of Ireland stood, when John Baptist Rinuccini, a native of Florence, and archbishop of Fermo, landed in this country, as apostolic nuncio from pope Innocent X. He arrived in Kilkenny on the 12th of November, 1645, and was received by the confederate assembly with every mark of respect and public rejoicing.† The manly unequivocal language in which the nuncio opened his commission in the presence of the supreme council, is worthy of being recorded; it proves to the world the exalted purity of his motives, as well as the stern justice of the cause in which he now undertook to co-operate. "I am well aware (he remarks) that persons will be found, ready to circulate false rumours; endeavouring to make the public believe that I have been sent over here by his holiness, Innocent X., for the purpose of detaching the Catholic people of Ireland from the allegiance due to his most serene majesty, the king of England. How very far such an assertion is from truth, the Almighty searcher of hearts fully knows. I, therefore, publicly protest and solemnly call my God to witness, that I now do not, nor will I ever devise, approve of, or do any thing which is or shall be detrimental to the honour, rights, or interest of the most august king Charles. Nay more, I now publish and make known to the Catholics of Ireland, both absent and present, that nothing on earth would give greater satisfaction to his holiness, than that the confederate Catholics, having recovered the full and free exercise of their faith, should show unto their mighty and most serene king, although a Protestant, every mark of subjection, assistance, and reverence."‡

* Vindiciæ Catholicorum Hiber. auctore Philopatre Irenæo, lib. i.
† Bruod. p. 96. ‡ Analecta Sacra, p. 200.

The terms of the peace proposed by Ormond were by no means agreeable to the nuncio; they were considered by him and by the clergy as a direct violation of the oath to which the confederates had been already pledged. On the other hand, they appeared satisfactory to many of the Catholic leaders, and to the majority of the supreme council, especially as they embraced all their civil rights, together with the free public exercise of religion; the article which regarded the possession of their churches, and of the ecclesiastical property, being the only exception. The treaty, however, was ultimately agreed upon by Ormond, on the part of the king, and on behalf of the Catholics by viscount Muskerry, Sir Robert Talbot, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Severinus Brown, and was soon after published in Dublin, Kilkenny, and the other cities and towns of the kingdom.* Considering the commanding attitude which the army of the confederates had at this time maintained, it cannot be matter of surprise if a feeling of discontent had instantly manifested itself throughout the country. The independent portion of the laity denounced the members of the supreme council as traitors to the public cause; in the eyes of most of the clergy they were considered as perjurers, while it was strenuously maintained by many that the censures of the Church should at once be enforced against men who, for the purpose of advancing their own views, had thus abandoned the public trust so confidentially placed in their hands. In the midst of this universal excitement, a national synod of the prelates and clergy of the kingdom was summoned by the nuncio. This synod was convened at Waterford; the conduct of the supreme council, and the tenor of the oath by which they had originally bound themselves, were discussed; the peace was condemned as unjust, and alike detrimental to the cause of the country and of religion, while the following decree, emanating from the synod, was caused to be printed and circulated throughout the different cities and towns of the kingdom. "By his eminence John Baptist Rinuccini, archbishop and nuncio, and by the national congregation of the clergy of Ireland, both secular and regular. Questions discussed in the synod of Waterford: Are those to be declared perjurers who accept the terms of peace contained in the thirty articles already transmitted to the supreme council? again, if perjurers, should the sentence of excommunication be fulminated? Having received the opinions and reasons of each, and having, moreover, consulted

* Philopater Irenæus, lib. i. c. iv.

the writings of the most approved theologians, it has been unanimously decreed, that all and each of the confederate Catholics who shall adhere to this peace, or give any assent to its supporters, are absolutely to be considered as perjurers. Among other particulars, we find that in these articles no mention is made of the Catholic religion, no pledge is given for its security, nor is there any guarantee for the preservation of the rights of the country, as the oath most positively requires. On the contrary, all these paramount objects are yielded up to the will and pleasure of the king himself, from whom, in the present disastrous state of affairs, nothing certain can be obtained. In the meantime, the army, the nation, and the supreme council, are subjected to the caprice and dominion of the ministers and officers of state,—men who have always manifested their hostility to the Catholic religion. In order, therefore, that it may be known to all, both in Ireland and elsewhere, that we never will give our consent to this or any other treaty, unless it shall include the security of our religion, our country, and our king, and that our respective flocks may know our sentiments on this subject, which is purely ecclesiastical, We, actuated by conscience, and in the presence of God, have caused this decree to be passed, ratified, and published throughout the kingdom, in both the English and Irish languages; and with our seals, we hereby confirm the same.* The question relative to the excommunication is reserved for a subsequent session.—Given at Waterford, 12th of August, A.D. 1646."†

* The signatures to the above decree are in the following order:—
John Baptist, archbishop of Fermo, and nuncio apostolic; Thomas Fleming, O.S.F., archbishop of Dublin, and primate of Ireland; Thomas Walsh, archbishop of Cashel; Boetius Mac-Egan, O.S.F., bishop of Elphin; Patrick Comerford, O.S.A., bishop of Waterford and Lismore; John, bishop of Killaloe; John, bishop of Clonfert; Edmund O'Dempsey, O.P., bishop of Leighlin; Richard O'Connell, bishop of Ardfert and Aghadoe; Francis Kirwan, bishop of Killala; Edmund O'Dwyer, bishop of Limerick; Emerus Matthews, bishop of Clogher; Nicholas French, bishop of Ferns; James Conall, abbot of Bangor; Patrick Plunkett, abbot of St. Mary's, Dublin; Laurence Fitz-Harris, abbot of de Surio; John Cantwell, abbot of Holy Cross; James Tobin, abbot of Kilcoole; Robert Barry, vicar apostolic of Ross; Donald O'Grapha, vicar apostolic of Kilfenora; Gregory Ferrall, provincial of the Dominicans; Denis O'Driscol, provincial of the Augustinians; Edmund O'Theige, procurator of the primate of Armagh (Hugh O'Reilly †); Walter Lynch, vicar apostolic of Tuam; William Burgat, vicar apostolic Emly; James Dempsey, V.G. of Kildare; Cornelius Gafney, V.G. of Ardagh; Oliver Dease, V.G. of Meath; Dominick Roche, V.G. of Cork; Simon O'Connory, V.G. of Cloyne; Edmund Fitz-Gerald, V.G. Clonmacnois; Charles Coghlan, V.G. L———; Robert Nugent, superior of the Jesuits; Anthony Mac-Geoghan, procurator provincial of the Franciscans; Barnabas Barnewell, commissary general of the Capuchins.

† Cox, appendix, p. 122; Ingrat. Disert. ed. 1676.

Immediately after the termination of the synod, the nuncio returned to Kilkenny. His cause was now warmly supported by Owen O'Neil and the troops of the north, while viscount Muskerry and the other members of the supreme council were taken into custody, and, with the exception of Nicholas Plunket and Patrick Darcy, were cast into prison. A general convocation of the whole nation is summoned, a new council is chosen, and the nuncio himself is appointed its president. The oath required to be taken by this new confederate body was substantially the same as that which had been proposed by the former supreme council: the ecclesiastical portion of it, however, was more distinctly specified, and may be reduced to the following heads:—1. All the laws enacted after the twentieth year of Henry VIII., against the free exercise of the Catholic religion, were to be repealed. 2. The Catholics were in future to enjoy the public exercise of their religion throughout the kingdom, with the same degree of ceremony and splendour as had been observed both in Ireland and in England during the reign of Henry VII. 3. The secular clergy of Ireland were to hold and enjoy all their privileges, jurisdiction, and immunities, in as free and as ample a manner as their predecessors had done during the reign of Henry VII. 4. Archbishops, bishops, and other dignitaries, and all parish priests, shall possess their churches and benefices in the same ample manner as the Protestant clergy had enjoyed the same on the 1st day of October, 1641.* On the 5th of the ensuing October the sentence of excommunication, already referred to, was published in Kilkenny, against all those who, after this promulgation, should defend, sanction, or in any manner approve of the late peace; and shortly after, by a protest of the general national confederacy, the same peace was declared null and void and of no effect, inasmuch as it afforded no kind of permanent security for the public exercise of the Catholic religion.

The dissensions which now ensued were attended with all their natural consequences. In the city as well as in the camp the link was broken, the spirit of the nation began to decline, while those who but a few days before stood matchless in the field, were obliged either to contend with the nuncio, or stand by as useless spectators of the general ruin which was gathering fast around them. Delegates had been despatched to the queen in Paris, and to Innocent X., but nothing could be effected; they returned home without being able to obtain even the most remote promise of assistance.†

* Ex Archiv. S. Isid. Armarium. v. num. viii. fol. 98. † Philop. Iren. lib. i. c. 8

Inchequin had hitherto placed himself at the head of the parliamentary troops. The views of the Puritans having, however, been fully developed, he resolved to abandon his party, and in January 1648 declared himself at length in favour of the royal cause. Thus circumstanced, his next object is to come on terms with the confederate Catholics; he offers to conclude a peace with them, and his conditions appear satisfactory, at least to the supreme council. As had been the case in the treaty with Ormond, the interest of the laity was abundantly consulted: the second and fourth articles were those in which the state of religion was embodied. By the second article it was agreed "that no confederate Catholic should suffer any injury in the free exercise of his religion, so long as the said cessation should continue to be observed," and according to the fourth article, "the property in the actual possession, as well of the clergy as of the laity, was to remain in the same undisturbed state as it had been when the cessation commenced."* This treaty, although approved of by a considerable portion of the ecclesiastical body, was no less disagreeable to the nuncio than the former: besides the insecurity on which it was placed, the interest of religion was far from being included in its provisions; and above all, it seemed by no means to correspond with the letter or spirit of the oath by which the confederates had bound themselves.

The division which this treaty had created throughout the confederate body was still more ruinous and deplorable than that which had arisen out of the cessation of 1646; among the great majority of the prelates it met with unqualified disapprobation. Early in the following April a declaration was published at Kilkenny, to which the signatures of fourteen prelates were attached, at the head of which stood the name of the primate, Hugh O'Reilly, archbishop of Armagh. In this document they state, that after having examined the question with all its reasons and circumstances, they are decidedly of opinion that this cessation must inevitably tend to the overthrow of the Catholic religion in this kingdom. They accordingly declare it to be an iniquitous treaty, and by no means binding on the conscience of any individual. This declaration, notwithstanding the weight and respectability of its signatures, proved ineffectual. On the 7th of May, therefore, the nuncio quitted Kilkenny, and retired towards the west of Ireland; and on the 22nd the cessation was agreed to, ratified, and published in the same city. The publication of this treaty was accompanied by

* Philop. Iren. lib. i. c. ix.

a supplementary protest from the supreme council, in which they maintained that in all their proceedings they were guided by the direction of the general confederacy, and by the exigency of existing circumstances: they likewise insinuated that the nuncio was employing every means to create a division, and at length involve the nation in one frightful scene of general ruin. Such was the state of affairs when the comminatory sentence of excommunication was affixed to the gates of the cathedral of St. Canice in Kilkenny, against the theologians who had approved of the peace; and on the same day (27th of May, 1648,) the decree of excommunication (*latæ sententiæ*) was fulminated against the members of the supreme council, and all those who should in any manner yield assent to the cessation.

Thus it was that one false step was followed by another still more imprudent: the censures of his eminence were now generally looked upon with an eye of indifference; and while new breaches were effected, and former ones left unrepaired, it was but natural to expect that such unwise proceedings should inevitably terminate in some general catastrophe.

Yet, in many places these censures had been rigorously executed, and became, at times, an almost insurmountable obstacle to the contemplated movements of the council, against which they had been principally levelled. The dignitary who seems to have given particular offence by his rigid enforcement of the interdict, was Patrick Comerford, bishop of Waterford. He caused the churches to be closed all over his diocese; the divine offices, as well as the sacred mysteries of the altar, ceased to be publicly solemnized, while the people, thus deprived of spiritual consolation, and exposed to the conflicting opinions of the day, were formed into various factions, and occasionally allowed their feelings to carry them to a pitch of alarming excitement. The supreme council at length interposed, and addressed a comminatory epistle to the prelate, in which they respectfully objected to his proceedings, but assured him, at the same time, that unless he caused the churches to be opened, and allowed the duties of the altar to be publicly celebrated, they should be reduced to the unwelcome necessity of taking into their own hands [illegible] and uncontrolled possession of all his temporalities. This species of intimidation had but little effect on the mind of the unbending prelate In his reply to the council, he assures them, that the step which he had taken, had been the result of calm and mature consideration, that it had met the general concurrence of his clergy, and that in executing the censure of the inter-

dict, he had done nothing more than what his conscience had coolly and imperatively dictated. "As to my temporal goods," he observes, "the greater part of them are long since in the hands of our common enemy, while some of our own Catholic nobility hold possession of the greater portion of the remainder, as I have already proved by the records of the income of my diocese, which I have lately caused to be presented before your lordships."

The result of this correspondence has not been recorded; but it is certain that the bishop of Waterford continued steadfast in his opposition to the treaty, and had been, throughout the whole proceeding, a zealous advocate in support of the measures of the nuncio.*

On the following month, the supreme council made an appeal against the validity of the censures, and, at the same time, circulars were directed to the prelates and clergy of Ireland, requesting their attendance at the forthcoming meeting of the confederate body, and their respective answers to certain queries connected with the oath and proceedings of the council. Among the queries, the following were those to which the greatest importance seems to have been attached:— First, whether any, and what part of the cessation is injurious to the Catholic religion; and if so, does it become sufficient matter for issuing a sentence of excommunication? Secondly, whether it can be shown that this excommunication and interdict are not repugnant to the laws of this realm, as they stood in Catholic times? Thirdly, whether an appeal, made to Rome, within the time specified by the canons, does not suspend both the excommunication and interdict, together with all the direct and indirect consequences? Casuistry and scholastic decisions served now to fan the flame of discord among the clergy, in the same manner as political opinions divided the laity in the council and in the camp. A treatise was published at Kilkenny by David Roth,† bishop of Ossory, containing an answer to the foregoing questions, and defending those who maintained the invalidity of the censures. This work was confirmed by the authority of several distinguished theologians, and among others by Thomas Dease, bishop of Meath.

Thus did the spirit of discord make its way through every class, while that union by which alone the Catholic cause could expect to triumph was nowhere to be found. The learning,

* Ex. Hist. MS. Legationis Hibernicæ.

† He died in Kilkenny, April, 1650, and was interred in St. Mary's Church. Dease died in Galway, same year, and was buried in St. Nicholas' Collegiate Church.

together with the acknowledged patriotism of these prelates, had served to throw powerful weight on their opinions. David Roth, by his constant attendance at the council, his solid and prudent decisions, and the popularity of his writings in defence of the liberties of the nation, had long since become one of the most influential characters in the country. As a canonist the bishop of Meath stood unrivalled; but the man who appears to have been a general favourite was Nicholas French, bishop of Ferns. With the erudition of the scholar, he combined the piety of the prelate and all the enthusiasm of the patriot: on many occasions of great national emergency, his services were successfully tried, and gratefully recorded in the recollections of his countrymen.

The decision which these eminent men had pronounced on the question at issue, now became a favourite topic among all classes: a considerable number of the clergy had already supported it by their signatures; with the intelligent portion of the laity it was exceedingly popular. In this critical posture of affairs, a national synod was summoned by the nuncio; the prelates are directed to assemble in the town of Galway, while against these proceedings the supreme council, in terms of defiance, enter their protest.* An indictment amounting to twenty charges having been drawn up against his eminence, Father John Rowe, provincial of the Carmelites, is despatched to the pope, with directions to have it submitted to his holiness, and at the same time the speaker of the council, Sir Richard Blake, gives notice to the nuncio to quit the kingdom and proceed to Rome.† In the meantime every access to the town of Galway was cut off; the roads were blockaded with military, and some of the ecclesiastics on their way to the synod were taken into custody, and sent under an escort to Kilkenny. At this critical period, Ormond arrives in Ireland, and on the 17th of January, 1649, the peace was ratified and published at a general meeting of the confederate assembly. Among the articles, thirty-five in number, were the following:‡ First, the Catholics of Ireland are exempt from the oath of supremacy, and all penal laws are to be abrogated. Secondly, they are to continue in [illegible] session of all the cathedral churches and ecclesiastical [illegible] at present in their hands, until the pleasure of the king shall be declared on this point in the free assembly of the nation. Thirdly, all monastic establishments, with the lands appertain-

* Philop. Iren. lib. i. c. xii. † Carve, p. 348.
‡ Carve, p. 349; Philop. Iren. lib. i. c. xvii.

ing to them, provided they do not exceed a certain number of acres, are to be left now and for ever in the undisturbed possession of the religious. Fourthly, the free parliament, already expressed, is to be held within six months from the conclusion of this peace. Fifthly, the Catholics are bound to keep in arms a body of 15,000 foot and 25,000 cavalry, and to hold the undisturbed possession of all the cities, towns, and forts, which they now have in their hands, until all these terms shall be fully settled by parliament.

At this general convocation of the confederate body nine Catholic prelates attended; and upon the ratification of the peace, the following circular was drawn up and ordered to be published throughout the respective dioceses.*

"Whereas the war, undertaken principally in the cause of religion, has gained for us, throughout the world, the name and character of an independent nation, in like manner, the peace which we now conclude with the king's representative, and that at a time when his majesty is in imminent danger, proves us to be a conscientious and a faithful people. Although during the various contingencies of this war, which has now been continued for seven years, we have invariably retained this fidelity, and have confirmed the same by our oath, nevertheless, we have not been free from misrepresentation. All this, however, is now set at rest by means of the present peace. We trust that our views on the subject of this treaty, are such that ye will cordially receive it, and contending as ye are against traitors to heaven and to your king, there is every reason to hope that on such grounds your cause must be victorious."

Thus was the treaty at length concluded; but it was of no avail; for in twelve days after, on the 30th of January, 1649, Charles I. ended his days on the scaffold, and both the throne and the altar became at once an easy prey to the fanaticism of the Puritans. As soon as the report of the king's death had reached Ireland, the nuncio resolved to continue no longer in the kingdom; accordingly, on the 23rd of February, he set sail from Galway, and after a tedious passage, arrived safe in Normandy, from whence he repaired to Rome. Upon what principles he defended himself against the accusations preferred against him, has not been ascertained; it is, however, certain, that the absolution from the censures was not obtained until the time of pope Alexander VII. (1665)†

The confederate Catholics, when too late, began to see the

* Cox, appen. p. 166. Ware's Annals.

bad effects of their late dissensions; in a few weeks after they suffered a signal defeat at Rathmines, and in the August of the same year, Cromwell lands in Ireland. The frightful carnage which attended the arms of this usurper in Drogheda, Wexford, and other places, does not come within the scope of this analysis; in the midst, however, of these awful scenes, the prelates with a number of other dignitaries proposed to hold a general synod on the 4th of December, at Clonmacnois. Such meetings became now unavailable: to think of contending with the storm through the medium of synods, was little more than the expiring efforts of a tottering community; it served, however, to afford another illustration of the attachment of the Irish prelacy to their lawful monarch, and of their solicitude for the security of the Catholic faith. Whatever might have been the motives which actuated the policy of Ormond, at this period, cannot be easily fathomed. Circulars were instantly directed from the viceroy to each of the prelates; they were called upon to discontinue their sittings at Clonmacnois, and to meet his excellency on the 8th of the following March, in the city of Limerick. A disappointment, which probably had not been anticipated by Ormond, rendered this intended convocation impossible. When the time specified in the circulars had arrived, the gates of Limerick were closed, while the mayor, at the head of the inhabitants, refused the viceroy admission into the city. Thus circumstanced he recommends the prelates to adjourn to Loughrea, as a place most convenient for their deliberations. Accordingly, two very numerously attended meetings were held in this town; the first on the 19th of March, and the second on the 25th of April, 1650. In the first of these, a general protest was drawn up, in which the prelates proclaim their attachment to the prince of Wales, now Charles II.; they denounce the act of the regicides as sacrilegious, and promise to employ all their influence in arraying the spirit of the nation against the enemies of both the altar and the throne.* In the second, John Burke, archbishop of Tuam, and Sir Lucas Dillon are commissioned to proceed to Limerick, for the purpose of prevailing on the citizens to receive a garrison, and place themselves under the direction of the viceroy. Such, however, was the implacable hatred which this brave people had entertained against the double dealing of Ormond, that they refused to listen to any proposals; so that the agents returned to Loughrea without being able to effect an accommodation.

* Porter's Annal, p. 326.

It was expected that Charles II. would have proceeded direct from France to Ireland; the king himself had already expressed his determination to adopt that course,* but with the Stuarts, resolutions and promises were mere empty sounds. Instead of sailing for Ireland, Charles directed his course to Holland, where he remained for a short time, and thence repaired to Scotland. Having now placed himself in the hands of the very men who, but some months before, had conducted his father to the scaffold, Charles renounces those very principles which he had hitherto openly avowed, and violates all his former engagements. In the presence of the Scots nation, in the face of Europe, he acknowledges the sin of his father in having entered into a matrimonial alliance with an idolatrous family; he condemns the peace which had been made with the Irish; denies having ever given his concurrence to the transaction, and declares it to be of no effect.†

The Catholics of Ireland thus treacherously abandoned, are now compelled to fly to those last resources which our common nature has wisely provided for the protection of man; they have recourse to arms; while the prelates, and the great body of the clergy dissolved their meetings at Loughrea, and appointed a national synod to be held on the 6th of August in the same year, at the Franciscan convent of James's-town, in the county of Leitrim. In this synod, the conduct of Ormond was deservedly censured; it is now discovered that he had directions from Charles I. to grant to the Catholics the full extent of their demands at the time of the first treaty in 1643; he is recognized as the prominent cause of all the misfortunes that befel the throne and the kingdom, while two of their body, the bishop of Dromore and the dean of Tuam, are deputed to wait on his excellency, and prevail on him to resign the government into the hands of some person already enjoying the confidence of the people.‡ Ormond accordingly resigned the government of the country about the close of the year 1650, having first placed the seals of office in the hands of a nobleman of distinguished patriotism and popularity, Ulic Burke, marquis of Clanrickard.§

The unprecedented success which attended the arms of Cromwell, had now transformed the country into one frightful scene of carnage and desolation; villages became a mass of ruins; towns and cities were stormed and plundered; in short, the kingdom, from one extremity to the other, assumed the

* Carte, vol. ii. p. 128. † Leland, vol. iii. p. 376; Carte, vol. ii. p. 129.
‡ Cox. append. 48, p. 178. § Carte, vol. ii. p. 140.

awful appearance rather of a region of death, than of a land intended by Nature for the residence and happiness of human beings. The fury of the storm was particularly levelled against the altars and priesthood of the country. In rural districts, as well as in cities and towns, the churches were demolished, while the convents were converted into garrisons in which the troops of Cromwell and his followers were quartered. Meanwhile the clergy, both secular and regular, are compelled to take refuge in the inaccessible morasses of the country, or amids the rocks and caverns of the mountain. Some there were whom Providence protected, but a still greater number became victims; having heroically laid down their lives in testimony of the faith of their fathers.*

When Ireton, Cromwell's successor, had stormed the city of Limerick, he caused the venerable Terence Albert O'Brien, bishop of Emly, to be apprehended and brought before him. Bribes and threats were alternately held out; but the prelate continued inflexible. With a view to overcome his resolution, Ireton gave directions to have him bound in chains and cast into prison. The dungeon, however, had no terrors for the martyr; his constancy rose superior to them all. He is at length sentenced to be brought forth and strangled in the public place of execution. When he arrived at the spot, the serenity and cheerfulness of his countenance drew sentiments of pity from his very executioners, while the people, many of whom had ventured to approach the place, were inconsolable: "Weep not for me," rejoins the holy prelate, "but rather pray that I may receive strength from the throne of mercy and thus happily end my course. Keep the faith; submit to the dispensations of Heaven; dread the wrath of God; observe His commandments, and thus indeed shall ye possess your souls in peace." The martyr then turned to Ireton, and in language prophetically awful, warned him to beware of the vengeance of Heaven, which was already impending over him; he assured him that his days were numbered, that a few weeks would terminate his career on this earth, and that his end would be miserable. This prediction of the martyr was literally verified: before three weeks had elapsed, Ireton died in Limerick of the plague, accompanied with all the horrors of despair. The holy prelate finished his course on the eve of All Saints, 1651: his head was afterwards set on a spike, and placed on the top of the citadel, where it remained unchanged until after the period of Cromwell's usurpation.†

* Porter's Annals, p. 400 et seq. † O'Daly, Relatio Persecut. p. 344.

About the same time Boetius Egan, bishop of Ross, was tortured and put to death by the directions of Ludlow, who had been already engaged in storming that town. This prelate, in the warmth of his charity, had ventured to make his way through the recesses of the neighbouring mountains, for the purpose of administering the sacraments to the dying. On his return to the lonely retreat, in which he had for months lain concealed, he was overtaken by a troop of Broghill's cavalry. The renunciation of his faith, he was told, would secure not only his pardon, but even the confidence of their general: bribes and promises were employed, but these were unavailable. He was accordingly given up to the fury of his executioners. His arms, having been severed from his body, he was brought to a neighbouring tree, where he closed his happy career, being suspended from one of its branches by the reins of his horse.*

The heroic sufferings of Emer Mathew, bishop of Clogher, are likewise honourably recorded in the annals of those times. This venerable prelate, while in the discharge of his pastoral duties, fell into the hands of Coote, one of Cromwell's most strenuous supporters. After having been for several days exposed to the indignities of a licentious soldiery, the prelate was at length conducted to Enniskillen, loaded with heavy irons, and cast into a dungeon. Here he remained evincing the firmness of a martyr, while his enemies incessantly cried out for his blood. Sentence of death was accordingly pronounced: he was hanged and bowelled, his head being afterwards set on a spike and placed in the public market.†

While these frightful scenes were passing on, both in the north and in the south, the remaining prelates of the kingdom, shut up in the fastness of the forest, or in the recesses of the mountain, had to endure privations still more insupportable than death itself. Many of them were sheltered by the vigilance of the faithful; some were recommended to reserve themselves for better days, and look for that security in distant lands, which it was now considered impossible to expect at home. Among the number of those heroic exiles, we find Nicholas French, the venerable bishop of Ferns. Having, with great difficulty, found means of effecting his escape, he retired to the diocese of St. Jago, in the north of Spain, where he was most affectionately received by the archbishop of that see. From thence, after the lapse of some years, he repaired to Ghent, in Flanders, in which city he died,

* Bruodin, p. 530. † Id. p. 480.

on the 23rd of August, 1678, and in the twenty-sixth year of his exile.*

Thomas Walsh, archbishop of Cashel, after having for a long time escaped the fury of his pursuers, by remaining concealed in that wild range of mountains which run between the counties of Tipperary and Cork, at length took shipping in one of the southern ports of the latter county, and after a perilous voyage, arrived at Compostella, a town in the province of Gallicia in Spain. Robert Barry, bishop of Cork and Cloyne, together with Patrick Comerford, bishop of Waterford and Lismore, proceeded to Nantz, and were received with great kindness and respect by both the clergy and people of that city. Edmund O'Dwyer, bishop of Limerick, and John Culenan, bishop of Raphoe, took refuge in Brussels. Walter Lynch, bishop of Clonfert, withdrew to Hungary. Edmund O'Dempsey, bishop of Leighlin, retired to Gallicia. Francis Kirwan, bishop of Killala, repaired to Rennes in Brittany. Hugh Burke, bishop of Kilmacdua, was sheltered by his friends in England. Andrew Lynch, bishop of Kilfenora, found an asylum in Normandy, under the auspices of the illustrious primate, Francis de Harlai. Arthur Magennis, the venerable bishop of Down, after having been tossed about by storms for many days, and in consequence of his advanced age being but badly calculated to endure such hardship, was at length seized with a violent fever, and died on sea.†

In this manner did the tempest unabated roll over the Church of Ireland; nor were the prelates of the kingdom its only victims. The Irish priesthood had been long since proscribed in the councils of the regicides; hence the clergy of all ranks and of every order were alike involved in the same sweeping sentence of universal extermination. Among the garrisons and fortified parts of the kingdom, which appear to have offered the most formidable resistance to the progress of Cromwell, the town of Wexford has been distinctly noticed by all our historians, both ancient and modern. By means of the treachery of Stafford, Wexford, however, was at length stormed; an infuriated soldiery poured into the gates; Cromwell had previously given orders for a general massacre, while in the frightful carnage which ensued, both clergy and people indiscriminately perished. From the body of the clergy at that time residing at Wexford, six priests, members of the Franciscan Order, were selected, upon whom, in a particular manner,

* See chap. iii.

† Elenchus Episcop. a Nichol. Fernensi, Bruodin, Passio Martyrum.

the regicides appear to have exhausted the whole fury of their vengeance. The names of these devoted victims were, Richard Sinnott, *custos* of the province, and formerly guardian of St. Isodore's College at Rome; Paul Sinnott, for many years employed in Barbary, as legate from the pope; Francis Stafford, guardian of the convent of Wexford; John Esmond, lately guardian of the same convent; Peter Stafford, a man of distinguished eloquence, peculiar meekness of manners, and wonderful austerity of life; and Hamond Stafford, who, after having for many years presided over the convent of Wexford, at length withdrew from the society of man, and led the penitential life of an anchoret on Beg-Erin, a lonely desolate island, lying within view of the town of Wexford.* These religious ecclesiastics having, for several days, endured a variety of indignities in the common prison, were all brought out and executed together; in their sufferings evincing the firmness and resignation of martyrs, and by their death proclaiming, in the face of their enemies, the triumphant and everlasting truths of the Catholic faith.

While these scenes of horror had been perpetrated in Wexford, others of a similarly awful description were witnessed in Cork, Clonmel, Limerick, Drogheda, and other parts of the kingdom. Before the close of the year 1619, the whole county of Cork was overrun, pillaged, and seemingly depopulated.† What Cromwell had left undone was completed by Ludlow. In that year, ÆNEAS O'CAHILL, a priest of the Order of Preachers, and highly esteemed for his learning, eloquence, and sanctity of life, fell into the hands of the Puritans. This good priest, anxious to impart the consolations of religion to his afflicted countrymen, had embraced the resolution of visiting those mountainous parts of the country, in which greater numbers of the people had already taken shelter from the fury of the persecution. While pursuing his journey, he was overtaken by a party of Ludlow's troops, and having fearlessly acknowledged himself a Catholic priest, he was instantly assailed on all sides, and left a mangled victim on the highway. Not content with this unprovoked barbarity, they seized the bleeding carcass, severed it limb from limb, and left the fragments to be scattered by the winds of heaven.‡

When the forces of Cromwell had been on their way to storm Clonmel, JAMES O'REILLY, a young ecclesiastic of that

* Walsh's Hist. of Irish Remon. part ii. p. 585.
† Crawford's Ireland, an. 1649. ‡ O'Daly, Relatio Persecut. Hib. p. 358.

town, having been admonished to provide for his safety by taking refuge among his friends in Waterford, complied with the advice and proceeded along the bye-ways of the country. Being, however, unacquainted with the roads, he lost his way and fell into the hands of his enemies. This ecclesiastic, after frankly acknowledging his sacred profession, was put to death and mangled in the same manner as Æneas O'Cahill had been in the county of Cork.*

During the siege of Clonmel, Nicholas Mulcahy, parish priest of Ardfinan, in the county Tipperary, a man of extraordinary zeal, was seized upon by a reconnoitering party of Cromwell's horse. He had been frequently advised to fly from the storm, but his affectionate solicitude for the people rose superior to every counsel. He was bound in irons, conducted to the camp of the besiegers and offered his pardon, provided he would but use his influence in prevailing on the inhabitants of Clonmel to surrender the town. These terms being rejected; he was brought under the walls, and by a general order was beheaded, while in the act of praying for his flock and forgiving his enemies.

Miles Magrath, of the Order of Preachers and a member of the convent of Clonmel, underwent an ordeal of sufferings and was put to death in the same town, not many days after. This excellent priest, anxious to attend the sick, had returned to Clonmel soon after the siege. Having celebrated the divine mysteries, and being in the act of attending a dying person, he was taken into custody, then put on the rack, and at length suspended from a gibbet by the orders of one of Cromwell's satellites, who, at that time, had the command of the garrison.

James Lynch, parish priest of Kells, in the county of Meath, and Richard Nugent, parish priest of Ratoath, in the same county, were both put to the torture, and died on the same day in defence of their faith. The former, a venerable old man, nearly eighty years of age, was massacred in his bed, to which he had, through infirmity, been for a long time confined. The latter was sent under an escort to Drogheda, and a gibbet having been erected within sight of the walls, he ended his course with that Christian firmness, which confounded his enemies, and drew forth the tears and benedictions of his disconsolate friends.

Dominick Dillon and Richard Oveton, ecclesiastics of

* O'Daly, Relatio Persecut. Hib. p. 358. Translated by the Rev. C. P. Meehan. Duffy, Dublin.

great eminence in Drogheda, suffered death in testimony of their religion, the very day on which that town had been stormed by the Puritans. They were conducted into the centre of the camp, and while in the act of raising their hands to heaven, and proclaiming the truths of the Catholic faith, they were both beheaded.*

James Wolfe and John Collins, of the Order of Preachers, both natives of Limerick, and members of the Dominican convent in that city, became victims to the fury of the regicides about the close of the year 1651. The zeal and unaffected piety of the latter had endeared him to his friends—his valour and patriotism had rendered him the terror of his enemies. At length, however, he fell into their hands, and on the scaffold evinced the same resignation and fortitude for which during life he had been so celebrated. The former, filled with compassion for the sufferings of the people, had ventured to make his way into Limerick, after that city had been forced to surrender to Ireton. The vigilance of his persecutors could not, however, be long evaded: when this zealous missionary had been for about eight days employed in administering the sacraments to the dying, and while offering up the sacred mysteries, he was arrested, brought before the governor of the city, and sentenced to be executed in the public market,—his very executioners being filled with amazement at the fortitude—the Christian heroism with which he suffered.†

These few illustrious sufferers have been selected from the almost countless catalogue which the historians of those times have left on record: a distinct and circumstantial account of all would require volumes.‡ On the 6th of January, 1653,

* O'Daly, p. 356. † Ibid. p. 353.

‡ Subjoined are the names of the priests, secular and regular, who were, during this year, confined as prisoners in the island of Bofin, or shut up in the gaols of Cork and Galway. Rev. James Fallen, V.G.; Rev. Roger Commin, secular priest; Rev. Gerald Davock, Dominican; Rev. Brien Comy, Franciscan; Rev. Thomas Bourke, Franciscan; Rev Philip Walshe, secular priest; Rev. Thomas Grady, secular priest; Rev. Timothy Mannin, secular priest; Rev. Miles Tully, secular priest; Rev. Patrick Trevor, secular priest; Rev. John Kelly, secular priest; Rev. M'Leighlin Conry, secular priest; Rev. Anthony Geoghegan, abbot; Rev. John Dillon, Dominican; Rev. Thomas M'Kernan, Franciscan; Rev. Edward Delamar, secular priest; Rev. Terlagh Gavan, secular priest; Rev. John Russell, V.G.; Rev. William Heneay, secular priest; Rev. William Farrell, secular priest; Rev. Redmond Roche, secular priest; Rev. Conner Keilly, secular priest; Rev. Dennis Horgan, secular priest; Rev. Henry Burgat, Dominican; Rev. Timothy Donovan, Franciscan; Rev. Connor Hurly, Franciscan; Rev. James Slevin, Franciscan; Rev. Thomas Roony, Franciscan; Rev. Conor Scaulan, Franciscan; Rev. Bernard Comins, Dominican; Rev. Bonaventure Dant, secular priest; Rev Thomas Burke, secular

the first edict emanated from the commissioners appointed by the republican parliament for managing the affairs of Ireland; it was instantly published throughout all the cities, towns, villages, and parishes of the kingdom. By this edict the exterminating statute passed in the 27th of Elizabeth was revived; twenty-eight days are allowed for the departure of all priests from the kingdom, but after that period, should any priest be detected in the country, "he incurs (says the statute) the guilt of high treason—he is therefore to be hanged, cut down while alive, beheaded, quartered, bowelled, and burned; the head to be set on a spike, and exposed in the most public place—moreover, should any person entertain or harbour a priest, he shall suffer the confiscation of his property, and be put to death without the hope of mercy."* Every exercise of the Catholic religion, even in private, was now held and declared a capital offence; spies and informers were to be seen in all directions scouring the country; a reward of five pounds was to be given for the apprehension of a priest, together with one-third part of the property of the person in whose house he shall be discovered.† These informers were likewise, by virtue of the edict, to be promoted to offices and dignities, as men who deserved well of the state.‡ To this instrument of refined cruelty, the following supplement was soon after annexed. "And if any one shall know where a priest remains concealed, in caves, woods, or caverns, or if by any chance he should meet a priest on the highway, and not immediately take him into custody and present him before the next magistrate, such person to be considered a traitor and an enemy to the republic. He is accordingly to be cast into prison, flogged through the public streets, and afterwards have his ears cut off. But should it appear that he kept up any correspondence or friendship with a priest, he is to suffer death."§

This deadly persecution, for which we can find no parallel in the whole annals of tyranny, was considered still incomplete. The climax was wanted, but was soon supplied by the oath of abjuration, which all who had attained the age of twenty were now, under severe penalties, obliged to take.‖

priest; Rev. Francis Horan, secular priest; Rev. Thomas Mac-Kernan, secular priest; Rev. Terence Gavan, secular priest; Rev. Hugh McKenna, secular priest.—"Ex Libro Archivii Provincialis Collegii Lovaniensis, S. Antonii de Padua, Fr. Min. Hibernorum." * O'Daly, p. 375.

† The same reward (namely £5) was in those times offered for the head of a priest and that of a wolf—hence the clergy were hunted and pursued with the same avidity as the very beasts of the field.

‡ Morisson, Threnodia, Hiberno Catholica, p. 27.

§ Ibid. ‖ Ib. p. 31.—Bruodin, p. 95.

Thus was Ireland, once a religious, enlightened, and a far-famed nation, torn, outraged, and trampled upon; her priesthood put to the sword—her nobility dispersed—her people exiled—liberty annihilated—learning proscribed—religion insulted—what the sanctity of ancient times had consecrated, modern impiety has now defiled—what Nature so bountifully blessed, the unfeeling despot has covered with torrents of tears and blood.

Notwithstanding the threats and edicts, the commissioners and informers, the gibbets and terrors, that had for so many years been employed to overawe the nation and strip it of its faith, still the ancient religion of the country flourished as lively as ever in the hearts and affections of the people. Nor did they succeed in their scheme of extermination; numbers, no doubt, were swept away, but vast multitudes still remained shut up in the towns and villages, or scattered in countless thousands over the face of the country. This it was which filled their enemies with redoubled fury, and at length suggested the infernal design of converting the whole province of Connaught into one frightful national prison. In the year 1654, and on a given day, specified by the edict, every Catholic in the kingdom, without distinction of rank, age, or sex, was ordered to repair to Connaught. Around this province, which, from famine and the sword, had now become a desolate waste, certain boundaries were marked out, and within these precincts were the wretched Catholics of Ireland enclosed, without food, raiment, or shelter,—friendless, hopeless, and unpitied. No pen can describe or mind conceive the frightful scenes of misery that now ensued. It was death to step beyond the limits; a Catholic found in any other part of the kingdom could (according to the laws of the regicides), be butchered by any private individual without jury or judge or magistrate. Famine, pestilence, and despair now set in; one thousand perished of hunger and disease; many (says a contemporary writer),* cast themselves from rocks and promontories; numbers flung themselves into whirlpools and rivers; on one side they were repelled by the sea, on the other they were hemmed in by the sword of the slaughterer, while within the [illegible] were to be seen the barren rocks, the walking spectres, and those other innumerable calamities that usually compose the awful train of the contemptible bigot, the usurper, and the tyrant.

Such was the deplorable condition of the Catholics of

* Morisson, p. 19, et seq.

Ireland until the year 1658, when Cromwell was summoned before the tribunal of an eternal Judge. On the 3rd of September in that year, the earthly career of this monster terminated: an event long and ardently wished for by all humane and upright men; to his persecuted victims it afforded unspeakable delight.

The experience of the preceding nine years had now wrought its natural effect. The national mind, long since disgusted with scenes of private misery and of social derangement, became loud in its demand for the restoration of monarchy; the republicans, cut up as they had been into sections and parties, now began to give way; and accordingly, in 1660, Charles II. set out from Belgium, made his public entry into London, and was soon after crowned, amidst the heartfelt joy of the whole kingdom.

It has been asserted by some writers, that Charles, on his accession to the throne, had declared himself favourable to the wishes of the Catholics of Ireland: this statement, although a gratuitous one, may be true; yet both the past and subsequent conduct of Charles must suffice to render it doubtful. In the very commencement of his reign, the Act of Settlement was brought before the consideration of parliament.* By this act 2,700,000 acres, the property of the ancient Catholic families of country, were confiscated, and divided in lots among the soldiers of Cromwell, outcast Puritan vagrants, whose hearts and hands were still stained with the blood of his father.†

The injustice of these proceedings was now aggravated by a renewal of all the old calumnies so frequently advanced but as often refuted. Their religious principles were incompatible with the safety of the crown; their engagements were not to be depended upon; they entered into treaties the most solemn, but they broke them at pleasure; they were Nuncionists, Rinuccinis, dissemblers, and traitors. To vindicate themselves and their religion from those foul and malicious imputations, the clergy and the Catholic gentry of Ireland were warmly advised, by many of their friends, both in this country and in England, to prepare a satisfactory, but respectful, remonstrance, and cause it to be presented to his majesty with as much expedition as possible. This friendly suggestion, although approved of by all, could not, from the peculiar circumstances of the times, be carried into effect until about the close

* Leland, vol. iii.

† Carte, vol. ii.—Of these spoils, 130,000 acres were allotted to Ormond, by which means his income, which hitherto had been £7,000, was now swelled to the enormous sum of £80,000 per annum — Petty's Political Anatomy, p. 2.

of the year 1661. At that time three Catholic gentlemen, residing in Dublin, Sir Richard Barnwall, Richard Belling, and Thomas Tyrrel, together with Oliver Dease, vicar-general of Meath, and Father James Fitzsimmons, guardian of the Franciscans at Dublin, found an opportunity of consulting together, and the remonstrance already alluded to was agreed upon.* It was proposed that Richard Belling, who had, in 1644, been appointed the acting secretary of the supreme council, should prepare the draft of this remonstrance; that it should exhibit an accurate statement of their religious principles, as well as a refutation of the calumnies which had been so unjustly heaped upon them; and that as the clergy were the persons against whom these attacks had been principally levelled, the remonstrance should, on that account, be in perfect accordance with their opinions, and be distinctly set forth in their name. This document was accordingly executed; however, that portion of it which referred to the temporal authority of the pope, was no more than a literal transcript of the printed declaration of the Catholics of England, drawn up by Father Cressy, an English Benedictine, and presented to Charles I. at Westminster about the year 1640.† Singular as it may appear, the remonstrance, when fully prepared, was instantly transmitted to London, without having at the time obtained the signature of a single prelate, or of any of the Catholic clergy to the kingdom. Circumstances, it is true, had rendered it impossible to collect the united sentiments of the prelacy; our bishops, compelled like the fathers of primitive days to yield to the storm, were now scattered, wandering exiles through the different nations of Europe; out of the twenty-eight prelates who composed the hierarchy of Ireland in 1650, only three are to be found in the whole kingdom at the time of which we are now treating.‡ Whatever might have been the motives which influenced the individuals with whom this remonstrance originated, whether it had been the necessity of despatch, the exigency of the times, or the impossibility of consulting the clergy, certain it is that it had been forwarded in the state already described, and committed to the manage-

* Walsh's Hist. of Remon. treatise i. p. 6.

† See this remonstrance in Appendix I.—This learned ecclesiastic was for some years Protestant dean of the diocese of Leighlin, but having renounced Protestantism, he soon after published his *Exomologesis*, in which he presents an ample and satisfactory statement of the reasons which induced him to embrace the Catholic faith.

‡ The only prelates at this time in Ireland were Edmund O'Reilly, archbishop of Armagh; Anthony MacGeoghegan, bishop of Meath; and Owen MacSweeny, bishop of Kilmore. This last prelate, through age and infirmity, was confined to his bed and unable to leave his house.

ment of Father Peter Walsh, at that time residing in London, as the procurator or accredited agent of the Catholics of Ireland.

Peter Walsh was a native of Moortown in the county of Kildare, and about the year 1630, retired to the convent of St. Anthony at Louvain, where he embraced the Franciscan institute, and completed his studies with great applause. During his ecclesiastical course he became acquainted with Jansenius, at that time doctor of the university of Louvain and bishop-elect of Ipres, to whom he dedicated his philosophical Thesis, but to whose subsequent doctrines on grace he never, it appears, had given his support or assent.* On his return to Ireland he was appointed to the Franciscan convent of Kilkenny. Here he was employed for many years as public lecturer of divinity, and was at length introduced to the notice of Ormond, by means of the unremitted and overheated zeal with which he opposed the proceedings and censures of the nuncio. Peter Walsh was certainly endowed with very considerable abilities, and appears to have been well versed in the general ecclesiastical literature of those times. Being naturally bold, impetuous, and enterprizing, his ambition impelled him to aspire to the episcopacy, but the means which he employed were unbecoming the Christian,—they were certainly unworthy the scholar and the man. While his country was oppressed and plundered, he took shelter under the patronage of its avowed enemies; he was the warm advocate, the time-serving creature of Ormond, with whose duplicity and implacable hatred to the Catholic name, he must have been perfectly well acquainted. Owing to the circumstances of the times and the influence which he possessed, he was, in 1660, appointed by the primate, Edmund O'Reilly and others, as procurator or general agent of the Catholics of Ireland; and in that capacity he resided in London at the time the document already mentioned had been committed to his care.

The remonstrance being thus placed in the hands of the agent, was soon after presented by him to some of the leading members of the cabinet; but being an anonymous communicated document, it was immediately returned, with a recommendation to have it signed as speedily as possible by the Catholic prelates, nobility, and clergy of the whole kingdom. Out of thirty expatriated Irish priests, then residing in London, twenty-four readily affixed their signatures to it, together with Oliver Darcy, bishop of Dromore; the remaining six refused

* Hist. Remonst. treatise iv. p. 75.

their assent, alleging that the language employed in the memorial was not sufficiently respectful to the Holy See.* In Ireland, the remonstrance met with a most unfavourable reception; as soon as it had appeared, one general outcry was raised against it in almost every diocese of the kingdom; the doctrine which it contained was considered dangerous, false, and already censured by the Church; it was rejected by some with as much abhorrence as the oath of supremacy, and condemned by all for the intemperate and disrespectful terms which pervaded its entire composition.

While doubts and difficulties had been thus raised on the part of the clergy, the Catholic nobility and gentry of Ireland appeared to have been placed altogether beyond the influence of such scruples. Early in the year 1662, a numerous meeting of the nobility took place at the house of lord Clanrickard, in Dublin, the remonstrance was produced, approved of, and signed by the following noblemen: lords Castlehaven, Clancarthy, Carlingford, Mountgarret, Brittas, Fingall, Tirconnell, Galmoy, Slane, Gormanstown, and Clanrickard. It was soon after signed by a considerable number of the gentry, and by upwards of two hundred of the principal inhabitants of the county and town of Wexford.†

Ormond had scarcely entered on his administrations, when Peter Walsh arrived in Ireland; his presence, however, tended only to supply fresh vigour to the already avowed opposition of the clergy. The mischievous policy of Ormond produced similar effects among the laity. Under pretence of defeating an alleged plot of the Puritans, the city of Dublin was filled with arms; churches and places of worship were closed, priests were apprehended and cast into prison, even the very chapel in which Father Walsh was officiating was attacked by the military on St. Stephen's Day; many were wounded, and the clergy attached to the convent were taken into custody. To complete the odium of these proceedings and create in the public mind a still stronger aversion to the remonstrance, the primate, Edmund O'Reilly, was most unwarrantably accused of having acted in concert with Jones, one of the leaders of the Puritan party, and compelled to quit the kingdom. The letters, also, and official documents which reached Ireland from Brussels, Rome, and other quarters, had now served to render the anti-remonstrants still more determined in their opposition. In July, 1662, the internuncio, Hieronimus de Vecchiis, addressed an admonitory epistle to the bishop of

* Hist. Remon. treatise i. p. 9. † Ib. p. 96.

Dromore, to Father Bonaventure Brodin, and other ecclesiastics, in which he strongly denounces the remonstrance, observing that it contained propositions similar to those long since condemned by Paul V. and lately by Innocent X.; that the present formula of allegiance had, in various consistories, been deservedly censured, and that, if persevered in, it would in all probability be more injurious to the Church than all the persecutions which had been levelled against it.* This letter was accompanied by another on the eighth of the same month, addressed to the nobility and gentry of Ireland, and written by cardinal Francis Barbarine, in the name of the whole congregation of *Propaganda*, of which he was president. As this document was one of the principal authorities on which the opposition of the anti-remonstrants was grounded, it may not be deemed improper to give it insertion in this place, and present it to the reader in a fair, literal translation.

"To the noblemen of Ireland—If the most holy and affectionate father of the faithful hath, at any time, reason to grieve for the lamentable condition of your affairs, it certainly is the present, when he beholds you threatened with ruin, not alone from external enemies, but even from your very domestics, nay more from your very brethren. For the evil now approaches not from the north alone; the destructive wind at length blows from that very quarter whence the gentle breathings of the Gospel should have come. Those who should be the disciples of truth, are now become the masters of error; and to show fidelity to their king, they destroy faith. In their proceedings, however, it must be principally noticed, that they published a protestation (of allegiance), in such terms, that they may be said to have violated the Catholic faith, and gained nothing on earth which they might not have obtained, that very faith remaining entire. For who shall dare deny that by the Catholic faith due obedience to princes is cherished, whereas by the precept of the Gospel every man is bound to yield to Cæsar what is Cæsar's, and to God what belongs to God? When, therefore, these persons declare fidelity to their prince, they speak the language which is consonant to the faith which they profess; but with [illegible] can they advance who, in testifying their allegiance to a monarch, have thought proper to subscribe their [illegible] to certain propositions already condemned by the Apostolic See? What discredit must it not bring on the ecclesiastical order, when men become the leaders of errors who should, by their

* Hist. Remon. p. 16.

ministry, be the instructors of mankind? It hath, indeed, grieved the soul of the most holy pontiff to behold the unsavory salt pouring forth its exhalations, and to witness those who should enlighten others, bringing darkness and death on themselves. Wherefore, let those who have not yet subscribed this formula, be cautious lest they be drawn into the pit by foolish leaders; let them hold the doctrine pure, sound, and entire. Who stands, let him take heed lest he fall. But as to those who have unhappily fallen, let them rise without delay, and recognize that right hand which their most holy and affectionate father holds forth in admonishing them. Finally, let all of you, united in the bond of peace, yield that respect and duty to your king, which true faith teaches. In the meantime, I earnestly pray that all things may be prosperous to you, and in the name of that congregation appointed to superintend your affairs, I exhort you to cherish that heroic unshaken constancy which you have hitherto so nobly manifested, in defending the purity of your holy religion. Be convinced, likewise, that the Catholics of Ireland are beloved by our most holy father in the bowels of Christ, and that his holiness is from his whole heart, and out of that charity which is from God, possessed with the most affectionate desire for the health and tranquillity of you all. Given at Rome, 8th of July, 1662. Signed, Francis Barbarine."*

Notwithstanding the powerful efforts which had been made by Peter Walsh, Father Caron, and others, the cause of the remonstrants made but very slow advances; if station, dignity, and numbers be considered, they were left in a most discouraging minority. The number of priests residing in Ireland, in 1665, amounted to about two thousand, of which number, twelve hundred were secular priests, and about eight hundred regulars of different religious orders.† Out of this entire body, only sixty-nine had signed the remonstrance.‡ There were but three Catholic bishops at the same period in the whole kingdom: the aged and venerable John Burke, archbishop of Tuam, who, having been sixteen years an exile, had just then returned from the continent, intending (as he himself expresses it) to have his ashes laid in the tomb of his fathers; Patrick Plunket, bishop of Ardagh, who arrived in the same

* Hist. Remon. p. 17.

† The number of Franciscans in Ireland, in 1665, amounted to 400; of Dominicans, 209; Augustinians, 100; Jesuits, Carmelites, and Capuchins, in all, 100. There were some few Cistercians and Canons Regular of St. Augustin, dispersed in the large towns, and employed in the parishes as curates and parish priests.—Hist. Remon. part ii. treatise i. p. 575.

‡ Hist. Remon. p. 47.

year, and the infirm, suffering, saintly bishop of Kilmore, Owen MacSweeny.* The remaining dioceses of Ireland were governed by vicars-general and capitular; men unexceptionably opposed to the diction of the same formula. The plan of convening a national synod had been long since contemplated by the remonstrant-party; it was warmly encouraged by Ormond, with a view of creating a still greater division among the clergy, and of confirming the charges which he had already advanced against their principles. For this purpose Father Peter Walsh was selected as the advocate of the original remonstrance; to the generality of the clergy, however, the intended synod appeared unnecessary and dangerous.

At length, on the 18th of November, 1665, and in a private conference, held at the agent's residence, the convocation of the synod was determined upon; the bishop of Ardagh and the vicars-general of Armagh, Dublin, and Meath, acting on that occasion as the representatives of the general body of the clergy. Having first obtained an assurance of protection from Ormond, it was agreed that an *indiction*, or letter of notice, should be instantly drawn up, and a copy of it carefully despatched to the several dignitaries of the kingdom, secular and regular.†

It was then arranged and specified in the circulars, that ten ecclesiastics should be sent to the synod, as representatives from each province, together with the provincials of the different orders, to whom a privilege was granted of bringing each two divines or canonists. Finally, the day appointed for the opening of the synod was the 11th of June, 1666, and the place in which they were to assemble was the residence of the parish priest of St. Audoen's, Dublin.

On the day specified in the circulars the synod was opened, and continued its sittings for fifteen days successively; Andrew Lynch, bishop of Kilfenora, (who had, but a few months before returned from exile) being with one voice

* Hist. Remon. p. 573.

† The names of these dignitaries are :—

Patrick Daly, vicar-general of Armagh, and exercising at that time metropolitan jurisdiction over the whole province; James Dempsey, vicar-apostolic of Dublin and capitular of Kildare, enjoying likewise metropolitan jurisdiction over the province of Leinster; John Burke, vicar-apostolic of Cashel; Anthony Dogharty, minister-provincial of the Franciscans; John O'Hart, prior-provincial of the Dominicans; Stephen Lynch, prior-provincial of the Augustinians; A. Saul, superior-provincial of the Jesuits; Thomas Dillon, prior-provincial of the Discalced Carmelites; Gregory Mulchonry, Commissary of the mission of the Capuchins; and Bartholomew Fitzgerald, abbot of the Cistercians.

appointed chairman, and Nicholas Redmond, vicar-general of Ferns, acting as secretary. The two first days were occupied in the discussion of some disciplinary arrangements connected with the general interest of the Irish Church: on the third day Father Walsh introduces the main subject which had brought them together,—the important question of the remonstrance. His speech, which occupied nearly three hours, went to show that there was nothing contained in the substance of the remonstrance which could, by a fair construction, be declared contrary either to Catholic faith or morals, and in particular, that the pope had no power over the temporalities of any prince.* His arguments were generally admitted, yet when applied to the remonstrance in question, with its supposed ambiguous and disrespectful language, they became unavailable. He was heard throughout with profound attention; but the concurrence of the synod could not be obtained. On the evening of that day, the primate, Edmund O'Reilly, landed in Dublin, after an absence of four years. His arrival, and the letters with which he had been entrusted from the internuncio Rospigliosi, Martin, bishop of Ipres, and others, served to confirm the previous resolutions of the clergy, and to decide the fate of the remonstrance. Besides the formula of allegiance which, in reality, was the proposed subject of discussion, Ormond, by the agency of his party, had contrived to introduce, for the acceptance of the synod, six scholastic propositions already sanctioned by the faculty of the Sorbonne. By three of these propositions, the temporal authority of the pope over states or princes was not acknowledged; the remaining three amounted to a rejection of certain scholastic doctrines relative to his individual infallibility and superiority over œcumenical councils, and were clearly irrelevant to the subject for the discussion of which the synod had been convened. The mischievous views of the party were now distinctly seen and acknowledged by all: dissension and insult were among the objects proposed by the introduction of such questions; the wisdom, however, and firmness of the clergy prevented the possibility of these expected consequences. On the sixth day the synod came to a unanimous determination of formally rejecting the original remonstrance of 1661; a committee was appointed, and a new protestation of allegiance was drawn up, which embodied all the principles of fidelity contained in the former remonstrance, omitting at the same time, those expressions which had been generally considered

* Hist. Rem. ii. part i. p. 575.

either ambiguous or disrespectful.* The first three of the Sorbonne declarations were received and signed, the remaining ones, not being connected with the proceedings of the assembly, were very properly omitted.

As soon as this new protestation of loyalty had received the signatures of the entire body, it was intrusted to the care of the bishops of Kilfenora and Ardagh, together with the following resolutions or transcript copy of the Sorbonne declarations already admitted and sanctioned.†

1. "We, the undersigned, do hereby declare, that it is not our doctrine, that the pope hath any authority in temporal affairs over our sovereign lord, king Charles II.; yea, we promise that we will still oppose those who shall assume any power, either direct or indirect, over him in civil or temporal affairs.

2. "That it is our doctrine, that our gracious king, Charles II., is so independent, that he doth not acknowledge, nor hath he in civil and temporal affairs any power above him under God: and this to be our constant doctrine, from which we shall never recede.

3. "That it is our doctrine, that we subjects owe so natural and just obedience unto our king, that no power, under any pretext whatever, can either dispense with or free us from the same."

The prelates, in whose hands these resolutions and the approved remonstrance had been placed, lost no time in executing their commission; that same day, they waited on Ormond at the castle, presented both documents, but were received unceremoniously, and dismissed with a cool indifferent assurance, "that after he had read and considered on their papers, they should hear further from him.'‡

The fathers of the national congregation had now placed in the hands of Ormond, a remonstrance as ample as that of 1661; the objectionable passages, which had been omitted, were sufficiently supplied by the first three of the Sorbonne declarations, while the reasons already assigned for not noticing the remaining three, should have removed from the mind of a dispassionate man every ground of cavil or dissatisfaction. [illegible] ing Monday, being the 25th of June, and the 15th day of [illegible] meeting, Peter Walsh, by directions from Ormond, [illegible] the chairman to dissolve the synod and retire from Dublin, observing at the same time—"that neither their remonstrance

* For this remonstrance see appendix ii. † Hist. Rem. ii. part, p. 694.
‡ Hist. Rem. ii. part, p. 682.

or resolutions had offered the least satisfaction to his excellency."

The resentment of Ormond was now inflamed in proportion to the success with which his measures had been defeated. He renews all his former charges against the toleration of Catholic principles, and represents them as inconsistent with the safety of the state. For the purpose of affording additional weight to these accusations, the Valesian Remonstrance of 1661 is evoked; it was represented as a summary of all the real constitutional principles of allegiance; but it was denounced by the internuncio at Brussels, it was condemned at Rome, and was finally rejected by the whole body of the Irish clergy assembled at Dublin. While these attempts had been made to prejudice the public mind, and to exhibit the principles of Catholicity in a light odious to his majesty, silence the most profound and treacherous was observed on the subject of the clerical remonstrance and resolutions agreed upon by the late synod; they were cushioned, and with them disappeared both the flattering promises of a deceitful viceroy, and all the long-cherished expectations of the Catholics of Ireland.

Peter Walsh, finding that he had, by his factious opposition, already forfeited every claim to those distinctions which at one period of his ambitious career he so ardently desired, was now compelled to rely partly on the generosity of Ormond, and occasionally on the fruits of his own literary labours. His writings, as well as his speeches on the question of the remonstrance, were too pointed, and were, for the most part, exhausted on subjects already understood and readily admitted by all parties. Among his contemporaries he had advocates; but it must be recollected, that he had still a considerably greater number of opponents; and whatever might be the general decision of posterity on the propriety of the remonstrance, it must be admitted, that his subsequent productions betrayed an actual perversity of intention, and were justly censured as rash, erroneous, dangerous, and even schismatical. In justice, however, to the memory of this unquestionably learned man, whose public life and opinions have called forth the animadversions of both ancient and modern writers, but whose acts of atonement have been passed over in silence, we shall now present to the reader an authentic document, containing the solemn retraction of Father Peter Walsh, his condemnation of all the errors contained in his writings, and his unqualified submission to the voice, decision, and authority of the supreme head of the Catholic Church. This retraction

was made before competent witnesses, whose names are subjoined, and is to the following effect:—

"I, Fr. Peter Walsh, Lector of sacred Theology, and Priest of the order of St. Francis, of the Strict Observance, of the province of Ireland, do, before God and witnesses, called together for this purpose, submit, and most deliberately subject all, and whatever books I have ever written or published in any language, to the examination and judgment of the Holy Roman Catholic Church, and of the Vicar of Christ on earth, the Roman Pontiff; and from henceforth I retract, condemn, annul, and reject whatever may, in these writings, be found either erroneous, or scandalous, or injurious to the Catholic faith, to sound doctrine, to good morals, or to any individuals. I promise, moreover, that should health and strength permit, I will, to the utmost of my power, both expressly and from my inward feelings, retract all those and everything, which in these my aforesaid works and published writings, may be deemed necessary, either to be condemned or suppressed; and that I will always and in all things, submit my own private judgment to that of the Church, which I now, in truth and reality, do, as an humble and obedient child of the Church and of the Seraphic Order. In testimony whereof I have hereby, before witnesses, subscribed this 13th day of March, 1688 (new style).

"Joseph Francis Genetti,
"Pater Fr. Anthony M'Carthy.
"Pr. Fr. John Everard.
"Pr. Fr. Francis Forstall."

This document, taken from a book of the archives of St. Anthony's College at Louvain, has been faithfully preserved, and may be seen in the library of the Franciscan convent at Wexford. As an interesting remnant of antiquity, we now give it in the original words:—"Ego Frater Petrus Valesius, S. Theologiæ Lector et Sacerdos ordinis S. Francisci, strictioris observantiæ, provinciæ Hiberniæ adscriptus, submitto coram Deo et testibus ad hoc vocatis, et subjicio ex animo omnes et quoscumque libros quos unquam scripsi et typis dedi, quocumque idiomate, examini et judicio S. Catholicæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et Christi in terris Vicarii, Romani Pontificis; et ex nunc retracto, damno, deleo rejicio quidquid in eis repertum fuerit erroneum, scandalosum aut quoquomodo noxium Catholicæ fidei, sanæ fidei, bonis moribus [illegible] cumque hominibus; promittens, si vita et vires suppetent, [illegible] meis dictis operibus damnanda aut supprimenda visa fuerint, me expresse et ex animo, etiam libris editis, quatenus opus fuerit, retracturum, et judicium proprium semper ecclesiæ judicio omnino subjecturum. [illegible] submitto, tanquam humilis et obediens Ecclesiæ et Ordinis Seraphici filius. In quorum fidem præsentibus subscripsi die 13 Martii, 1688 (stylo novo).

"Josephus Franciscus Genetti,
"Pr. Fr. Antonius M'Carthy,
"Pr. Fr. Joannes Everard,
"Pr. Fr. Franciscus Forstall."

Before many years had elapsed, the power of Ormond, already at its summit, was seen to give way. He was supplanted by his rival, Buckingham; while Berkley, a wise and moderate man, was, at the same time, invested with the administration of the affairs of Ireland. During his commission, which lasted only for two years, the Catholics enjoyed stations of trust and honour; they became members of corporate bodies and of the magistracy, while an unprecedented calm appeared to settle upon the nation. It was, however, no more than the periodical stillness with which every boisterous element in nature is attended; for in 1673, the reins of government were once more placed in the hands of Ormond, and the country, with its religion and rising happiness, is again converted into an universal scene of terror and blood. Through the infamous intrigues of Shaftsbury, lord chancellor of England, Titus Oates, and other wretches of hired villainy, were brought forth; Catholic plots and popish treason became the ordinary outcry of the day; the old machinery of past sanguinary times were got ready, and Catholics of every rank were marked out as the victims, in whose blood these tragical preparations were to terminate. During the following year, the Catholic chapels of the kingdom were closed: priests, both secular and regular, were proscribed. The same spirit which walked abroad in the days of Elizabeth and of Cromwell, was now making rapid strides along the hamlets, towns, and cities of the country. Peter Talbot, the venerable archbishop of Dublin, sinking under age and infirmity, and lord Mountgarret, old and bed-ridden, were both taken into custody and dragged to prison.* The saintly, learned, and illustrious archbishop of Armagh, Oliver Plunket, fell a victim to the malice of his enemies in London.† Dominick Burke, bishop of Elphin, and numberless others, found means of retiring from the kingdom, and thus escaped the pursuit of their persecutors. These frightful scenes were kept up with but little intermission, until the year 1685, when Charles II. ended his mortal career. It has been stated by writers of respectability, that Charles had, long before this event, secretly renounced Protestantism, and embraced the truths of the Catholic faith‡ That he was attended on his death-bed by Father John Huddleston, an English

* See chap. iii. † See chap. ii.

‡ Carte, vol. ii. p. 172.; Harris de Script. Hiber. p 191; Sir R. Southwell's Narrative, p. 27. According to these authorities, Charles was received at Cologne into the bosom of the Catholic Church, in 1656, by Peter Talbot, afterwards archbishop of Dublin.

Benedictine, rests on the authority of that eminent divine, and on the unquestionably authentic documents which are to be found in the writings of Doctor Philip Ellis, chaplain to James II., and afterwards bishop in the Campania Romana.*

James II., who ascended the throne on the death of his brother, had, both before and after his elevation to that state, openly declared his religious principles, and avowed himself a Catholic. Religious toleration was now proclaimed throughout Ireland; the churches and monastic establishments of the country were repaired or rebuilt; the clergy, secular and regular, appeared in their respective ecclesiastical costume, and all the ceremonies of the Church were performed with the same pomp and solemnity, as had been observed in the brightest period of Catholic times. To complete this scene of universal joy, and to consummate the happiness of the nation, Richard Talbot, viscount Tyrconnell, brother of Peter Talbot, the late archbishop of Dublin, was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland. His bravery in the field had long since entitled him to this distinguished honour; his prudence, moderation, and love of justice, are a few among the many other excellent qualities which had pre-eminently fitted him for the faithful discharge of this high and trustworthy commission. James, however, had been scarcely three years on the throne, when all the symptoms of popular convulsion, so characteristic of those times, began to make their appearance. The Protestants of England and of Ireland, as well as the Puritans of Scotland, took the alarm. Many of the great land-owners of the country, inheriting property to an immense amount, and resting on no better title than that of confiscation, began now to give way to their fears; an universal panic broke in at once upon their hitherto undisturbed repose; religious bigotry, the curse and scourge of mankind, presently lent its aid, while James, in the midst of this revolutionary movement, had the mortification of witnessing his kingdom invaded and his throne assailed by no less a personage than William, prince of Orange, his own son-in-law. With the civil events of the country this analysis has but little connexion; it may, however, be remarked, that by the battle of the Boyne on the 2nd of July, 1690, the fate of king James was decided. The sacking of Athlone and the battle of Aughrim in 1691 inflicted another deadly blow; but when Limerick surrendered on terms solemnly pledged yet afterwards shamefully violated, the

* Berninus, Hæres. Historia.

whole kingdom almost instantaneously submitted and recognized the sovereignty of William III.

The history of this reign, so far as Catholicity was concerned, would be little more than a mere rehearsal of all the sanguinary laws and revolting cruelties which disgraced the times of Elizabeth and of the usurper Cromwell,—events which, with pain and sorrow, have been already unfolded. He set out, as in general all revolutionary adventurers do, by holding up promises which were never performed, and by acts of occasional lenity and moderation; but when, in 1695, the administration of this country had been placed in the hands of Capel, the veil was instantly removed, and the Catholics of Ireland had a full view of the chasm which time and intrigue were working, and had already prepared, for their seemingly universal destruction. During the government of this viceroy, acts were passed to prevent domestic as well as foreign education, to prohibit the diffusion of knowledge, and to brutalize the Irish. Both houses of parliament were closed against Catholics; the oaths of supremacy and of abjuration were enforced, and, as had been the case in the terrific days of old, all bishops, vicars-general, and friars, were compelled by law to quit the kingdom on or before the 1st of May, 1698. The return of these ecclesiastics was adjudged high treason, but should any person attempt to conceal them, he shall for the first offence be liable to a penalty of twenty pounds; for the second offence, forty; and for the third, he shall be subjected to the forfeiture of all his goods and chattels, one-half of which to be given to the informer and the other half to the crown.

The outrageous manner in which the priesthood of Ireland had been now treated, elicited the commiseration of all civilized Europe. Among the numerous letters of condolence which, during these melancholy times, had been addressed to the prelates and people of Ireland, there was one from that venerable father of the faithful, Innocent XII; it was dated, at St. Mary Major, 10th of June, 1698. In this epistle the holy father, after alluding to the crucible through which the Church of Ireland had passed, and the ordeal to which it was now exposed, exhorts both prelates and people to look with patience to that eternal kingdom which had been so dearly purchased for them: "Nor," says he, "are your sufferings like those of yesterday; they are the sufferings of centuries; your nation, renowned for sanctity, has preserved for ages the glory of the faith, to your eternal honour and the salvation of your souls. Therefore, suffer all things with Christian

patience, knowing that the Lord will not permit any being to be tried beyond his strength; as to us, our prayers shall be unceasing before the throne of mercy." The same venerable pontiff immediately after, by apostolical letters, enjoined processions to be made and public prayers to be offered, in behalf of the suffering Church of Ireland, throughout the several dioceses of Italy and all the adjacent islands.* The persecution under William remained unabated: according to South's account, the number of regulars banished in that year (1698) from Ireland amounted to 454; namely, from Dublin, 153; from Galway, 190; from Cork, 75; from Waterford, 36.† These inoffensive men, thus exiled from the land of their birth, were afterwards scattered over the nations of Europe; existing witnesses of the merciless government under which they lived, and by their banishment, poverty, and sufferings, proclaiming to the world the unfeeling intolerant spirit of the British laws.

William died by a fall from his horse, in the fifty-second year of his age and the thirteenth of his reign (1702).

CHAPTER II.

Successors of St. Patrick—Episcopal Sees—Religious Foundations of the Seventeenth Century.

The archbishops who had presided over the see of Armagh during the seventeenth century, were: Peter Lombard, Hugh Mac Caghwell, Hugh O'Reilly, Edmund O'Reilly, Oliver Plunket, and Dominick Maguire.

Peter Lombard, who succeeded to the metropolitan chair immediately on the death of Edmund Mac Gauran, was descended from an ancient and distinguished line of ancestry; his father was an opulent merchant in the city of Waterford, and had, by his upright and intrepid conduct during the reign of Elizabeth, justly elicited the respect of his fellow-citizens. In compliance with the wishes of his friends, he placed his son under the celebrated Camden, who had been at that period a professor in Westminster School. The time which the

* Ex Archivo Secretarii Brevium.
† Philosop. Trans. v. iii. p. 667.

youthful Lombard had spent in Westminster could not be considerable; he was removed from thence at a very early age, and soon after proceeded to Louvain, with a view of entering on a course of ecclesiastical studies. The university of Louvain, comprising twenty-nine colleges subject to its constitutions, had at that period been considered one of the first literary establishments in Europe.* It was frequented by students from all nations, and among that number were several Irishmen, whom the intolerance of the British laws had forced into exile, but who, on that account, were received by the Lovanians with more than ordinary marks of attention. In this retreat of science, Peter Lombard devoted upwards of fifteen years to the study of the Scriptures and of the Fathers: he graduated a doctor in divinity, and afterwards continued to deliver theological lectures in the university with great success. His reputation was not confined within the halls of Louvain: he had many admirers in the city of Rome, and among the number of his patrons that great encourager of literature, Clement VIII., has been particularly noticed. Doctor Lombard was soon after appointed provost of the Cathedral of Cambray, and was subsequently advanced to the see of Armagh, upon the death of Edmund Mac Gauran, in 1598.† Such was the unabated fury of the storm then raised against the prelacy of Ireland, that it was impossible for a Catholic bishop to return with safety into the kingdom; a promotion to the episcopacy was considered as a step to the scaffold, while in most of the sees the ecclesiastical administration was committed to the care of a vicar-general; in this manner the archdiocese of Armagh appears to have been governed during the time of this learned primate.‡ At the solicitation of his friends he removed to Rome, was nominated domestic prelate to Clement VIII., and was finally intrusted with the presidency of the congregation De Auxilius, by his holiness, pope Paul V. During his residence in this city he completed a treatise entitled "Casus circa Decretum Clementis Papæ VIII.," and about the same time he published his still more celebrated work, "De Regno Hiberniæ, Sanctorum Insula, Commentarium." The truths contained in this latter work were so galling to the intolerant mind of James I., that he gave orders for its public suppression.§ It was published at Louvain, in the year 1632, and became the precursor of other similar productions which appeared in the

*Fasti, Lovanien. Valerio Andrea; ed. 1635.
†Fasti Acad. Lov. p. 86.
‡O'Sullivan Beare, t. 4. lib. 1.
§Porter, p. 186.

course of this and the succeeding centuries. The primate Peter Lombard died at Rome, A.D. 1625.

Hugh Mac Caghwell (Cavellus), the successor of Peter Lombard, was born in the county of Down, in the year 1572, and received his education at the university of Salamanca. Having embraced the institute of St. Francis, in an ancient convent of that city, he pursued his scholastic researches, and applied himself particularly to the metaphysical writings of his countryman, John Duns Scotus. While employed in successfully defending the opinions of that celebrated doctor against Abr. Bzovius and others, Hugh Mac Caghwell was unwilling that his country should be deprived of the honour to which it was clearly entitled. From a variety of records and well-supported traditions he established beyond the possibility of a doubt, that Ireland was the birthplace of John Duns Scotus; and in advocating this opinion, his arguments were happily illustrated by the researches of Ponce, Hickey, Wadding, and other contemporaries. Owing to the intolerance of Elizabeth and of James I., the number of Irish students who had at this time taken refuge in the Spanish dominions became very considerable: several colleges had been already founded for the advancement of the mission of Ireland, but they had at this time been crowded to excess; while candidates, in great numbers, were to be found, particularly in Spain and the Netherlands, without any regular destination. To apply a remedy to these evils, the learned Mac Caghwell, and Florence Conry, archbishop of Tuam, availed themselves of the influence which they possessed in the Spanish court, and prevailed on Philip III. to lay the foundation of the Irish Franciscan college at Louvain, which was dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua, and became in after-times the fruitful nursery of religious and learned men.* The administration of this rising establishment had been for many years committed to the care of Cavellus; he occupied the principal chair of theology, and acquired great celebrity by his annotations on [illegible] and other difficult portions of the writings of Scotus. At the request of the minister-general of his order, he [illegible] Rome, and was appointed definitor-general and professor of divinity in the convent of Ara Coeli in that city. Here he completed his "Apologia," or vindication not only of the principles of Scotus, but likewise of his peculiarity of style and subtlety of argumentation. This work was answered by

* Wadding, Scrip. 108.

Nicholas Jansenius, and produced a second "Apologia," still more comprehensive and satisfactory. The virtues of this profound divine had, as well as his learning, entitled him to an exalted rank in the Church; he was held in high esteem by pope Paul III., and in 1626 was advanced by that pontiff to the vacant metropolitan see of Armagh. Although the sword of persecution had been still impending over the Church of Ireland, its terrors at once disappeared before the ardour of this apostolic man; he resolved to visit his native country, and made the necessary preparations for his journey, but was seized with a sudden illness, and died on the 22nd of September, 1626, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. His remains were interred in the church of St. Isidore at Rome, and a monument with a suitable inscription was afterwards erected to his memory in the same church, by John O'Neal, earl of Tyrone. This learned prelate has published the following works: 1. Scoti commentaria in quatuor libros Sententiarum, cum annotationibus marginalibus; Antwerp, 1620. 2. Apologia pro Johanne Duns Scoto, adversus Abr. Bzovium, ordinis Prædicatorum. 3. Alia Apologia, adversus Nicholaum Jansenium. 4. Scoti Commentaria seu Reportata Parisiensia. 5. Questiones Quodlibetales. 6. Questiones in Metaphysicam, de primo Principio et Theoremata; Venetiis, 1625. 7. Questiones in Libros de Anima. And a treatise written in the Irish language, entitled: The Mirror of Penance; Louvain, 1628.*

Hugh O'Reilly, bishop of Kilmore, was translated from that see to Armagh, on the demise of Hugh Mac-Caghwell, in 1626. His administration comprises that awful period of our history, which has been already noticed, and during which the prudent forbearance and honourable consistency of this prelate, had served powerfully to exalt his character in the estimation of all parties. Throughout the whole series of these numerous and complicated scenes, this prelate invariably attached himself to the principles of the nuncio. When that functionary returned from Waterford, and formed a supreme council on the ruins of the former, the primate, Hugh O'Reilly, attended at Kilkenny, and was among the number of those who subscribed to the new oath of association.† After this memorable reformation of the supreme council, the primate retired to the more agreeable duties of his diocese, until the year 1648, at which time the second treaty was concluded with Inchiquin. Guided by the honest dictates of his own judgment,—a privilege to which, on matters of national policy,

* Wadding; Harris's Writers, p. 104. † Ex Archiv. S. Isidori, arm. v. fol. 98.

every man has an undoubted claim,—he again appears on the side of the nuncio, and enters his protest against the cessation. Whatever opinions may have been formed as to the conduct of the primate on these occasions, one thing is certain, that he had acted throughout with a degree of unbending consistency; he adhered to the fortunes of the nuncio, and even to the wreck of the nation, as long as a single plank was suffered to remain, and when at length the meeting of James's-town was convened, the acts of that assembly, in which the perfidy of Ormond was reprobated, received the signature of this metropolitan, together with those of eleven bishops and several other ecclesiastical dignitaries.* After having governed the archdiocese of Armagh during angry and perilous times, the primate, Hugh O'Reilly, died in the county of Cavan about the year 1656.†

Edmund O'Reilly was advanced to the metropolitan see of Armagh on the year following. He was a native of the county of Dublin, and had for some time discharged the duties of pastor in the archdiocese. His zeal and other good qualities added much to his reputation; and about the year 1637, he was sent to Louvain, as rector of the Irish college in that city. He returned, in 1640, to his native country; was received with marks of high esteem by the archbishop of Dublin, Thomas Fleming, and was soon after appointed his vicar-general.‡ This office he continued to discharge at a period when the kingdom, and particularly the diocese of Dublin, was one scene of terror, between the confederates and their puritanical opponents. The archbishop, being a member of the supreme council, was obliged to reside frequently at Kilkenny; thither, also, his vicar-general had occasion to repair; and throughout the entire course of the discussions, he was generally considered one of the most strenuous supporters of the nuncio. This it was which exposed him to the obloquy of Peter Walsh, and subjected him to a lengthened series of persecution. During the usurpation of Cromwell, this eminent ecclesiastic, with many others, fled from the country and took refuge in Lisle. About this period, the see of Armagh became vacant, and the merits of Edmund O'Reilly having been already appreciated at Rome, he was advanced to the primacy, and consecrated at Brussels about the year 1657. Notwithstanding the awful aspect of the times, he now formed the resolution of revisiting Ireland; and having passed through

* Cox, part ii. appen. xlviii. p. 178. † Jus Primatiale ab Oliv. Plunket, p. 30.
‡ Arch. S. Isidori, Arm. v. n. x.

Calais, where he received letters from Cardinal Mazarine, he arrived in London during the spring of 1658. Father Peter Walsh had, it seems, taken up his residence about the same time in this city; he soon became acquainted with the arrival of the primate, and, according to his own acknowledgment, had him arrested, with some other ecclesiastics, and sent back to a port on the coast of France.* Not content with this act of treachery, Father Walsh undertakes to assail the character of the primate. He endeavours to represent him as an abettor of the Puritans, and an enemy to the king, and charges him with having given directions that prayers should be offered throughout the province of Armagh for "the prosperity of Cromwell."† The author of these calumnies was, however, unable to produce any authority save the assertion of two anonymous informers; the statement was therefore universally discredited. This venerable prelate, however, soon found means of returning to his native country, where he remained until the year 1662, when he was again forced into exile.‡ During the national synod of 1666, he was allowed, by means of Ormond, to return, provided he would sanction what was then termed the Valesian Remonstrance. He landed in Dublin on the very day when this troublesome document had been subjected to the final decision of the synod. To the primate it appeared inadmissible: its language seemed to him equivocal as well as disrespectful to the Holy See, while the formula proposed by the great majority of the clergy, together with the Sorbonne propositions, embraced all that was necessary to express their unqualified allegiance to his majesty. This prelate continued throughout an avowed opponent to the favourite remonstrance of Peter Walsh, notwithstanding the storms which he had reason to expect would on that account have been collected around him. Scarcely had the synod been dissolved when the primate was arrested and placed under a strong military guard, on the pretended grounds of his having come to this country for the purpose of preparing the way for an invasion. To give some colour of plausibility to their proceedings, Ormond and his secretary Sir George Lane circulated a report, that a communication to that effect had been received at the

* Hist. of Remon. treat. i. part i. p. 610.

† Stewart, in his Memoirs of Armagh, page 356, has committed an egregious mistake, by imputing these charges to Hugh O'Reilly, the predecessor of Edmund. He quotes the statement of Cox, and the testimony of Peter Walsh. Now, Cox, in these passages, makes no mention whatever of Hugh O'Reilly, while Peter Walsh labours in vain to fasten them on the primate Edmund.

‡ See p. 479.

castle from the earl of Sandwich, at that time ambassador at the court of Spain.* The effect of this ill-digested scheme on the public mind may be readily conceived; even among the court-party it received but little credit; the primate was, however, hurried away from Dublin under the custody of Stanley, the town-major, and having been conveyed to Dover, was transmitted from thence to Calais and banished the kingdom. This persecuted exile continued but a short time in France; he removed to Louvain, where the severity of his past sufferings had so exhausted his constitution, that he lingered for a period, and died about the year 1669.

Oliver Plunket, a descendant of one of the most ancient and illustrious families in Ireland, and nearly related to the earls of Fingal, was advanced to the primacy of Armagh in the year 1669. He completed his course of ecclesiastical studies in the Ludovisian college at Rome, graduated a doctor in divinity, and afterwards became a distinguished professor of theology in the college De Propaganda Fide, the duties of which office he continued to discharge for more than twelve years. His exemplary life, as well as his learning, had recommended him to the notice of the sovereign pontiff; accordingly, on the decease of Edmund O'Reilly, he was nominated by Clement IX. and promoted to the vacant see.†

The Catholics of Ireland were at this period allowed to enjoy some share of repose; that spirit of intolerance, by which the nation had been so long distracted, was at length compelled to give way under the mild administration of lord Berkley; many of the prelates had returned to their sees; places of worship were repaired, and all the duties of religion were performed with safety throughout the kingdom. During this temporary calm, the labours of the primate in reviving the religious fervour of ancient days were truly apostolical; his official acts were marked by a superior degree of prudence, and from the temperate manner in which they were enforced, must necessarily have given universal satisfaction. In 1671, he was delegated by commissorial letters from the Holy See, to decide in a case then contested between the Dominicans and Franciscans, relative to their respective rights of receiving the alms of the faithful in the dioceses of Armagh, Down, Dromore, and Clogher. In these districts, with the exception of Dromore, convents belonging to each other had been formerly erected, and the several communities were equally privileged to apply to their benefactors, without attempting to raise objec-

* Hist. of Remon. part ii. tr. i. p. 745. † Archdekin, Theol. Tripart. p. 227.

tions against each other. The Franciscans, however, who had settled in Ulster soon after the restoration of Charles II., began to advance some unprecedented claims to exclusive rights, and attempted to deprive the Dominicans of their privileges. After a lengthened controversy, which had been conducted with more clamour than edification, both parties appealed to Rome, and the question was ultimately referred to the decision of the archbishop of Armagh. The primate, in issuing his definitory sentence, declares that having received the allegations of the several claimants, he determined, as a matter of prudence, to avail himself of the counsel of those who must have been already acquainted with the subject; that for this reason he had consulted with Patrick Cusack, bishop of Meath, together with his vicar-general Oliver Dease, and Thomas Fitz-Simons, vicar-general of Kilmore; and that finally having pronounced a decision in favour of the Dominicans, he confirms the same by the seal of his authority, and requires obedience thereto from all parties, under pain of suspension, to be incurred without further process or appeal.*

About this time a circumstance occurred which occasioned the publication of a work entitled "Jus Primatiale," and which the primate Oliver Plunket had written, with a view of defending the primatial rights of the see of Armagh. A general convocation of the Catholic clergy had taken place in Dublin, for the purpose of preparing an address to lord Berkley, expressive of their gratitude for his mild and paternal administration. In affixing their signatures to this document, the right of precedence was disputed between the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, each prelate refusing to subscribe subsequently to the other. This it was which induced the archbishop of Armagh to undertake the above-mentioned publication, which was followed by a similar work in reply from the pen of Peter Talbot, archbishop of Dublin.†

The counsel delivered by this apostolic prelate in the discharge of his ministerial duties received additional efficacy from the example of his own virtuous life. Both contemporary and subsequent writers seem to vie with each other in recording the excellent qualities which form the character of this good man; even Protestant authors, who cannot be suspected of partiality, have willingly afforded the most honourable testimony to his mild inoffensive manners; his charitable, patient, condescending disposition.‡ The sanctity of his character,

* Ex Archiv. S. Sixti, de Urbe; in Hib. Dom. p. 129. † See chap. iii.
‡ Burnet's History of his Own Times, p. 502; Baker's Chronicle.

however, accorded but badly with the maxims of the corrupt age in which he lived, nor could it secure him from the inveterate malice of blood-thirsty and profligate men. In superintending the concerns of his diocese, he had occasion to censure the immorality of some few individuals among his clergy,—persons whose abandoned lives had already afforded notorious scandal to the country, and had long since loudly demanded reproof and punishment. The names of these men were, Mac Moyer, Duffy, and Maclean, three Franciscans, and Murphy, a secular priest, chanter of Armagh, and a noted rapparee.* Filled with rage truly diabolical, these depraved wretches had now conceived the design of taking away the life of their venerable unsuspecting prelate; the dark-laid conspiracy was readily formed, and in this bond of iniquity they were soon after joined by four laymen, Mac Moyer, Hanson, and two miscreants who were a disgrace to the honourable name of O'Neal. The spirit of the age was unfortunately too favourable to the designs of such systematic villians: in England the people were thrown into an extraordinary degree of excitement by the mere rumours of pretended plots and conspiracies, while informers and characters of the vilest description were, by the connivance of government, amassing fortunes on the ruins of innocence. Thus emboldened, the conspirators repaired to Dublin, and afterwards to London, where their examinations were received. The charges which these wretches had brought against their primate were: that on his advancement to the see of Armagh, he had entered into a correspondence with the French court, for the purpose of effecting an invasion of Ireland; that he engaged to raise a force of seventy thousand Irishmen; that he was to put Dublin and all the sea-ports into the hands of the French; and that he was to cause money to be collected among the Irish clergy in order to meet the expenses of this invasion. On the informations of these outcasts, Oliver Plunket, the venerable archbishop of Armagh, was arrested and confined in Newgate on the 6th of December, 1679. The feeling which this extraordinary occurrence had created throughout the nation cannot be easily described; with the exception of the conspirators themselves, his very enemies contemplated his state with pity, and considered his acquittal as inevitable. It was at first believed that his trial would be brought before the court of King's Bench at Dublin, for which purpose he was detained a close prisoner in Newgate until the following October, 1680. Ireland, however, was not the

* Carte, vol. ii. p. 513.

theatre on which his enemies expected to figure with success; their infamous characters, as well as the innocence of the accused, were too well known in that country; they accordingly found means of having the proceedings transferred to London, where the presence of witnesses and the production of necessary documents would be rendered impossible, and where a jury unacquainted with the parties, and a prejudiced judge, would have to decide on the fate of their innocent victim. The primate was accordingly conveyed under a strong military escort to London; but on the day appointed for his trial in the King's Bench, the jury unanimously agreed in refusing the bills against him.* The conspirators, although defeated in this instance, were by no means inclined to relinquish their deadly purpose; they became even more determined. Encouraged in a certain high quarter, a new series of indictments was lodged against him, and the 3rd of May was appointed for his trial. The charges contained in these indictments amounted to seven heads, and are thus recapitulated by the dying prelate in the powerful appeal which he delivered from the scaffold on the morning of his execution:

"First, that he had sent letters by one Neal O'Neal to Monsieur Baldesche, the pope's secretary; also to the bishop of Aix and Principe Colonna, that they might solicit foreign powers to invade Ireland. Secondly, that he employed captain Con O'Neal to solicit the French king for succour. Thirdly, that he exacted money from the clergy of Ireland, for the purpose of introducing the French and maintaining seventy thousand men. Fourthly, that he had this force in readiness, and that he had given directions to a friar named Duffy to raise two hundred and fifty men in the parish of Foghart and county of Louth. Fifthly, that he was to surround all the forts and harbours of Ireland, and that he fixed upon Carlingford as a fit harbour for the invasion. Sixthly, that he had held several meetings, where money waa collected for this purpose. Seventhly, that there was a meeting in the county of Monaghan at which three hundred gentlemen of three several counties had attended, and whom he exhorted to take up arms for the recovery of their estates."†

Never, has there been witnessed a more flagrant act of injustice than that which had been perpetrated during the course of these proceedings. The witnesses and documents so indispensable for the case were all in Ireland; the accused primate, therefore, prayed the court that time might be granted him for

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 282. † Archbishop Plunket's speech.

summoning his witnesses, collecting his papers, and making the arrangements necessary for his defence.* Five weeks were allowed him by the chief justice; but by reason of contrary winds, and the uncertainty of the seas, they had not arrived at the termination of that period. He accordingly prayed that a further allowance of twelve days might be granted him, but this request was refused, and the judges proceeded on the trial.† To any person acquainted with the state of Ireland and the circumstances of the accused, the charges by which this innocent prelate's life was now threatened, must appear at once visionary and incredible. "In his defence (observes a Protestant writer), the primate alleged the improbability of all that was sworn against him; which was apparent enough. He stated that the Irish clergy were so poor, that he himself, who was the head of a whole province, lived in a little thatched house with only one servant, having never above sixty pounds yearly income; so that neither he nor they could be thought very likely to carry on a design of this nature."‡ But a band of blood-stained and perjured wretches were now arrayed against him; in the face of heaven they sealed their eternal infamy: a verdict of guilty was returned by an ignorant jury, and sentence of death pronounced by a partial temporizing judge. As soon as the verdict was returned, the innocent and injured prelate bowed in humble submission to the court; and raising his eyes to heaven, in the spirit of a martyr, he exclaimed: "the Lord be thanked!" He was recommended by the chief justice to become an approver, but the primate assured him that his salvation was dearer to him than a thousand lives. "If (he adds,) I were a man that had no care of my conscience, I might have saved my life; for I was offered it by divers people here, if I would but confess my guilt and accuse others. But, my lord, I had rather die ten thousand deaths, than wrongfully take away one farthing of any man's goods, one day of his liberty, or one moment of his life."§

The Catholics throughout England and Ireland had been doomed to witness this tragical scene with horror; among the well-minded portion of the Protestant community it created a general feeling of commiseration. Eachard, in his history of England, assures us, "that the earl of Essex, late lord lieutenant of Ireland, was so sensible of this good

* Archdekin, p. 760. † Id. p. 761. ‡ Baker's Chronicle, p. 710.
§ Memoirs of Missionary Priests, part ii. p. 467.

man's hardship, that he generously applied to the king for a pardon, and told his majesty that the witnesses must needs be perjured; for these things sworn against him could not possibly be true. Upon which the king, in a passion, said: '*Why did you not attest this at his trial? It would have done him good then. I dare not pardon any one.*' And so concluded with the same kind of answer he had given another person formerly: '*His blood be upon your head, and not upon mine.*'"*

On the 1st of July, 1681, this heroic martyr was placed on a sledge, and drawn from the prison of Newgate to Tyburn. "At this awful moment," observes Father Corker, his bosom friend and fellow-prisoner, "there appeared in him something beyond expression—something more than human. The most hard-hearted people were melted into tears at the sight. Many Protestants, in my hearing, wished their souls in the same state with his. All believed him innocent, and he made Catholics, even the most timorous, in love with death."† When he had reached the place of execution, he addressed the immense multitude in a speech, which has been handed down as an affecting memorial of his sufferings, and which we shall take the opportunity of inserting in this place.

"I have some few days past abided my trial in the King's Bench, and must very soon appear at the bench of the King of kings, and before a Judge, who cannot be deceived by false witnesses or corrupted allegations, whereas He knoweth the secrets of all hearts. Neither can He deceive any, or give an unjust sentence, being all goodness, and a most just Judge. Therefore, will He infallibly decree an eternal reward for all good works, and condign punishment for the smallest transgression of His commandments. This being the case, it would be a wicked act, and contrary to my eternal welfare, should I now, by declaring anything contrary to truth, commit a detestable sin, for which, within a very short time, I must receive sentence of everlasting damnation. I protest, therefore, upon the word of a dying man, and, as I hope for salvation at the hands of the supreme Judge, that I will declare the truth with all sincerity; and this I [illegible] the circumstances of my case may be known to all the world.

"It is to be observed that I have been accused in Ireland of treason and præmunire: the prosecutors, however, knowing that I had witnesses who would clearly establish my innocence,

* Eachard, vol. iii. p. 631.

† Vide Father Corker's Letter in Memoirs of Missionary Priests, part ii. p. 466.

came to this city, and procured that I should be brought thither, where the crimes objected to me were not committed, and where the jury were unacquainted with me, and with the character of my accusers. Here, after six months' close imprisonment, I was brought to the bar on the 3rd of May. But, whereas, my witnesses and records were in Ireland, the lord chief justice gave me five weeks to procure them. However, by reason of the seas, and other impediments, this was found impossible: I therefore begged for twelve days more, that I might be in readiness for my trial, which the lord chief justice refused." He then enumerated the several heads of the accusation, as already stated, and refuted each in a strain of reasoning the most convincing; and, after having appealed to heaven in testimony of his innocence, he thus proceeds: "You see, therefore, the circumstances in which I am placed; you have heard what protestations of innocence I have made: but that you may be the more induced to give me credit, I do also assure you that a great peer sent me notice *that I could save my life if I would accuse others:* my answer was, *that I never knew of any conspirators in Ireland, except those who were publicly known as outlaws, and that to save my life, I would not falsely accuse any person, or prejudice my own soul.* To take away any man's life or goods wrongfully, ill becometh any Christian, especially a man of my calling, being a clergyman of the Catholic Church, and also an unworthy prelate, which I do openly confess. Neither will I deny to have exercised in Ireland the functions of a Catholic prelate, as long as there was any toleration; and to have endeavoured to bring the clergy, of whom I had the care, to a due comportment according to their calling; and, although in this I did nothing but my duty, yet some who would not amend, had a prejudice for me, and especially my accusers, to whom I did endeavour to do good. Those to whom I allude are the clergymen; as to the four laymen who appeared against me, I was never acquainted with any of them. This wicked act of theirs ought, however, not to reflect on religion; whereas, it is well known that there was a Judas amongst the twelve apostles, and a wicked man named Nicholas amongst the seven deacons. And even as one of the said deacons, holy Stephen, did pray for those who stoned him to death, so do I pray for those who took my life, saying as St. Stephen did, *O Lord, lay not this sin to them.**

* It is recorded that Duffy, one of his perjured murderers, writhing under the vengeance of an angry conscience, had some time after presented himself before a successor of archbishop Plunket, exclaiming in a tone of awful despe-

"Now that I have declared how innocent I am of any plot or conspiracy, I would I were able with the like truth to clear myself of high crimes committed against the divine Majesty's commandments, often transgressed by me, for which I am sorry with all my heart; and if I should or could live a thousand years, I have a firm resolution and a strong purpose, by your grace, O my God, never to offend you; and I beseech your divine Majesty, by the merits of Christ, and by the intercession of his blessed Mother, and of all the holy angels and saints, to forgive me my sins, and to grant my soul eternal rest."

Having concluded this appeal amidst the tears of a numerous audience, he continued for some time in prayer, and then resigned himself into the hands of his executioners. He was suffered to hang until he expired, and was then cut down, beheaded, bowelled and quartered; after which his heart and bowels were cast into the fire. The head, adorned with silvery-coloured locks, is still preserved in the convent of the Dominican nuns at Drogheda.* His body, which was begged of the king, was interred in St. Giles' churchyard: having been raised about four years after, it was found entire, and conveyed to the Benedictine monastery at Lambspring, in Germany, where with great solemnity it was re-intombed. In 1693, the holy abbot Corker caused a magnificent monument to be erected over the remains with the following inscription:†

"Reliquiæ, Sanctæ Memoriæ, Oliveri Plunket, Archiepiscopi Armachani, Hiberniæ Primatis, qui in odium Catholicæ fidei laqueo suspensus, extractis visceribus et in ignem projectis, celebris martyr occubuit Londini, primo die Julii (stylo veteri) anno salutis, 1681."

Dominick Maguire, a native of the county of Fermanagh, and descended from an illustrious family in that district, was advanced to the primacy immediately after the decease of archbishop Plunket. At an early age he retired to the Dominican convent in Derry, where he made his religious

ration, "Am I never to have peace! is there no mercy for me!" The good prelate before whom he stood observed for a time an awful silence; then producing a glass case and placing it before him, he said in a voice deep and solemn, "Look here, thou unfortunate wretch!" It contained the head of the innocent victim. The wretched man, unable to bear the sight, swooned away. It is said that he spent the remainder of his days in making public atonement and died a great penitent.—Stewart's Memoirs of Armagh, p. 363.

* Hib. Dom. p. 131; Stewart.

† Memoirs of Missionary Priests, part ii. p. 473. Amplest details of the life and death of the Most Rev. Dr. Plunket, will be found in the Rev. Dr. Moran's Memoir of that martyr-prelate. Dublin, J. Duffy.

profession, and afterwards repaired to Andalusia in Spain, for the purpose of completing his ecclesiastical studies. Anxious to return to the convent of Gaula in the county of Fermanagh, of which establishment he had been an alumnus, he proceeded on his journey to Ireland, but when he had reached London, his friends prevailed on to him remain in that city, where he became honorary chaplain to the Spanish ambassador. Here his acquirements were soon appreciated, and having been nominated archbishop of Armagh by pope Innocent XI., in 1681, he soon after returned to his native country. This prelate, adopting the example of his predecessor, appears to have been a strenuous advocate in supporting the primatial rights of the see of Armagh. Five years after his consecration, he presided at a synod held in Dublin; and in 1691, two provincial synods were convened, one at Limerick and the other at Galway, in which, as Doctor MacMahon alleges, his claims to primatial dignity were recognized.* During the administration of this prelate, Dominick Maguire, Ireland was almost one uninterrupted scene of terror. When, at length, Limerick capitulated, this venerable prelate, yielding to the necessity of the times, was compelled to take refuge from the storm, and retired to Paris, where he died in 1708, and was interred in the cemetery of the Irish college, usually styled the College of the Lombards.†

During the awful vicissitudes of the seventeenth century, no diocesan unions had been formed; it is, however, a remarkable circumstance that, even in the midst of the tempest, several provincial synods had been convened and diocesan statutes enforced, for upholding the morals and discipline of both clergy and people. These constitutions are extant, and as they are closely connected with the history of the Irish hierarchy at this period, it may not be deemed improper to annex a summary of them in this place. In the year 1614, during the intolerant administration of Chichester, a synod of the province of Leinster was held in Kilkenny, attended by the suffragan prelates, and at which Eugene Matthews, archbishop of Dublin, presided.‡ The first statute refers to

* Jus. Prim. n. 29. † Hib. Dom. 449.

‡ Agreeably to the order hitherto observed, we shall here subjoin a succession of the prelates who governed the archdiocese of Dublin during the seventeenth century. This metropolitan see had been vacant from the year 1559 to that of 1599, or during almost the entire reign of Elizabeth. At length MATTHEW DE OVIEDO, a Spanish Franciscan and a native of Segovia, was consecrated archbishop of Dublin on the 14th of March, 1599. Being already acquainted with the state of the Irish Church, he embarked for this country with the suite of Don Juan D'Aquila, an expedition fitted out at the sugges

the decrees of the Council of Trent, which were to be observed with reverence; but, whereas there were some ordinances which, in this country, could not be enforced (such as the decree regarding clandestinity), these are left to the discretion of the ordinary. Secondly, besides the vicar-general, a vicar-foreign is to be chosen in each deanery, who shall be authorized to preside over the priests intrusted with the cure of souls. Thirdly, those parishes which remain destitute of a pastor, may be recommended to the clergy of the neighbouring parishes, or the ordinary should, if convenient, procure the temporary assistance of priests from another diocese. Fourthly, that the sacrament of Baptism be no longer administered by immersion, and that from the kalends of October in said year, this sacrament is to be conferred by infusion. Fifthly, that in future no priest shall, under any pretext or even in case of necessity, presume to celebrate the holy sacrifice twice on the same day without a regular licence obtained from the ordinary, or in his absence, from the vicar-general; and this licence is never to be granted unless in cases that are manifestly urgent. Sixthly, from henceforth, no chalices shall be consecrated that are not made of silver, or at least the cup thereof together with the paten. Seventhly, "and because the awful circumstances of the times oblige us frequently to celebrate the divine mysteries under the open air," those places are, on all such occasions, to be selected, which shall appear the most safe and becoming; the altar, moreover, must be covered almost on all sides, so that it may thereby be sheltered from the inclemency of the weather. Eightly, should persons confined in prison and not having the opportunity of a priest, feel sincerely sorry for their sins, and have a desire to be refreshed with the sacred viaticum,

tion of the earl of Desmond and others. They landed at Kinsale in October, 1601; but not meeting with any encouragement, they withdrew to their vessels and returned home. The archbishop, Matthew De Oviedo, remained in Spain, where he died in the year 1608. EUGENE MATTHEWS, translated from Clogher to Dublin in 1611.—Under this prelate, the above-mentioned synod was held. He retired to Louvain, where, in 1623, he founded an Irish college, which ranked as the nineteenth on the records of the celebrated university in that city. This prelate died at Louvain during the same year. THOMAS FLEMING, descended from the family of the barons of Slane, and a member of the Franciscan Order, was consecrated in October, 1623. This prelate during the same year obtained from pope Urban VIII. a brief allowing Irish students to be ordained "*ad titulum missionis.*"—(See Hibernia Dominicana suppl.) He died in Galway in 1651, and was buried in the Franciscan church of that city. PETER TALBOT, consecrated in 1669, died in prison, A.D. 1680.—(See c. iii.) PATRICK RUSSELL, consecrated in 1683, died in 1692.—(See c. ii.) PETER CREAGH, translated from Cork to Tuam, and finally to Dublin in 1693, died about the year 1706.

the blessed Eucharist may, in such case, be sent privately by a layman; should the captive about to communicate be a priest, he may administer it to himself: should he be a layman, he must not touch the sacrament with his hands, but receive it reverently on his tongue from the pixis. Ninthly, those who shall presume to contract marriage clandestinely, shall incur the censure of excommunication, *latæ sententiæ;* and whereas the publication of the banns has been attended with numberless advantages, it is ordained that, together with the penalty imposed by the canons, the ordinary also shall severely punish any priest who shall be found guilty of neglecting such publication. Tenthly, whereas a great scarcity of pastors universally prevails in these days of affliction, it is on that account advisable, that the ordinaries confer with the superiors of the regular orders, and thereby obtain a supply of priests necessary for the due discharge of the pastoral duties in each diocese. Eleventhly, that the faithful may be well acquainted with the festivals of obligation, it is decreed that the following enumeration of them be published: all Sundays throughout the year; the Circumcision of our Lord; the feasts of St. Brigid (in the diocese of Kildare), of the Purification, of St. Patrick, of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, of St. Mark the Evangelist, of Easter Monday and Easter Tuesday, of SS. Philip and James, Apostles, of the Invention of the holy Cross, of the Ascension of our Lord, of Whitsun-Monday and Whitsun-Tuesday, of the solemnity of Corpus Christi, of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, of SS. Peter and Paul, of St. Mary Magdalen, of St. James the Apostle, of St. Laurence, Martyr, of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, of St. Bartholomew Apostle, of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, of St. Matthew the Evangelist, of the Dedication of St. Michael, of St. Luke the Evangelist, of the Apostles SS. Simon and Jude, of All Saints, of St. Martin, of St. Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, (to be observed in that diocese,) of St. Andrew the Apostle, of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, of St. Thomas the Apostle, of the Nativity of our Lord, of St. Stephen, of St. John the Evangelist, of the Holy Innocents, of St. Joseph, of St. Anne, and of St. Sylvester; to which were afterwards added in the synod of 1685, under archbishop Russell, the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. Twelfthly, the days on which the faithful are bound to fast are thus enumerated: all days in Lent except Sundays, the quarter-times, the vigils of Pentecost, of St. John the Baptist, of St. Laurence, Martyr, of the Assumption, of All

Saints, of SS. Peter and Paul, of the Apostles Mathias, James, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Jude, Andrew and Thomas, and the vigil of the Nativity of our Lord. Finally, the respective ordinaries are strictly enjoined to put these statutes into immediate execution, and cause them to be diligently observed by all persons within the sphere of their jurisdiction. These constitutions were ratified in the several provincial synods which were held at subsequent periods in this century under Thomas Fleming, Peter Talbot, and Patrick Russell, archbishops of Dublin.

Religious toleration beginning at length to dawn on the Church of Ireland, about the year 1685, three provincial synods were held under the archbishop of Dublin, Patrick Russell. The acts of these congregations refer to the administration of the sacraments, to public instruction, and to the collation of parishes. It was ordained that no priest having the cure of souls should be absent from his cure more than three days without the licence of the ordinary; and should he be absent even for a shorter period, he must, in the mean time, provide an approved priest to superintend the concerns of the parish. That no priest, secular or regular (except parish priests and their coadjutors), shall presume to celebrate the holy mysteries twice on Sundays or holidays, except on the feast of the Nativity of our Lord; nor shall any priest, except the pastor and his coadjutor, celebrate in any private house, in cities or towns, without permission from the ordinary. That no pastor or other priest shall administer the blessed Eucharist from Low Sunday to persons from another parish, unless such persons should have already complied with the precept of the annual communion. That every priest who has for five years been entrusted with the cure of souls, shall offer a silver chalice and a silver pixis, as a gift to the diocese; should he have been ten years in the discharge of the pastoral duties, he must, besides the aforesaid gift, present to the diocese a missal, with a suit of vestments and other ornaments, necessary for the altar; but should he neglect to comply with this order, he is to be deprived of his cure; these offerings are to be distributed by the ordinary, among those parishes where the greatest poverty prevails. That no priest having possession of a parish for three years, shall on that account presume to acquire a right to that parish without a regular collation obtained from the ordinary, and that all such as have not as yet received a formal collation, must procure one within six months, or be deposed. That the religious of the mendicant orders are to assist the pastors in preaching and catechizing, and that no pastor shall, without a

just cause approved of by the ordinary, prevent these religious from receiving the alms of the faithful at the parochial altars: the religious in the meantime must know that their admission to beg at these altars does not arise from any right, but from the sole gratuitous bounty of the ordinary. That, finally, the acts and ordinances of the provincial synod convened at Kilkenny, A.D. 1614, are hereby received, ratified and ordered to be observed faithfully throughout the province.*

The storms which blew over the Church of Ireland, during this as well as the preceding century, were in a particular manner levelled against the religious foundations of the country. Nevertheless, these institutions appear to have set all opposition at defiance; during the operation of the laws of James I., the Capuchin and the Discalced Carmelites first arrived in Ireland and settled even in the metropolis. The former of these invaluable and learned bodies landed in Dublin in the year 1623, and under their superior, Edmund Ling, a native of Cashel, fixed their abode between St. Audoen's Arch and Schoolhouse-lane. The arrival of the latter was in 1626; Patrick Donovan, a native of Youghal, was prior, and their residence was in Church-street.† In all the proscriptions of these times, the regulars of Ireland were unexceptionably involved, but their perseverance rose superior to every difficulty; many illustrative instances might be produced, from among which one remarkable fact may suffice. The lonely but beautiful convent of Multifarnham, in the county of Westmeath, was plundered and reduced to a heap of ruins in the 37th year of the reign of Henry VIII. Scarcely, however, had the short period of twenty years elapsed, when the same community, rising up in the midst of the very ruins that surrounded them, became exceedingly more numerous than ever. So independent had they become, that in the year 1622, they undertook the erection of a new convent at Mullingar, and were it not for the intolerance of the lord of the soil, their efforts would have been crowned with success.‡ Nor was this the only community that had made a stand against the storm. The religious of Dublin, Kilkenny, Wexford, Galway, and of many other places, in defiance of the bigotry of the day, [illegible] themselves around the sanctuaries of their country: [illegible] men death appeared only as the signal of victory, [illegible]

* Constitutiones Prov. et Synod. anno 1685.—The prelates who have signed the above-mentioned acts, were, Patrick Russell, archbishop of Dublin; James Phelan, bishop of Ossory; Luke Wadding, bishop of Ferns; Edward Wesley, bishop of Kildare and administrator of Leighlin.

† MS. Annals of Ireland, in Marsh's Library. ‡ Cox, vol. ii. p. 39.

ingly when one generation was cut off, they were succeeded by another still more brave and determined. After the national extermination under Cromwell, when Ireland was literally transformed into a slaughter-house, the religious who escaped, together with those who afterwards returned from the continent, became in many places co-labourers with the ordinary pastors in the missionary duties of the country; their exertions, valuable as they had been, were not without being appreciated;* while the vast number who remained in exile, scattered over the different nations of Europe, had, by their industry and talents, contributed to shed an additional ray on the name and religion of their country.

CHAPTER III.

Religious and Literary Characters of the Seventeenth Century—General Observations.

In presenting a succinct biography of the eminent Irish ecclesiastics of the seventeenth century, we shall proceed chronologically, and commence with

Florence Conry.—This learned prelate was born in the province of Connaught about the year 1560, and retired at an early age to Spain, with an intention of embracing the ecclesiastical state. At that period the proscribed youth of Ireland met with a friendly reception in all the Spanish provinces. Florence Conry, accompanied with three associates from his own country, applied for admission at the Franciscan convent in Madrid: they were received, and after the usual time of probation, were allowed to make their profession agreeably to the constitutions of the institute. The writings of St. Augustin were those to which he appears to have paid particular attention. In his elucidations of the mysterious and difficult doctrine

* Piles of letters attesting the missionary services of the persecuted religious of these times are preserved, from which we take the following extract:

"* * * * * * Nos infrascripti attestamur ac fidem facimus religiosos ordinis S. Francisci, periculoso persecutionis ac communis exilii tempore, cum summo vitæ discrimine, ad colendam vineam Dominicam in hoc Hiberniæ regno permanere voluisse et permansisse, et hactenus cum consolatione cleri et populi in ejusdem vineæ cultura religiose et fructuose allaborasse.

* * * *

"Anthony MacGeoghan, bishop of Meath; Daniel Kelly, V.G. of Clonfert; Patrick Daly, V.G. of Armagh; Philip Crolly, V.G. of Clogher; Hugh Kelly, V.G. of Dromore; Patrick O'Muldaug, V.G. of Down and Connor; Thadeus Clery, V.G. of Raphoe; Malachy O'Connell, V.G. of Ardfert."

of grace, as contained in the works of that Father, he eminently excelled, and although he had not yet attained the age required by the canons for ordination, he was even then reputed one of the most profound scholastics in the entire province of Castile. His talents and deep research, accompanied by a peculiar meekness of disposition, soon raised him in the estimation of all classes; the clergy as well as the court of Spain had already contemplated his merits with tokens of marked approbation, and the see of Tuam having become about this time vacant, he was nominated by Clement VIII., and consecrated archbishop of that diocese. This prelate returned to Ireland along with the ill-fated expedition, which Philip II. had been recommended to send from Spain; he repaired to his archdiocese, but had been scarcely settled in the country, when he was forced into exile by an express order from the Irish government. As soon as the writ for his banishment was received, he withdrew to Flanders, and from thence to Spain, where he was supported by the bounty of the monarch himself. At this period the state of the Irish Franciscans, who had removed to the continent for the purpose of education, was deplorable. In their own country, their convents and schools had been demolished; while in foreign lands they were unable to procure a single house, and were only to be seen dispersed and wandering from one kingdom to another. This it was which induced the archbishop, Florence Conry, to make application to Philip III. in their behalf; by means of that monarch he founded the convent or Irish Franciscan College of St. Anthony at Louvain, the first stone having been laid by Albert and Isabel in the year 1616.* This convent became in after-times one of the most celebrated retreats of literature in the low countries; and from the valuable mass of manuscripts and historical records preserved in its immense library, together with the industry and talents of its lecturers, it was unquestionably an establishment to which the Irish nation must be for ever indebted. The community was generally numerous, the average number being about forty, but their income was very limited; for nearly a century they were prohibited from seeking alms in public, and were it not for the benevolence of private individuals, and occasional donations from the Spanish court, this asylum of literature should necessarily have been abandoned.† The exiled prelate continued to reside in Spain until 1629, at which period he died in the Franciscan convent, at Madrid, and in the 69th year of his age. His remains were translated to

* Wadding de Script. p. 210. † MS. in Archiv. Wexfordiæ.

Louvain in 1654, and re-interred with great solemnity in the church of the Irish Franciscans, on the gospel-side of the high altar. A splendid monument was at the same time erected to his memory, with an epitaph descriptive of his virtues, his learning, and his sufferings.* The following works have proceeded from the pen of this excellent divine: De S. Augustini sensu circa B. Mariæ Conceptionem; Antwerpiæ, 1619. 2. Tractatus de Statu parvulorum sine baptismo decedentium ex hac vita, juxta sensum B. Augustini; Louvanii, 1624. 3. Peregrinus Jerichontinus. Hoc est, de natura humana feliciter instituta, infeliciter lapsa, miserabiliter vulnerata, misericorditer restaurata; Parisiis, 1644. 4. Compendium doctrinæ S. Augustini circa gratiam; Parisiis, 1644. 5. De Flagellis justorum, juxta mentem S. Augustini; Parisiis, 1644. 6. A Catechism written in Irish, and entitled "The Mirror of Christ's Life." 7. An Epistle, in the Spanish language, on the Persecution of Ireland.†

Geoffry Keating, the celebrated Irish historian, was a native of Munster, and was born about the year 1560. He commenced his ecclesiastical studies in the Netherlands, but afterwards withdrew to Paris, where he soon became distinguished and graduated a doctor in divinity. About the commencement of the reign of James I., he ventured to return to his native country, and for some years continued to discharge the duties of parish priest in the county of Tipperary. His distinguished zeal, and the firmness with which he reproved vice, without regarding the quarter whence it proceeded, had at length exposed him to the malice of a certain powerful personage. One of his parishioners, a married lady of rank and fortune, was known to have kept up an illicit intercourse with a nobleman of great political influence, and who besides other official stations, had been at the time intrusted with the government of the province of Munster. This notorious scandal was not to be tolerated; the parties were denounced by Doctor Keating from his altar, and in consequence an order was soon after issued by the governor for his apprehension. The good pastor, yielding to the entreaties of his friends, withdrew from the storm and took shelter among his relatives, in a secluded district on the borders of the counties of Tipperary and Limerick. In this place of retirement he arranged and completed his history of Ireland, commencing from the earliest period and continuing it in regular order down to reign of Henry II. The general

* MS. in Archiv. Wexfordiæ. † Wadding, p. 212, et alibi.

outline of the work has been taken from the Annals of Nenagh, Innisfallen, and Tigernach, but the prominent facts are occasionally mixed up with narratives, which have no claim to credibility, and appear to rest on no better authority than mere, popular, unauthenticated traditions. In this respect, however, the writer cannot be charged with having any intention to impose on his readers; in his preparatory epistle he makes a distinct allusion to these unauthorized passages and actually admits their improbability. Peter Talbot, Cox,* and others, have been, perhaps, too severe in their critical remarks on this interesting production; while on the other hand, Peter Walsh, who was well acquainted with the Irish language, in which it was written, hesitates not to recommend it as "the best and most complete history which we have for the period of which he hath treated." In 1723, a wretched translation of it was prepared for the press by Dermod O'Connor, which was published first in London and soon after in Dublin. The inaccuracies with which this translation abounds, have served in a great measure to bring the history itself into disrepute; chronology, characters, and facts, are alike carelessly misstated, while in many of the most important passages neither the spirit nor the genuine meaning of the original has been any longer preserved. Doctor Geoffry Keating did not long survive the publication of his history. He died at an advanced age, and soon after the accession of Charles I., in 1625. He was also the author of a tract written in the Irish language, and entitled "A Defence of the Mass." 2. An Elegy on the Death of the Lord Decies. 3. The Three Shafts of Death. 4. A Burlesque on his servant Simon, and other pieces.

Patrick Fleming, a near relative to the lords of Slane, was the son of captain Garret Fleming, and nephew of Thomas Fleming, archbishop of Dublin; he was born in the county of Louth, on the 17th of April, 1599. Feeling a desire to embrace the ecclesiastical state, he repaired at the age of thirteen to Flanders, where he completed a course of humanity under his uncle, Christopher Cusack, then president of the Irish college at Tournay.† Having [illegible] years in this establishment, he proceeded to the Franciscan Convent of St. Anthony, in Louvain, where he served his novitiate and was professed in March, 1617; Anthony Hickey, a learned Irish Franciscan, being at the same time its superior.

* Hist. of Ireland, Epist. to Reader.
† Sirini Notitia de P. Fleming, ad cap. Collect Sacr.

Here he applied himself to philosophical and theological exercises, and devoted a considerable portion of his time to the study of Irish antiquities, in which he appears to have taken a particular delight. He had long since conceived the design of visiting some of the most eminent libraries on the continent, and of collecting materials for a complete edition of the lives of the Irish saints. Accordingly he removed to Rome in 1623, having been accompanied by Hugh MacCaghwell, who was at that time one of the most literary Irish ecclesiastics on the continent, and afterwards archbishop of Armagh. Pursuing their journey through Paris, they accidentally met with Father Hugh Ward, who had been then busily employed in gleaning from the libraries of that city a prodigious collection of valuable matter connected with the ecclesiastical antiquities of Ireland. From this distinguished man, Fleming received the most flattering encouragement; they determined to enter on the work with united exertions, and while one was engaged at Paris, the other, it was agreed, should explore the libraries of Rome, and collate whatever might be useful and rare in its valuable archives. For this purpose Fleming and his companion proceeded on their journey towards Italy. In Rome our antiquarian collected immense piles of scarce and curious manuscripts; these he translated and arranged with incredible labour, and when completed he caused them to be carefully transmitted to Ward, who was still occupied in enriching his own splendid collection of documents in Paris. At this period the Irish College of St. Isidore in Rome, having just been established, Patrick Fleming was appointed, by order of his superior, to preside in the school of philosophy.* He continued, however, to apply a great portion of his time to his favourite antiquarian pursuits until about three years afterwards, when he received a second precept to return to Louvain, for the purpose of assisting as lecturer of metaphysics in the College of St. Anthony; the duties of which situation he discharged with singular cleverness until 1631. In the commencement of this year, another celebrated establishment was provided for the Irish Franciscan, in the city of Prague; it was founded by the emperor Ferdinand II., at the [illegible] of Father Malachy Fallon, and was dedicated to [illegible] culate conception of the Blessed Virgin. On this [illegible] Father Fleming was ordered to repair to Prague, where he was constituted the first guardian and also the principal lecturer in divinity. Whilst proceeding on his journey to

* Ex Archiv. S. Isidori, ann. v. n. vi.

Prague, he committed a large portion of his manuscripts to the care of Moret, a celebrated printer at Antwerp. This collection, which comprised a copious life of St. Columbanus enriched with annotations, also the monastic rule and penitential of that great man, the penitential of Cummean, and other tracts, remained unpublished until about forty years after, when they were edited by the care of Thomas Sirinus, a learned Irish Franciscan, under the title of "Collectanea Sacra." Father Fleming had not been long settled in Prague, when that city was besieged by the forces of the elector of Saxony. With an intention of effecting his escape, he fled from the town in company with Father Matthew Hore, an Irish ecclesiastic of the same order; but they had scarcely advanced beyond the walls, when they were overtaken by a band of miscreants, who put them to death.* Besides the Collectanea Sacra, Patrick Fleming has also written:—1. Dissertatio de Monastica S. Columbani professione; 2. Vita Reverendi Patris Hugonis Cavelli (Mac Caghwell); 3. Chronicon Consecrati Petri Ratisbonæ.

Christopher Hollywood, a learned Jesuit, distinguished by the appellation "A Sacro Bosco," became eminent as a polemical writer, and flourished in the commencement of the reign of James I. At the age of twenty-one, he entered into the society of the Jesuits, and completed his studies at Pont-a-Mousson, in Lorrain; he afterwards removed to Padua, where he delivered lectures on dogmatical theology for some years. Owing to the persecutions of Elizabeth, and the intolerance of her successor, the Church of Ireland had been at this period in a deplorable state. Hollywood received an order from his general to enter on the mission of that country; but on his journey through England, he was recognized and cast into prison. By the influence of some friends, he was soon after set at liberty and allowed to proceed to Ireland, where he presided over the society for twelve years, and died in 1626. The writings, as well as the preaching of this eminent divine, had so completely defeated the fanatical views of James I., that at the memorable conference which took place between that monarch and the Irish Catholic delegates in 1614, he became unable to command his feelings, and continued to indulge in a lengthened strain of invective, both against the primate Peter Lombard,† and the Jesuit Christopher Hollywood.‡ The only writings of this learned man

* Wadding, de Script. Ord. † This learned prelate died in Rome in 1625.
‡ Porter's Eccl. Annals, p. 270.

which have been published are: 1. Defensio decreti Tridentini et Sententiæ Bellarmini de Auctoritate Vulgatæ editionis; Antwerp, 1604. 2. Libellus de Vera ac visibili Ecclesia; Antwerp, 1604.

Hugh Ward (Vardæus), an eminent antiquarian, was a native of the county of Donegal, and embraced the Franciscan institute at Salamanca, about the close of the reign of Elizabeth.* The delight which he felt in investigating the antiquities of his country, and in searching after its records, induced him to reside some years in Paris, the libraries of which city had, in this age, been richly furnished with curious and ancient manuscripts, collected in the middle ages from various nations, and particularly from Ireland. In the sixth and subsequent centuries, when the schools of Ireland were frequented by students from distant nations, the great majority of them were those who had come either from the south of Germany, or from the western coasts of Gaul. These scholars, on returning to their native country, were sure to bring back with them a supply of manuscripts, which they had either transcribed from the copies of the schools, or received from the dictates of their masters. These manuscripts, after having been conveyed to different parts of the continent, fell at length into the possession of the monastic communities, by which means they were preserved; but during the convulsions of these revolutionary eras, they remained in a neglected state, and were at length consigned to the obscure shelves of the magnificent libraries with which these kingdoms abounded. With this circumstance Ward had been well acquainted; accordingly, after having terminated his labours in the French capital, he proceeded to the monastic and cathedral libraries in Rouen, Harfleur, and Nantes, and afterwards visited many of the ancient establishments of Flanders, where he discovered a rich store of literary treasure, including, among other matters, several synodical acts and martyrological authorities relative to the antiquity of the archdiocese of Dublin. Having thus terminated his antiquarian researches, he retired to the Irish Convent of St. Anthony at Louvain, where he was appointed lecturer in divinity, and afterwards its guardian. In this establishment he became acquainted with Michael O'Clery, the celebrated [illegible] compiler of the Annals of Donegal, usually styled "the Annals of the Four Masters," and of whom we shall take occasion to speak hereafter. Ward, already acquainted with the character of

* Wadding de Script. Ord.

this extraordinary man, was at once determined to avail himself of his assistance. He disclosed to him the plans which he had long since formed, of rescuing from oblivion both the civil and religious antiquities of his native land, particularly his design of compiling in one authentic record the acts of the saints and learned characters of his country. Accordingly, he induced him to repair to Ireland, and collect such materials as he might deem necessary for these interesting subjects.* O'Clery, impelled by a spirit of patriotism as well as of religion, returned to Ireland, where he commenced his labours, and according as the documents had been collated, they were transmitted in piles to the college of St. Anthony at Louvain. The death of Ward, however, put an end to all these noble intentions: before the materials could be arranged, or even carefully examined, this learned and indefatigable antiquarian closed his career: he died in his convent on the 8th of November, 1635.† The manuscripts which he himself had transcribed, together with those which he had received from Patrick Fleming and Michael O'Clery, were afterwards employed by John Colgan, when compiling his celebrated work, the "Acta Sanctorum," or lives of the saints of Ireland. The works of Hugh Ward, which have been edited were: 1. Dissertatio de S. Rumoldi patria; with learned amplifications, by Sirinus; Lovanii, 1662. 2. De Nomenclatura Hiberniæ. 3. De Statu et processu Veteris in Hibernia Reipublicæ. 4. Martyrologium ex Multis vetustis Festilogiis latino—Hibernicum. 5. Anagraphen Magnalium S. Patricii. 6. Investigatio Ursulanæ expeditionis.

Michael O'Clery (Cleirigh), the distinguished Irish antiquarian to whom we have already alluded, was a native of the county of Donegal, and was born about the year 1580. Humble in heart, and gifted with religious as well as national feelings, he retired to the Franciscan Convent of St. Anthony in Louvain, where, after his probationary year, he was professed, and became a lay-brother in that community. His extraordinary knowledge of the Irish language, and his intimate acquaintance with the antiquities of his country, were soon recognized and appreciated by his guardian, the learned Hugh Ward, at whose request O'Clery repaired to Ireland for the purpose of collecting Irish manuscripts, and of consulting the most ancient and approved records of the nation. In the execution of this laborious task he spent fifteen years,‡ during which period he collected numberless memoirs of the

* Wadding, de Scrip. Ord; Ex. Archiv. S. Isidori, ar. vi.
† Wadding de Scrip. Ord. ‡ Prefatio ad Acta Sanctorum.

Irish saints with their genealogies, several old penitentials, four different ancient martyrologies, and immense piles of other valuable monuments of antiquity. These documents he carefully transmitted to Ward, who at that time had been busily employed in compiling a voluminous record of the acts of the saints of Ireland. On this occasion it was that O'Clery had conceived the grand design of reducing into one splendid collection, all the civil and ecclesiastical records of the whole nation, scattered, as they had been, over the wild and desolate recesses of the country; just like the inhabitants themselves, whose unfortunate history they so faithfully unfolded. He travelled through the most unfrequented and remote quarters of the kingdom, in search of manuscripts and other ancient materials, and having returned to his native county of Donegal, he digested them into order, and reduced them into three historical treatises. The first tract contained a succinct account of the kings of Ireland, the years of their reign, their genealogies, the year of the world, or of the Christian era, in which each of them died, and the manner in which they ended their days. The second treatise comprehended a genealogy of the saints of Ireland, arranged under thirty-seven classes or heads, and bringing each saint through a long line of ancestors, down to the root of the family from which he was descended. The third treatise included the history of the aborigines or first settlers in Ireland; of its revolutions and subjugations since the period of the deluge; of the succession of its kings, their treaties, wars, and battles, and other public events of the island, from the year 278 after the flood, to the years of Christ, 1171.* This book is called "Leabhar Gabhaltas," or the book of conquests. These three treatises are extant in manuscript; to the discredit, however, of modern times, they are still suffered to remain unpublished. But the memorable work which must shed an eternal ray of fame around the memory of Michael O'Clery is, "The Annals of Donegal," or as they are generally styled, "The Annals of the Four Masters." Before O'Clery entered on the compilation of these national annals, he had actually got into his possession almost all the ancient manuscripts and authenticated records of the kingdom. These [illegible] purged; he corrected the narratives, reformed the chronology, and reduced the whole into one splendid system of genuine national history. Having thus proceeded in the execution o

* Wadding. de Scrip. Ord.; Ex. Archiv. S. Isidori, ar. Vin. n

his work, he retired to the convent of Donegal, and procured the assistance of five other antiquarians, for the purpose of perfecting the noble design which he had contemplated. The names of these learned Irishmen were, Ferfessius O'Conry, Maurice O'Conry, and Peregrine O'Dubgennan (O'Duignan), all from the county of Roscommon; Peregrine O'Clery and Conor O'Clery, from the county of Donegal;* and hence the work, if properly styled, might have been entitled, "The Annals of the Six Masters." However, the principal compilers were Michael O'Clery, Ferfessius O'Conry, Peregrine O'Clery, and Peregrine O'Dubgenan. These annals comprise two large quarto volumes. The antiquarians entered on the compilation of the first volume in 1632. It commences A.M. 2527, and comes down to the year of our Lord 1171. The principal works which they consulted for this volume were the Annals of Innisfallen; the book of Clonmacnoise; the book of the Island of All Saints, on Lough Rive, which came down to the year 1227; the book of Senait MacManus on Lough Erne, usually called "The Annals of Ulster;" the records of the Maolconaires (O'Conrys); the book of the O'Duigenans of Kilronan; the Annals of Tigernach; and the Book of Records of the Mac Firbirs. The second volume was commenced in the year 1635, and begins at A.D. 1335; after which it proceeds in chronological order down to the year 1609; it was afterwards continued to 1636. Hence it appears that the annals of one hundred and sixty four years have perished. The principal works employed for this volume were, the book of the Maolconaires (O'Conrys), coming down to the year 1505; the book of the O'Duigenans, from 900 to 1332; a fragment of the book of Cam Clery, from 1281 to 1537; the book of Maolin Mac Brodin, from 1586 to 1602; and various other approved ancient chronicles of Ireland, comprehending both the civil and ecclesiastical history of the country. The civil records embrace a period of three thousand years, and the ecclesiastical commence with the establishment of Christianity, and are brought down to the year 1636. The transactions connected with the compilation of these national annals have been attested and signed by Bernard O'Clery and Maurice Ultach, guardians of the Franciscan convent of Donegal, in which they had been completed; while the expenses of the antiquarians had been defrayed by Ferrall O'Gara, an opulent and patriotic dynast of that country.† The Annals of the Four Masters have

* Vide Gallic Transactions at Michael O'Clery. † Gallic Transactions.

been received with an almost sacred respect by all writers, both ancient and modern; while Colgan, Lynch, and other lovers of antiquity, appear to vie with each other in placing the most beautiful eulogiums around the memory of the learned and laborious men by whom they had been compiled.* Michael O'Clery has also published a work entitled "Seanason Nuadh," or glossary of the most difficult and obsolete words in the Irish language; Lovanii, 1643. After a life spent in the service of religion, of literature and of his country, this great man finished his career in his native land: he died in his convent of Donegal, A.D. 1643.

David Rothe, bishop of Ossory, and a distinguished member of the supreme council, was born in Kilkenny in the year 1573. The spirit of this intolerant age having excluded him from the advantage of an ecclesiastical education in his native land, he resolved to retire to the continent, where he became an alumnus of the Irish Secular College at Douay, and after some years took out a degree of master in sacred theology. He returned to Ireland about the close of the reign of Elizabeth, and continued to discharge the perilous duties of pastor in the diocese of Ossory with great firmness and ability. The inestimable benefits resulting from the learning and labours of this excellent missioner were soon recognized; he was honoured with peculiar marks of esteem from the cardinal protector at Brussels, was appointed prothonotary apostolic, and was ultimately constituted vicar-general of the archdiocese of Armagh.† The see of Ossory had remained vacant since the death of its prelate, Thomas Strong, in 1601, including a period of seventeen years. It was, therefore, determined in a consistory held under Paul V. in 1618, that provision should be made for the see; and accordingly, at the instance of cardinal Verallo, protector of the Church of Ireland, David Roth was nominated, and promoted soon after to the see of Ossory.‡ He presided over that diocese, and had possession of the ancient cathedral of St. Canice in Kilkenny, during the memorable period of the supreme council. This prelate is represented by Borlase as having, in 1646, interdicted the city of Kilkenny, because the supreme council had agreed to the peace contrary to the commands of the nuncio.§ However this may be, it is certain that the treaty of 1648 had received his approbation, and that he then declined putting the sen-

* Cambrensis Eversus, chap. viii.; Acta Sanct. passim.
† Hib. Dom. Suppl. p. 869. ‡ Id. § Irish Rebellion, p. [illegible]

tence of interdict into execution; a circumstance which called forth the interference of the archbishop of Dublin, Thomas Fleming, through the medium of an official document. In it that metropolitan exhorts and even commands him to cause the censure to be observed, both in his own cathedral and in all the other churches of his diocese. This letter of the archbishop is extant; but with the nature of the answer which had been returned, or with any of its results, we have not been made acquainted.* The character of David Roth has been deservedly eulogized by several eminent writers: Ussher acknowledges himself indebted to him for information on various subjects, and styles him "a most diligent inquirer into the antiquities of his country,"† while Messingham declares "that he was well versed in all sorts of learning; was an eloquent orator, a subtle philosopher, a profound divine, an eminent historian, and a sharp reprover of vice."‡ This venerable prelate lived but a very short time after the overthrow of the supreme council. He died in 1650, and in the seventy-eighth year of his age. David Roth has written: 1. Analecta Sacra, nova et mira, de rebus Catholicorum pro fide et religione gestis. This work was published under the signature T. N. Philadelpho—Coloniæ, 1619, and is divided into three sections: the first section contains an historical narrative of the persecutions of the Catholics of Ireland during the administration of Chichester; the second section presents an impressive exhortation to those who are already marked out for persecution, and the third part embraces the

* Archives S. Isidori.—The following is a copy of the letter of the archbishop of Dublin:—

"Reverendissime Domine—Inexplicabili meo dolore intellexi, Reveren. dominationem Vestram facere difficultatem in obediendo mandatis apostolicis Illust. Domini Nuntii circa observationem Interdicti et Cessationis a Divinis, in magnum Ecclesiasticæ jurisdictionis prejudicium. Quis enim ex prelatis potest expectare obedientiam in hoc regno, si mandata D. Nuntii neglegantur a prelato, qui specialem obedientiam juravit Sedi Apostolicæ? Ideo tanquam metropolitanus vester pro mea dignitate et authoritate, Dominationem Vestram moneo, hortor ac, quantum in me est, præcipio, ut pro majori Dei gloria, ac pro honore sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ ejusque Nuntii, et pro salute animarum innocentis populi, faciat Interdictum et Cessationem, tam in sua Cathedrali Ecclesia, quam in aliis ejus civitatis et diœcesis, punctualiter observari juxta tenorem prædictæ sententiæ, et ultimi decreti in *Apostolicis Refutatoriis*. Appellationis, quibus me refero. Quod si secus fecerit, Ego hisce exonero meam conscientiam, et Vestram relinquo divino judicio, et Sedis Apostolicæ censuræ.—Dublinii ex meo cubiculo in conventu S. Francisci die 10 Junii 1645.

"Reveren. Dominationis Vestræ Servus,

"Fr. Thomas Dubliniensis."

† Primord., p. 737. ‡ Florileg. p. 87.

history of several bishops, priests, and others, who suffered under Elizabeth and James I.* He has also written: 2. Hibernia Resurgens. 3. De Nominibus Hiberniæ Tractatus. 4. Elucidationes in Vitam S. Patricii a Jocelino Scriptam. 5. Hierographia Hiberniæ. 6. Brigida Thaumaturga. 7. De Scriptorum Nomenclatura a Thoma Dempstero edita Præcidaneum.†

Luke Wadding, to whose talents and labours the ecclesiastical writers of both ancient and modern times have been indebted, flourished at this period, and obtained a pre-eminent rank among the literary characters of the seventeenth century. He was born in the city of Waterford, A.D. 1588; his father, Walter, having been a citizen of considerable eminence, and his mother, Anastasia Lombard, a near relative of the illustrious Peter Lombard, archbishop of Armagh.‡ In the fifteenth year of his age he accompanied his brother Matthew to Portugal, and entered the Irish seminary at Lisbon, where he studied philosophy under the instruction of the Jesuits. Having completed his philosophical course, he retired to the Franciscan Convent of the Immaculate Conception at Matozinhos, situated about three miles from Oporto; here he made his novitiate and was professed on the 23rd of September, 1605, having then attained the seventeenth year of his age. With an intention of prosecuting his ecclesiastical studies, he soon after proceeded to a convent of his order at Liria, and from thence to Lisbon, where he read divinity, and ultimately to Coimbra, in which place he continued for three years. His learning as well as his virtues having now rendered him universally esteemed, he was ordained priest in the cathedral of Visco, by the venerable bishop of that place, John Duarte. At the earnest desire of his superiors, Father Wadding immediately after returned to Coimbra, where he soon became distinguished as an eloquent preacher, having been at the time an excellent Greek and Hebrew scholar, and a perfect master of the Portuguese and Castilian languages. The strong inclination which he had always evinced for study and retirement, at length induced him to relinquish these avocations; he accordingly removed to Salamanca, and was appointed lecturer of divinity, the duties of which office he continued to discharge with great applause until the year 1618. At the

* Vide Wadding, de Scrip. p. 95.

† Along with those works, Roth left at the time of his death an Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, to the compilation of which he devoted fifty years; but this important MS., as well as that of the Hierographia, fell into the hands of the Cromwellians when Kilkenny surrendered.

‡ Ex Vita a F. Haroldo, Annal Min. t. I.

time Anthony a Trejo, bishop of Carthegena, was preparing to proceed on an embassy to Paul V., having been commissioned by Philip III. to investigate the question relative to the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. It was customary on such occasions to nominate some eminent divine, who was thereby privileged to accompany the embassy, and was to be consulted on all matters of doubt or difficulty; Wadding, who was then in his thirtieth year, was the person whom that prelate had selected, and having arrived at Rome about the close of the following summer, he was invited to reside at the palace of Cardinal Gabriel a Trejo, brother to the bishop of Carthegena. The splendour of a palace, however, appeared to him as altogether inconsistent with the humility of his religious profession; he, therefore, continued but a short time with the cardinal, and then withdrew to the Franciscan Convent of St. Peter in *Monte Aureo*.

It would be difficult to describe the literary labours which this great man had now to encounter. After having consulted the Vatican and other archives in Rome, he travelled to Perouse, Assisi, Naples, and other places, in search of materials. He may be said to have actually lived in the libraries, where without thinking of rest or food, he spent whole days and nights in collecting and transcribing, and has written "The entire acts of that legation." During this period he also composed and published various treatises on the Immaculate Conception, to which we shall have occasion to allude hereafter: he compiled the "Opuscula S. Francisci," in three books, from the archives in which they had been deposited; he discovered the Commentaries of Angelus de Paz in manuscript; the Hebrew Concordances of the holy Scriptures in four tomes by Marian Calasius, and the Concordantiæ S. Antonii, all of which he carefully revised and published. Wadding, having thus succeeded in his literary discoveries, directs his attention to the writings of Scotus. He collected all the manuscripts of his countryman, John Duns Scotus, which had never been edited, and these he illustrated with valuable scholia. He then collected such portions as had been published with the commentaries of Cavellus, Mauri[illegible] Portu, and others, and compared them with the manuscript which he had in his possession. He corrected various errors in the text, and purged the work from spurious interpolations; enriching the whole with marginal notes, and thus exhibiting the genuine *Reportata Parisiensia*. To render the edition still

more complete, he inserted the commentaries of Cavellus, the supplement of John Ponce, and the three tomes of Hickey's commentaries on the four books of Sentences;* and having then added a preliminary dissertation and a life of Scotus, he published the whole at Lyons, 1639, in sixteen volumes, folio, and dedicated the work to Philip IV. Wadding had now determined that the memory of the great men, with which his order abounded, should not be consigned to oblivion. He accordingly undertook the task, attended as it must have been with immense labour, and published a Bibliotheque of the Franciscan Order (Scriptores Ordinis Minorum, Romæ, 1650). About this time he published also a correct edition of the work of John Guallensis, a learned Franciscan, entitled "De Oculo Morali," which had been falsely attributed to Raymund Jordan, a Regular Canon; and about two years after he revised and edited the Life of St. Anselm, bishop of Lucca, together with the Lives of the Popes and Cardinals, written by Ciaconius.

The grand work, however, which has immortalized the name of Wadding, is his "Annales Minorum"—the annals of the Franciscan Order, undertaken at the command of his superiors, and in the execution of which he spent twenty-four years. Besides the immense supply of materials which he had drawn from the Roman, Gallican, and Spanish archives, he was furnished with piles of documents from almost all the nations of Christendom. These he arranged with singular chronological precision, and ultimately digested in eight volumes folio, under the title, "Annales Minorum, in quibus res omnes Trium Ordinum a Sancto Francisco institutorum tractantur." The first tome commences from the foundation of the order, and comes down to the year 1250; the second tome ad annum 1300; the third tome ad an. 1350; the fourth tome ad an. 1400; the fifth tome ad an. 1450; the sixth tome ad an. 1475; the seventh tome ad an. 1560; the eight tome ad an. 1540. The seven first tomes of these annals were published at Lyons; the first having issued from the press in 1625, and the seventh in 1648; while the eighth tome was published in Rome in 1654. In the year 1731, a second edition of these annals was published at Rome, in sixteen volumes, folio, by Joseph Fonseca ab Ebora, with supplements, and a copious life of the learned Wadding, written by his nephew Father Francis Harold.† They were after-

* For Hickey and Ponce, see p. 539 and 541.

† See an account of Francis Harold, p. 515.

wards abridged by Francis Harold and published with a continuation in two volumes, folio. The compilation of these and other voluminous works, which still remain to be noticed, must have been a labour almost insurmountable; but the towering mind and untired perseverance of this great man rose superior to every difficulty. His learning had now rendered him an object of universal esteem. Philip IV., in a letter written by that monarch himself, complimented Wadding in terms the most flattering for his literary services; and among the number of his patrons in Rome, may be mentioned Cardinal Sandova, archbishop of Toledo, and many of the ambassadors from the different courts of Europe.

It was not by his writings alone that Wadding had contributed to the interests of religion; he became the founder of colleges which continue to flourish even to this day, and have for upwards of two hundred years supplied the Church of Ireland with an almost countless host of active and distinguished missionaries. It grieved him to witness the spirit of persecution still hovering around the ruined and deserted religious establishments of his native country; and with equal sorrow he beheld the scanty and precarious resources which awaited the exiled Irish ecclesiastic in distant and foreign lands. With the exception of the College of St. Anthony at Louvain, his order was at this time unable to calculate on a single Irish establishment in any province; while priests, students, and postulants were to be seen scattered in crowds over almost every nation on the continent. Wadding at length undertook to provide for this lamentable deficiency. Having obtained the consent of the pope, and of the general of his order, he purchased a piece of ground, on which stood an hospital or house of reception for the Discalced Franciscans of the Spanish nation, together with a church dedicated to St. Isidore, and on the site adjoining thereto he caused an extensive and splendid college to be erected. He also enlarged the church by an addition of six chapels, and furnished the college with a library of five thousand printed folios, and about eight hundred manuscripts. The generous citizens of Rome, to whom the Irish nation owes an eternal debt of gratitude, came forward on this occasion and gave the most splendid proofs of their [illegible]. So great was the respect which this religious and learned people had entertained of Wadding, that they actually seemed to have vied with each other in supplying him with money and other assistance necessary for the completion and embellishment of the building. The founder then drew up a body of [illegible]

tutions, and procured the bull of Urban VIII., for their confirmation, after which he invited all the Irish Franciscans who were dispersed over Spain, Flanders, Germany, and other countries, to repair to the college of St. Isidore and prosecute their studies. This college was opened for the reception of students, on the 24th of June, A.D., 1625; the learned Luke Wadding having been constituted its first guardian: Anthony Hickey, a native of the county of Clare, and Martin Walsh, from the city of Waterford,* were the lecturers in divinity: the lecturers in philosophy were Patrick Fleming,† from the county of Louth, and John Ponce, a learned Franciscan from the city of Cork. Father Wadding was afterwards, at five successive chapters, elected guardian of this invaluable establishment.

His attention was now directed to the interest of the secular mission of his native country. For this purpose he had recourse to his friend and patron, Cardinal Ludovisius, and having acquainted him with the desolate state of the Irish mission, he earnestly implored his assistance in founding a college for the education of Irish secular priests at Rome. Wadding's request was instantly granted, and the good cardinal, besides the seminary which he had founded, had also generously allotted an annual pension of six hundred crowns, and at his death bequeathed a farm, fifteen miles from Rome, and a yearly rent of one thousand crowns for the support of the establishment. The statutes of this college were drawn up by Luke Wadding. Its first rector was Owen Callanan, an Irish priest, upon whose decease Father Martin Walsh, lecturer of St. Isidore's was promoted to that office, and after some time he was succeeded by Father John Ponce. The students of the Ludovisian Secular College, not having the opportunity of a resident professor, were for many years obliged to attend the lectures at Isidore's, where they were kindly received, and met with every possible attention. Luke Wadding established likewise a convent for novices at Capronica, a retired and beautiful town about twenty-eight miles from Rome, and obtained a licence from the pope by a bull dated the 8th of May, 1656. This convent had been previously in the possession of the Augustinians. Having obtained permission from his holiness to dispose of its trifling revenues, Wadding, by that means and with the liberal assistance of the towns-people, enlarged

* For Martin Walsh see p. 539.
† For Patrick Fleming see p. 512.

the building and fitted it out for the reception of twelve novices. The novitiate of Capronica being presently supplied with subjects, Maurice Mathews was appointed its first guardian.

The character of Father Luke Wadding was at this time regarded with reverential respect; he was consulted by the court of Rome on almost all questions of importance; the regulation of the sees and, in short, of the whole Irish Church was consigned to his management, and especially when Cardinal Ludovisius had been constituted its protector, during the pontificate of Urban VIII.

When, in 1642, the oppressions of Ireland had been carried beyond the bounds of endurance, and when the nation had resolved not to suffer itself to be any longer trampled upon, Wadding, during this great memorable struggle, exhibited many splendid proofs of his being a patriot as well as a scholar. By his influence he raised several contributions of money, which he took care to transmit to the supreme council; he moreover supplied the confederates with a considerable number of experienced Irish officers, who had been trained to the use of arms in the Spanish, French and German service. So great was the respect in which he had been held by his Catholic countrymen, that a deputation was sent from the supreme council to Rome with a memorial, requesting that Urban VIII. might be pleased to advance him to the college of cardinals. When the deputation arrived in Rome, Wadding got possession of the document, but took care that it should never be presented. This memorial was, after his death, discovered in his closet, with other interesting papers. The mission of Peter Francis Scarampi to Ireland originated with Wadding, and by his advice also the nuncio Rinuccini was despatched to the same country, under the pontificate of Innocent X. Not many years after, the catastrophe commenced, and the learned Wadding lived to contemplate the melancholy prostration of his country. This fatal event must have worked upon a constitution already worn down by age and labour. On the 19th of October, 1657, he was seized with a pain in his head, and a distillation, which terminated in catarrh, attended with an intermitted fever; and, on the 15th of the following November, he died in his favourite Convent of St. Isidore, in the seventieth year of his age. His remains were deposited in the Church of St. Isidore, at the corner of St. Anthony's Chapel, towards the high altar; and a sumptuous monument was soon after erected to his memory, by

his learned and valued friend, the advocate, Hercules Ronconio.*

It now only remains to present to the reader a catalogue of the works, either written or published with annotations, by this learned man:

1. Acta Legationis. 2. Opera de Immaculata Conceptione Beatæ Mariæ Virginis; Romæ, 1655. 3. De Baptismo B. Mariæ Virginis; Romæ, 1656. 4. De Redemptione B. Mariæ Virginis; Romæ, 1656. 5 De Mente SS. Patrum circa immunitatem Virginis a peccato Originali; Romæ, 1656. 6. De Scriptoribus et Martyribus Minoritis; Romæ, 1650. 7. De Oculo Morali, illustrated with Scholia; Romæ, 1655. 8. Opuscula S. P. Francisci; lib. tres; Antwerpiæ, 1623. 9. Vitæ Pontificum et Cardinalium, a Ciaconio, amplificatæ; Romæ, 1630. 10. Concordantiæ Hebraicæ (in four tomes); a Calasio; illustrated with a preliminary dissertation by Wadding, entitled De Hebraicæ Linguæ Origine, præstantia et utilitate. 11. Commentaria Angeli de Paz; cum illustrationibus; Romæ, 1623. 12. Concordantiæ Biblicæ S. Antonii; Romæ, 1624. 13. Promptuarium Moralis Sacræ Scripturæ; Romæ, 1624. 14. Vita B. Petri Thomasii Carmelitæ, Patriarchæ Constantinopolitanæ; Lugduni, 1637. 15. Vita et Res gestæ B. Jacobi Piceni; commentariis illustratæ; Lugduni, 1641. 16. Commentaria ad Vitam et Opuscula S. Anselmi, Episcopi Lucensis; Romæ, 1657. 17. Apologeticum de Pretensu Monachatu Augustiniano; Romæ, 1650. 18. Francisci defensi Apologetica contra Thomam Herreram; Romæ, 1650. 19. Omnia Opera Scoti; cum eruditis commentariis et Vitâ Scoti (sixteen volumes, folio); Lugduni, 1639.

* On the monument erected to the memory of Luke Wadding, was the following epitaph:

D. O. M.
R. A. P. F. Lucæ Waddingo Hiberno,
Viro Erudito,
Virtutibus Ornato,
De Ecclesia, Religione, et Patria
Bene Merito,
Lectori Jubilato,
Totius Ordinis Minorum Chronologo,
Patri, Ac Fundatori
Optimo, et Amplissimo
Collegium Mœrens Posuit,
Ære D. Herculis Ronconii
In Urbe Advocati
Ejus Veri Amici.
Obiit
XVIII. Novembris, MDCLVII.
Ætatis LXX.

20. Annales Minorum, seu Trium Ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum (eight volumes, folio); Lugduni et Romæ, 1625, 1651.

The following works from the pen of this extraordinary man remained in manuscript, but it is probable had never been published:

1. Vitæ et Res gestæ Clementis VIII., Leonis XI., Pauli V., Gregorii XV., Urbani VIII., Innocentii X., et omnium Cardinalium ab iis creatorum. 2. Vitæ Sanctorum Ecclesiæ Urbinetanæ, cum Notis. 3. De insigni pietate Urbinatum erga Minores. 4. Epistolarum Selectarum; lib. 1.

In his collection of papers, an immense mass of materials were found for an intended history of all the general chapters of the Franciscan Order, with all their statutes and some of their provincial ordinances. To this was to be appended a voluminous record of all the works of the ancient fathers of the Franciscan Order, which had never been published, or which had been scarce. He had it likewise in contemplation to produce a general history of Ireland, and the annals of the bishoprics of the whole Christian world, containing the origin, proceedings, and laws of all churches; the constant succession of their bishops, their memoirs, their perpetual universal coherence in one doctrine, and their undivided obedience to one head, the Apostolic See.* But the multiplicity of business in which he had been engaged, accompanied with the natural infirmities of old age, unfortunately prevented him from executing these noble design.† His works have been admired by the friends of literature in every nation over the Christian world, in consequence of their perspicuity, the purity of the diction, but above all, their accuracy. Mortification, humility, and perseverance, marked his career through life, and his death resembled that of a saint.

John Colgan, the learned compiler of the "Acta Sanctorum," or lives of the saints of Ireland, was contemporary with Wadding, and a native of the county of Donegal.‡

* Ex Vita ab F. Haroldo, Annal. Minn. tom. i.

† This observation may be confirmed by the beautiful and p[illegible] of Father Wadding himself, in his peroration to the eighth tome, and which, out of sincere respect for his memory, we shall [illegible]

"Tandem post tot annorum velificationes, vastissimi maris agitatæ procellis, quassatæ navis cogor vela colligere, et projecta anchora in portu requiescere. Gravis jam pressit senectus, [illegible] promptus nunc cæpit languere, ac circumdantibus undique negotiorum pressuris se demum imparem agnoscit. Tempus itaque est, ut ab omnibus me prorsus expediam, suspensoque calamo illud unum agam, quod potissime necessarium est, animæ scilicet procurandæ totus incumbam ab erumnosa vitæ procellis ad portum religiose quietis accedam, pacatique animi fide me stationi committam."

‡ He was born in Inishowen.

Having embraced the Franciscan institute, and completed his studies in the college of St. Anthony at Louvain, he succeeded the celebrated Hugh Ward, both in his office as lector of divinity, and in his laborious antiquarian pursuits. Colgan was deeply versed in the language and antiquities of his country, and had, even before his departure from Ireland, contemplated a revision of the national records, especially that portion of them which embraced the hagiology of his illustrious forefathers. An opportunity, attended with considerable advantage, was now happily afforded him, while the peaceful retirement of his cloister, and the encouragement which he was sure to meet with in Louvain, had contributed as a still further stimulus to his exertions. On the death of Hugh Ward, in 1635, the immense piles of manuscripts which that great man had in his possession, together with those which had been collected by O'Clery and Fleming, were all carefully secured, and committed to the management of John Colgan. With these materials, which were sufficiently ample, and which had been partly arranged by his predecessor, Colgan proceeds to put his religious and literary designs into execution. Agreeably to his original intention, he proposed to publish a general synopsis of the ecclesiastical antiquities of Ireland; secondly, the acts of SS. Patrick Brigid, and Columbkill; and, thirdly, the acts of all the other saints of Ireland in chronological order. This last work he purposed to divide into four parts, each part comprising the festivals and hagiology for three months. The first part, containing the acts of the saints for January, February, and March, was accordingly published in two folio volumes, and was entitled "Acta Sanctorum Veteris et Majoris Scotiæ seu Hiberniæ, Sanctorum Insulæ, partim ex variis per Europam MS. Cod. ex scripta, partim ex antiquis Monumentis et probatis Authoribus eruta et congesta;" Lovanii, 1645. The remaining parts of this work, enriched with notes critical and topographical, and with large and complete tables, had been prepared for the press,* when the death of the author prevented their publication.

In 1647, Colgan completed and edited his favourite and long-intended hagiology of the three principal patron saints of Ireland. It came from the press in the commencement of that year, at Louvain, digested in two exceedingly large tomes, under the title "Triadis Thaumaturga; seu Divorum Patritii, Columbæ et Brigidæ, trium Veteris et Majoris Scotiæ seu

* Wadding, de Script. Min. p. 210.

Hiberniæ, SS. insulæ communium Patronorum Acta." In this work, Colgan presents seven lives of St. Patrick, five of St. Columba, and six of St. Brigid, with elucidatory notes and appendixes.

The unwearied research of this eminent man had contributed to shed a new ray of light on the sacred antiquities of this country; his commentaries and scholia have been justly admired, and have formed an excellent precedent for the hagiologists, and other religious writers of modern times. John Colgan died at Louvain, A.D. 1658. Besides the works already noticed, he has published a treatise, entitled "Tractatus de Vita, Patria et Scriptis Johannis Scoti, Doctoris Subtilis" (octavo); Antwerpiæ, 1655 "Sacrarum Hiberniæ Antiquitatum" (folio); Lovanii, 1647. After his death, several piles of his manuscripts remained at Louvain, among which were the following: one large tome, consisting of 880 pages folio, with the title "De Apostolatu Hibernorum inter exteras Gentes, cum Indice alphabetico de exteris Sanctis;" also a treatise "De Sanctis in Anglia, in Britannia, Armorica, in reliqua Gallia, in Belgio," 1068 pages folio. Likewise, "De Sanctis in Lotharingia, in Burgundia, in Germania ad sinistram et dextram Rheni, in Italia," comprising 920 pages folio. It does not appear that any of these had been published at any subsequent time; they may, however, be considered as invaluable authentic memorials of the deep research of this laborious and learned antiquarian.

Daniel O'Daly or, as he is usually styled, "Dominicus de Rosario," from the name which he adopted in religion, was a native of the county of Kerry, and was born in the year 1595. He retired at an early age to the Dominican convent of Lugo, in Gallicia, where he made his solemn profession, and afterwards completed his ecclesiastical studies at Burgos, in Old Castile. He soon after returned to Ireland, and remained for some time in his native convent at Tralee. About this period (1624), the Irish Dominican college at Louvain had been founded; students in great numbers repaired thither from Ireland, and in a few years it became an establishment of great importance and celebrity.* In compliance with the

* The Irish Dominican college at Louvain (Cœnobium S. Crucis), may said to have been founded A.D. 1624. The learned Thaddeus O'Dean, provincial of that order in 1608, had, by his unwearied exertions, obtained a domicile for Irish Dominicans at Louvain. It does not appear, however, that any Dominican students from this country had been placed there, until 1622, under the provincialship of the venerable Father Roche Mac Geoghegan, an alumnus of Mullingar. The students at that period continued to reside in a house which had been obtained at an annual rent, until 1624, at which time Richard Birmingham, of the convent of Athenry, procured a church near the

directions of his provincial, Father Nicholas Lynch, O'Daly proceeded to Louvain, where he was received with great respect, and constituted a lecturer in divinity. His learning, enhanced by his virtues, had already rendered him a general favourite, and being a man of singular prudence and address, he was caressed by persons of the first distinction, and especially by Philip IV., then king of Spain and Portugal.* These adventitious circumstances were soon rendered subservient to the interest of religion. O'Daly had long contemplated the design of establishing an Irish Dominican college at Lisbon: some considerable property had, it appears, been assigned for that purpose so early as the year 1615, but from some mismanagement, these grants became virtually inapplicable, and the intended foundation was accordingly neglected. O'Daly, therefore, repaired to Lisbon, accompanied by three eminent Irish Dominicans, and having obtained the assistance of the Portuguese provincial, and the patronage of the archbishop Roderico de Cunba, he was put in possession of a small hospital, situated in the street Rua Nova de Almada, near the king's palace, and was appointed its rector, A.D. 1634.† Here his exalted virtues were soon appreciated: he was held in great esteem by Margaret duchess of Mantua, who had at that time been intrusted by her uncle, Philip IV., with the government of Portugal, and would have laid the foundation of an extensive college, were it not for the revolution of 1641, by which that country had been dismembered from the dominion of the king of Spain. On the elevation of the duke of Braganza (John IV.) to the throne of Portugal, Father O'Daly was nominated one of the queen's confessors, and was so highly respected by the king, that in 1665 he was sent as ambassador to Louis IV., in order to treat of a league and affinity between the two crowns.‡

In the meantime the establishment in the Rue de Almada, although small, became exceedingly celebrated; it produced several missionaries eminent for virtue and learning, among

Castrum Casaris, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, together with an adjoining establishment which had been previously occupied by the English Jesuits. The first rector was Oliver Burke, a native of Galway. By the exertions of the provincial, Roche Mac Geoghegan, it was soon after endowed by [illegible] with an annual pension of one thousand florins (an hundred pounds sterling), to be paid out of the treasury at Brussels; to which the Congregation de Propaganda Fide had, in 1660, annexed a second grant of one hundred and twenty Roman dollars, on condition that students would there be instructed and prepared for the perilous duties of the Irish mission.

* Baronius, Apol. lib. i, sec. i. † Hib. Dom. chap. xii. p. [illegible]

‡ Biblioth. Dom. t. ii.

whom may be noticed the venerable fathers Gerard Dillon, Miles Magrath, Æneas, Ambrose O'Cahil, Gerard Bagot, and Thaddæus Moriarty, all of whom heroically sealed the faith with their blood during the awful persecutions of Cromwell. Under the auspices of the queen Lucia, and at the instance of Father O'Daly, the college of Corpo Santo, situated in the Largo di Corpo Santo, was founded on the 4th of May, A.D. 1659. The foundation-stone was laid with unusual solemnity by the bishop of Lamego, with an appropriate discourse from the eloquent Ferdinandus Suero; on which occasion Daniel O'Daly was constituted its first rector. By means of this laborious man a convent, called the Bon Success, was also erected for Irish Dominican nuns in 1639, at Balem, a considerable fortress situated at the mouth of the Tagus, and about three miles west of Lisbon. The reputation in which he was now held may serve to supply us with additional proofs of his profound humility: he was appointed to the archbishopries of Braga and Goa, but these metropolitan dignities he declined. At length yielding to the entreaties of his friends, and with a view of advancing the interest of his own establishment of Corpo Santo, he consented to undertake the government of the diocese of Coimbra. He was accordingly elected bishop of that see; but before his consecration could have taken place, he died in the convent of Corpo Santo, on the 30th of June, A.D. 1662, and in the 67th year of his age, after having governed that college and the former establishment with great applause for upwards of twenty-eight years. Daniel O'Daly has published a work entitled "Relatio Geraldinorum, ac Persecutionis Hiberniæ; vel, Initium, Incrementum et Exitus Familiæ Geraldinorum, Desmoniæ Comitum, Palatinorum Kyerriæ in Hibernia, ac Persecutionis Hæreticorum descriptio, ex nonullis fragmentis collecta, ac Latinitate donata;" Ulyssipone, 1655.*

JOHN LYNCH (Gratianus Lucius) was born in the town of Galway, where he presided for many years over a celebrated literary establishment, and contributed in no small degree to advance the interest of religion during these melancholy times. Having received his ecclesiastical education in France, he was ordained a secular priest, and soon after returned to his native country. His zeal as a missioner was equalled only by the extent of his acquirements; after some time he was promoted to the dignity of archdeacon of Tuam, and ultimately became vicar-apostolic of Killala. Inspired with an innate love for his country, and being a perfect master of its language, Lynch

* This most valuable work, translated and copiously noted by Rev. C. P. Meehan, has been published by J. Duffy, Dublin.

applied himself with great success to the study of its antiquities. On this subject he had been frequently consulted by many of the learned men of those times, and particularly by Roderic O'Flaherty, the elaborate author of the celebrated "Ogygia."* When Ireland had been distracted by the conflicting opinions of the advocates and opponents of the nuncio, archdeacon Lynch was doomed to remain an inactive spectator of these lamentable scenes. His own private opinion would appear, however, to express a disapprobation of the measures of the nuncio, which, from the commencement of the transaction, he had regarded as unreasonable, impracticable and dangerous.

In all our ancient annals we find but a very imperfect record of the acts of this eminent man, who certainly has deserved well of his country and of religion. When the garrison of Galway had surrendered in 1652, John Lynch retired to France, where he wrote and published two works under the signature of "Eudoxius Alithinologus," the titles of which were, 1. Veridica Responsio ad Invectivam, mendaciis, fallaciis, calumniis et imposturis fætam, in plurimos Antistites, Proceres et omnis ordinis Hibernos. 2. Supplementum ejusdem operis (quarto); 1664. This work was written for the purpose of refuting Father Farrell, a Capuchin, who in a book dedicated to the Propaganda, had maintained that the supreme council should be re-established, and that no person, layman or ecclesiastic, should be allowed to take any part in its proceedings, except such as had been descended from a Milesian stock or from the aborigines of the country. About the same time John Lynch published, under the signature "Gratianus Lucius," his celebrated work entitled "Cambrensis Eversus, seu potius Historica fides in rebus Hibernicis Giraldo Cambrensi abrogata." In this treatise the learned Lynch, after having presented to his reader a faithful development of the antiquities of his country, grapples at once with his adversary, Giraldus Cambrensis, and exposes to public

* Plutarch, in his book "De facie in Orbe Lunæ," has applied the term *Ogygia (perantiqua)* to Ireland, in consequence of its great antiqui[illegible] was a term frequently used by the poets of old, when they intended to express anything very ancient, and seems to have been derived from *Ogyg*, the name of an illustrious king of Thebes, who flourished A.M. 2125. Hence Egypt, a country of acknowledged antiquity, has been often called by the name of *Ogygia*. Hence also, Camden, treating of Ireland in his Britannia, says, "Non immerito hæc insula (Hibernia) *Ogygia*, idest, perantiqua a Plutarcho dicta fuit. A profundissima enim antiquitatis memoriâ Historias suas auspicantur, adeo ut præ illis omnium gentium antiquitas sit novitas et quodammodo infantia."

contempt, the malevolent misstatements of that silly and shameless calumniator. John Lynch has also published a tract under the title* "Pii Antistitis Icon: sive de Vita et Morte Rev. D. Francisci Kerovanii, Alladensis Episcopi,"† octavo; Maclovii, 1669.

Nicholas French, bishop of Ferns, and a distinguished member of the supreme council, was born in the town of Wexford, A.D. 1604.‡ Having completed his theological course in the Irish secular college at Louvain, he was constituted president of that establishment, and founded in it a burse of one hundred and eighty florins annually for students belonging to his native diocese.§ The exigency of the mission obliged him at length to withdraw from this favourite and justly celebrated retreat of literature. He returned to Ireland during the reign of Charles I., and was appointed parish priest of the the town of Wexford, where his talents and piety were simultaneously employed in soothing the sorrows and confirming the resolutions of an oppressed but determined people. The formation of the supreme council at Kilkenny, in 1642, may be dated as the epoch at which the labours, or rather the sufferings, of this great man commenced. Although an ecclesiastic of the second order, he was elected a burgess by his fellow-townsmen, and deputed one of the principal representatives of their body in the national council of the confederates, about to be convened in the early part of the following May. A similar spirit of enthusiasm animated the people of Ross, Enniscorthy, and other towns; while it must be recollected that the county of Wexford alone guaranteed and actually paid to the treasurers of the confederated body, no less a sum than three thousand pounds in one year; having, moreover, in their possession the fort of Duncannon, which in those days was considered impregnable, together with the fortified towns of Wexford and Ross.‖

With the character of Nicholas French, the court of Rome had been long since acquainted. The see became vacant about the year 1643; and to the universal satisfaction of the diocese, and indeed of the kingdom, he was elected and consecrated its bishop. This prelate, whose concern for his country was surpassed only by the love which he bore for its religi continued to take an active share in the deliberations of the first

* This valuable work has been translated by Rev. C. P. Meehan, and published by J. Duffy.

† Harris's Ware, Writers; Hib. Dom. p. 11.

‡ Hist. of Remon. part ii. p. 614. § Hib. Dom. chap. xvii.

‖ Hist. of Remon. part ii. p. 615.

supreme council, until the temporizing majority of that body disgraced themselves, and in the midst of victory abandoned their principles, by an interested subserviency to the political conditions of Ormond. When the terms of the cessation had been ratified by the supreme council, and the consequent ecclesiastical congregation had been convened by the nuncio at Waterford, Nicholas French was appointed its chancellor, with full powers to arrange and put into execution the appointed ordinances of that assembly. The spirited part which he had now taken in these public proceedings added considerably to his popularity, and he soon became a leading character in the new confederate council which had been formed by the nuncio. He was entrusted with a commission to proceed to Rome and solicit the assistance of Innocent X; while at the same time the marquis of Antrim, viscount Muskery, and Severinus Brown were despatched to the queen and to the prince of Wales, then residing in France.* The mission of Nicholas French, although executed with singular fidelity, ended in a complete failure: no assistance could be obtained, and after an absence of two years, he returned home only to witness the still more lamentable distractions and multiplied miseries of his country. Just on his arrival, in 1648, the supreme council had concluded a treaty of peace with Inchiquin, while the whole nation was rent asunder by the conflicting opinions of the people and the necessarily consequent disasters of war. The confederates had by this time been brought to the very verge of ruin; those towns and fortresses which they had for years in their possession, were all torn from them; one defeat was followed by another still more disastrous, and to complete the terror of the scene, the nuncio with his followers at Galway was employed in fulminating excommunications against the council, while that body and the great majority of the representatives were, with equal firmness, setting the dignitary and his censures at open defiance. In this state of affairs, Nicholas French considered it more prudent to yield to the circumstances of the times, and adopt that line of politics which he conceived would be most practically beneficial to his country. He accordingly agreed to the peace of 1648, although it had been disapproved of by the nuncio, and by his influence induced many to relinquish their prejudices and become satisfied with the same measure. For the purpose of reconciling the minds of the clergy with the proceedings of the council, it was deemed advisable to

* Philop. Iren. Lib. i. chap. vii.; ap. Hib. Dom.

summon a general meeting of that body; on this occasion the bishop of Ferns presided; he analysed and examined the question with impartiality, and in a strain of powerful language, demonstrated that the peace then concluded was the only practical means by which the country could be saved from inevitable ruin. This peace proved, however, but a very ineffectual remedy for the evils of Ireland. In two years after, the country was reduced and covered with blood; while at the meeting of the bishops which took place at James's-town, in 1650, Nicholas French attended, and signed the famous declaration condemnatory of the proceedings of Ormond.* With a view of creating a sympathy for Ireland, and having moreover received a commission for that purpose, he repaired to the continent, and after a perilous journey arrived at Brussels; from thence he proceeded to Paris, but his efforts to obtain assistance in either of these places were unsuccessful. Unable any longer to witness the desolation of his country, he retired to Spain, and became a suffragan to the archbishop of St. Iago, in the province of Gallicia. Had this unbending prelate consented to receive the Valesian Remonstrance, his exile would at once have terminated. At the close of the year 1666, he proceeded to Paris, from which city he addressed a letter to Father Peter Walsh, in which he writes: "As soon as the intense heat of this summer will permit, I intend to give more copious reasons why I cannot, with quietness of mind, sign the protestation as the duke (of Ormond) requireth: I will also answer some parts of your letter which intrencheth much upon me. When this is done, the duke will learn the motives which govern my mind: and seeing I cannot satisfy my conscience and the duke together, nor become profitable to my flock at home, his anger not being appeased, you may know hereby that I am resolved after the summer to retire to Louvain, where I began my studies, and there end my days. I shall thereby free his grace from being troubled in my behalf, and give myself a freedom from many personal afflictions, which in Ireland good men must endure; but my heart shall ever have a share in their sufferings."† The venerable exile accordingly withdrew to Flanders, and soon after became coadjutor to the most illustrious D. Eugene Albert Dalamant, archbishop of Ghent, in which city he died, on the 23rd of August, A.D. 1678, and in the 78th year of his age. His remains were interred with becoming solemnity in the cathedral

* Hib. Dom. chap. vii. p. 692.
† Hist. of Remon. part ii. p. 618; Porter, p. 210.

of Ghent; and a splendid monument, with an epitaph descriptive of his virtues, his learning, and his patriotism, was shortly after erected to his memory in the same church.

Nicholas French has written: 1. A Narrative of the Settlement and Sale of Ireland; Louvain, 1668.* 2. The Bleeding Iphigenia; in vindication of the proceedings of the war, and condemnatory of the peace of 1646.† 3. The doleful fall of Andrew Sall from the Catholic and Apostolic faith, lamented by his constant and true friend; 1674.‡ 4. The Unkind Deserter of loyal men and true friends; Paris, 1676.§ 5. Thirty Sheets of Reasons for not subscribing the Valesian Remonstrance. 6. A Synopsis justifying the war. 7. A Tract on the due obedience of Catholics. 8. A Tract entitled, Religion in England.‖ 9. Libellum Supplicem Clementi IX., cui subnectitur Elenchus D. Episcoporum Hiberniæ, qui residerunt in ecclesiis suis, anno 1649, et exinde mortui sunt. 10. Lucubrationes Episcopi Fernensis in Hispania.

Peter Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, was the son of Sir William Talbot, and nephew of colonel Richard Talbot, afterwards created duke of Tyrconnel by James II. With an intention of embracing the ecclesiastical state, he repaired to Portugal, where he became a Jesuit, in 1635, and afterwards removed to Rome, in which city he completed his theological course. Here his talents and acquirements soon rendered him conspicuous; he was afterwards constituted lecturer of morality at Antwerp. During his residence in these countries, about the year 1656, it is related that he received Charles II., then retired to Cologne, into the bosom of the Catholic Church; and that he had been accordingly commissioned by that prince to proceed to Spain, for the

* Republished by J. Duffy, Dublin.

† Ibid.

‡ Andrew Sall, the individual above alluded to, was born at Cashel, in the county of Tipperary. In 1639, he removed to Spain, where he became a Jesuit, and was afterwards appointed a professor of moral divinity in the college of the Jesuits at Salamanca. About the year 1673, he returned to Ireland, and was constituted superior of the mission of the Jesuits in that country. Having soon after unhappily abandoned his faith, he embraced, or rather pretended to embrace, Protestantism, and took up his residence in Trinity College: here he graduated, and as a further reward for his defection, he was soon after nominated domestic chaplain to Charles II., and enriched with the prebend of Swords, the rectory of Ardmulchan, and the chantership of Cashel. He died in Dublin about the year 1682, and was buried in the cathedral of St Patrick.

§ Republished by J. Duffy, Dublin.

‖ Inserted by De Burgo in the Hib. Dominicana. Some valuable tracts from Dr. French's pen are still preserved in the MS. Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and in Marsh's Library there is a Cursus Philosophiæ, which we believe to be in his handwriting.

purpose of communicating the intelligence to the court of Madrid.* Peter Talbot afterwards came to England, where he was appointed one of the queen's chaplains, and in May, 1669, was advanced by Clement IX. to the see of Dublin.† The advocates of the Valesian Remonstrance, although discomfitted, were, even at this period, as clamorous as ever. To this document archbishop Talbot was opposed; he considered it rather a piece of state machinery, than a fair and honest medium, by which the feelings and loyalty of the priesthood of Ireland could be ascertained. During his incumbency, he presided at two provincial synods, one in 1670, and the other in 1671; the statutes of which may be said to be included among those passed under Eugene Matthews, in 1624.‡. This prelate was a great favourite during the administration of the duke of Buckingham and lord Berkley, in 1670. The intolerant spirit of former times was, however, revived: the popish plot was got up, while the archbishop of Dublin was accused of having, contrary to law, an intention of introducing Catholics into the common council. To avoid the malice of his enemies, he was advised to remove to Paris, from which city he addressed, in 1674, a most tender pastoral letter to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and particularly to those of the archdiocese of Dublin. He returned to Ireland on the following year; but in 1678 was arrested at Malahide, on a false suspicion of being concerned in the popish plot; and was conveyed to Newgate. Here the venerable prelate remained for two years, having been treated with great severity, until at length death put a period to his sufferings, in the year 1680.§ The works written by this learned prelate are: 1. A Treatise on the nature of Faith and Heresy; Antwerp, 1657. 2. The Nullity of the Protestant Church of England and its Clergy; Brussels, 1658. 3. A Catechism for Politicians, instructing them in divine faith and moral honesty; Antwerp, 1658. 4. A Treatise on Religion and Government; Ghent, quarto, 1670. 5. A Confutation of the Principles of the Protestant Religion [illegible] by Stillingfleet; London, 1672. 6. An Efficacious [illegible] against Arianism and Heresy; Paris, 1674. 7. The Duty and Comfort of suffering Subjects, in a letter to the Catholics of Ireland; Paris, 1674. 8. The History of the Iconoclasts, of Manicheism and Pelagianism; Paris, 1676. 9. The Friar Dis-

* Carte, vol. ii. p. 172. † Id. p. 381.
‡ Vide cap. i. et Constitutiones Provinciales Eccl. Metrop. Dub.
§ Hib. Dom. p. 131.

ciplined; or, Animadversions on Father Peter Walsh's New Remonstrance, dedicated to Ormond, octavo; Ghent, 1674. 10. Primatus Dubliniensis, vel Summa rerum quibus innititur Ecclesia Dubliniensis in possessione sui juris ad Primatum Hiberniæ, duodecimo; Insulis, 1674.

The account which we have to give of some other ecclesiastical writers of this century, must necessarily be limited. It is here merely presented to the reader as a grateful memento of their literary labours.

Thomas Messingham, a writer of great authority, flourished in the seventeenth century. He was a native of Leinster, received his education as a secular priest in Paris, and afterwards became apostolic prothonotary and rector of the Irish seminary in that city.* Messingham has written and published: 1. Officii SS. Patritii, Columbæ, Brigidæ, et aliorum quorundam Hiberniæ Sanctorum; Parisiis, 1620. 2. Florilegium Insulæ Sanctorum, seu Vitæ Sanctorum Hiberniæ, cum tractatu de purgatorio S. Patritii, folio; Parisiis, 1624.

Cornelius Dovan, a learned Franciscan, was born in Ulster, and during the reign of James I. became bishop of Down and Connor. This venerable writer suffered martyrdom under Chichester in 1611.† He has written, "Index Martyralis, sive Synopsis Martyrum Hiberniæ, qui suo tempore, quo persecutio sævissima in Catholicos efferbuit, provide occubuerunt."

Martin Walsh, a native of Waterford, embraced the Franciscan institute at Madrid, and afterwards removed to Rome, in 1625, where he became second lecturer of divinity at St. Isidore's, and subsequently its guardian. He was likewise rector of the Ludovisian Secular College, and died at Rome in the flower of his age, A.D. 1634.‡ He has written "Paræneses Poetica in auspicatissimum Septentrionalis Oceani Principis in Madriatensem Curiam ingressum;" Madritii, 1624.

Anthony Hickey, an eminent Franciscan, was born in the county of Clare. He taught at Cologne and Louvain, and afterwards became the first lecturer of divinity at St. Isidore's in Rome, whither he had been invited by his friend Wadding, in 1625. He died in that college, and was interred in its church, A.D. 1641.§ His writings are: 1. Expostulatio Bzovius; seu Nitela Franciscanæ religionis et abstersio Sordium, quibus eam conspurcare frustra tentavit Abrahamus Bzovius; Lugduni, 1627. 2. In quatuor libros sententiarum

* Mac Mahon's Jus. Prim. p. 651.
† Wadding. Ann.
‡ Biblioth. Scrip. Ord. Min.
§ Id.

juxta mentem Scoti; Lugduni, 1639. 3. De Stigmatibus S. Catherinæ Senensis; Manuscript.

Henry Fitz Simons, a learned Jesuit, was born in the city of Dublin. His father, who was a merchant of considerable eminence, and a Protestant, had him educated at Oxford, where he distinguished himself about the year 1583.* He soon after travelled to the continent, became a convert to the Catholic faith, and having studied under the learned Lessius, was at length received and professed in the society of the Jesuits. After his return to Ireland, in 1590, he held three public disputations with Usher, made many converts, and was imprisoned in the castle of Dublin, where he remained for two years. Having recovered his liberty, he removed to Flanders, and from thence to Rome. At length, after a life of perils and sufferings, he died, a persecuted victim, amidst the caverns of his native country, during the awful period of 1643. Henry Fitz Simon had written: 1. A Catholic Confutation of Rider's Claim of Antiquity; Rouen, 1608. 2. An answer to certain complaintive letters of an afflicted Catholic for religion. 3. Justification and Exposition of the Sacrifice of the Mass. 4. Britannomachia Ministrorum in plerisque fidei fundamentis dissidentium, quarto; Duaci, 1614. 5. Catalogus Præcipuorum Sanctorum Hiberniæ, octavo; Leodii, 1619.

Robert Chamberlain, descended of an ancient family in the province of Ulster, was ordained a secular priest, and graduated a doctor of divinity at Salamanca. He afterwards became a Franciscan, and was appointed lecturer of theology in Louvain. The primate of Armagh, Hugh MacCaghwell, intended to have him as his successor in 1626, but the appointment of Hugh O'Reilly had been previously determined at Rome. He has published a treatise, De Scientia Dei. 2. De futuris contingentibus.

Francis Matthews, a distinguished Franciscan divine, and an eminent canonist, was born in the city of Cork, and in 1636, was elected guardian of St. Anthony's College at Louvain, and finally minister-provincial of his order in Ireland. He suffered martyrdom at Cork, A.D. 1644. Francis Matthews has written, under the name of Edmundus Ursulanus, "Examen Juridicum Censuræ Facultatis Parisiensis latæ circa quasdam propositiones Regularibus Hiberniæ falso impositas." Also "Tractatus pro defensione privilegiorum S. Francisco et religioni ejus concessorum."

Paul Harris flourished about the same period. He was

* Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 45.

born in England, became a secular priest, and was stationed on the mission in Dublin during the administration of Thomas Fleming. A report having been industriously circulated that the archbishop, who was a Franciscan, had determined to remove all secular priests out of the city of Dublin, Paul Harris, assisted by a parish priest named Peter Caddell, came forward, and vigorously opposed the prelate. The dispute was conducted for some time with great warmth; Father Harris was at length suspended, and received, moreover, an order from the court of Rome to quit the diocese of Dublin in a given time. On this occasion he published a work in the shape of an admonitory caution to the friars, intermixed with a copious vein of good humour and learning, to which he gave as a title "Fratres Sobrii estote;" quarto. About the same time he published his "Arktomastix," or whip for the bear, against Francis Matthews of Cork, who, in his Examen Juridicum, had signed himself *Ursulanus*. In this work, Paul Harris writes, "Anglus sum, sexegenarius sum, sacerdos sum." 3. The Excommunication, published by the archbishop of Dublin, Thomas Fleming, against the inhabitants of that city for hearing the Masses of Peter Caddell and Paul Harris, proved not only unjust but of no validity, and consequently binding to no obedience. 4. The Exile exiled.*

Peter Wadding, having in 1580 departed from Waterford, his native city, arrived at Tournay, where he became a Jesuit. He taught at Prague and Louvain with considerable applause, and died at Gratz, in Styria, in 1644.† He has written: Brevis refutatio famosi libeli, cui titulus, Flagellum Jesuiticum; Nissæ, 1634. 2. Tractatus de Incarnatione Domini; Antwerpii, 1634. 3. Tractatus de contractibus in genere et specie. 4. Tractatus adversus Hæreticos. 5. Oratio Pragæ habita—Carmina varia.

William Malone, a native of Dublin, after having repaired to Rome, became a Jesuit in 1606. On his return to Ireland, he was seized and imprisoned, but effected his escape to Spain, and was appointed rector of the Irish college at Seville.‡ He died in 1656, and has written "A Reply to Usher's Answer about the judgment of antiquity concerning the Catholic Religion;" Douay, 1677.

John Ponce (Poncius), a learned Franciscan, was born in the city of Cork, but completed his studies at Louvain. In 1625, he was invited to Rome by Father Wadding, and became a lecturer of philosophy in St. Isidore's. He succeeded Martin

* Harris' Writers. † Id. ‡ Biblioth. Script. Soc. Jesu.

Walsh in the government of the Ludovisian College at Rome, and was constituted guardian of St. Isidore's.* John Ponce has written: 1. Integer Philosophiæ cursus in tres partes divisus; Romæ, 1643. 2. Deplorabilis populi Hibernici pro religione, rege et libertate contra sectarios Angliæ parliamentarios depugnantis status; Romæ, 1651. 3. Bellingi Vindiciæ Eversæ; Parisiis, 1653. 4. Cursus Philosophiæ ad mentem Scoti; 1653. 5. Commentarii Theologici, quibus Scoti Questiones in libros sententiarum elucidantur et illustrantur. 6. De Doctrina S. Augustini et D. Thomæ. 7. Cursus Theologiæ juxta Scoti doctrinam; Lugduni, 1667.

Thomas Carve, a native of the county of Tipperary, studied at Oxford; afterwards removing to Vienna he travelled over Germany and other countries during the war carried on by Augustus Adolphus. He died at Vienna in 1664, and has published "Itinerarium T. Carve;" also "Lyra Hibernica, de Exordio, nomine, moribus, ritibusque Gentis Hibernicæ, et Annales ejusdem, Saltzbaci, 1669.

James Arthur, having retired from his native city, Limerick, repaired to Salamanca, and became a Dominican in the convent of St. Stephen. In this establishment he was constituted lector of theology, the duties of which office he afterwards discharged in the convent of Coimbra. He died at Lisbon, about the year 1670, and has published "Commentaria in totam fere S. Thomæ Summam," 2 vols.

Anthony Bruodin, the celebrated author of the "Passio Martyrum Hiberniæ," flourished about the year 1670. He was born in the county of Clare, became a Franciscan, and after having distinguished himself on various public occasions, was at length appointed lector of divinity in the Irish Convent of the Immaculate Conception at Prague.† The works of this indefatigable writer are: Œcodomia Minoritæ Scholæ Salamonis, J. Duns Scoti; sive Universæ Theologiæ Scholasticæ Manualis Summa; Pragæ, 1663. 2. Corolla; seu pars altera Manualis, complectens Tractatus de Virtute et Statu religionis, decimis, voto, indulgentiis, purgatorio, censuris, religiosorum exemptionibus et privilegiis; Pragæ, 1664. 3. Armamentarium Theologicum. 4. Propugnaculum [illegible] prima Historica in [illegible] 1668. 5. Passio Martyrum, quarto; Pragæ, 1669.

John Baptist Hacket, a native of Fethard, in the county of Tipperary, embraced the Dominican Order in the convent of Cashel, and afterwards taught theology at Milan, Naples,

* Script Min. † Harris' Writers.

and Rome.* He died at the convent of Minerva in Rome, A.D. 1676, and has written: Controv. Theologicum complectens omnes Tractatus Doctoris Angelici, folio; Romæ, 1654. 2. Synopsis Theologica in Tractatum de Fide, Spe, et Charitate; Romæ, 1659. 3. Synopsis Philosophiæ; Romæ, 1662.

Dominick Lynch, a learned Dominican, was born in Galway, where he made his solemn profession, and afterwards became a distinguished lecturer of theology in Spain.† He died at Hispalia, A.D. 1679. His writings are: Summa Philosophiæ Speculativæ juxta mentem D. Thomæ; Parisii, 1666. This work consists of four volumes. 1. Complectens primam partem Philosophiæ seu Dialecticæ. 2. Complectens secundam partem, seu Logicam. 3. De Prædicabilibus, Prædicamentis et de Posterioribus. 4. Complectens primam partem Physicæ Naturalis, quarto.

Ignatius Brown was born in the county of Waterford, but received his education in Spain where he became a Jesuit. He spent several years on the Irish mission, and died at Valladolid, A.D. 1672.‡ He has published: 1. The Unerring and Unerrable Church, in Answer to a sermon preached by Andrew Sall in Christ Church. 2. An Unerrable Church or None. 3. An invaluable tract, entitled "Pax Vobis."

Francis O'Molloy, a native of the King's County, embraced the Franciscan institute, and became a lecturer of divinity in St. Isidore's. He has written: Sacra Theologia; Romæ, 1666. 2. Grammatica Latino-Hibernica compendiata.

Francis Harold, to whose antiquarian researches this country is considerably indebted, was a nephew of Father Luke Wadding, and having entered the Franciscan Order at Prague, became a lecturer of divinity in the Convent of the Immaculate Conception in that city. He afterwards removed to Rome, and was appointed librarian in St. Isidore's, where he died, A.D. 1685. He has published: "Compendium Annalium Minorum," which, with a continuation of them, he comprised in two volumes, folio; Coloniæ, 1658. He also continued the "Scriptores Ordinis Minorum," and has written an accurate and comprehensive life of Luke Wadding;§ also, "Lima Limata Conciliis."

Richard Archdekin, during the memorable period of 1642 retired from his native county, Kilkenny, and became [illegible] at Mechlin, in Brabant. He afterwards taught philosophy and divinity at Louvain, and died at Antwerp, A.D. [illegible] He has

* Echard, t. ii. p. 579. † Id. ‡ Harris' Writers.
§ See Annal. Min. t. i. ‖ Harris' Writers.

written: 1. Præcipuæ Controversiæ fidei ad facilem methodum redactæ. 2. Vitæ et Miraculorum Sancti Patritii Epitome. 3. Theologia Tripartita Universa; Antwerpiæ, 1682; eight volumes, octavo. 4. The Lives of Peter Talbot and Oliver Plunket. 5. On Miracles performed by the relics of St. Francis Xavier in the college of the Jesuits at Mechlin; written in English and in Irish.

Bonaventure Baron, a native of Clonmel, was nephew to Luke Wadding, and became a Franciscan in Rome. He was afterwards constituted lecturer of divinity at St. Isidore's, where he died at a very advanced age, A.D. 1696.* His writings are: 1. Prolusiones Philosophiæ. 2. Orationes Panegyricæ; Romæ, 1643. 3. Metra Miscellanea. 4. Obsidio et Expugnatio arcis Duncannon sub Thoma Prestone.† 5. Scotus Defensus. 6. Controversiæ et Stratagemata. 7. Epistolæ familiares Paræneticæ. 8. Opuscula Varia. 9. Theologia Universa (in six volumes); Parisiis, 1676. 10. Johannes D. Scotus de Angelis defensus. 11. Annales Ordinis SS. Trinitatis, Redemptionis Captivorum; Romæ, 1686.

The seventeenth century forms one of the most important as well as the most awful epochs in the annals of the Church of Ireland. It is very remarkable that the character of religious innovation, whether in the primitive ages of the Church or in modern times, has been invariably the same; and it is held up to the world encompassed with all those marks which render it odious to heaven and hateful to man, among which the heinous crimes of plunder, bloodshed, and anarchy are to be seen in the foreground. When Henry VIII. and Elizabeth had attempted to force religious novelties on the people of this country, the scenes which then took place were tragical enough; a greater variety of characters was, however, required for the full development of the piece: in the seventeenth century they appeared in abundance, while Ireland, the unfortunate theatre on which they figured, was soon made to overflow with deadly torrents, the waters of which have not been exhausted even at this present day. These observations are, indeed, awfully illustrated by the whole series of historical events contained in the foregoing chapters; their truth was never yet questioned by any honest, impartial writer; and while the deeds which were perpetrated had been lamented by all, there could no one be found so utterly bereft of all natural

* Ex Archiv. S. Isidore, arm. viii.

† This curious tract has been reproduced in Duffy's Hibernian Magazine among the papers entitled "Noctes Lovanienses," by Rev. C. P. Meehan.

feelings as to think of entering upon their justification. We shall not, therefore, continue to dwell longer on these scenes; but rather take the opportunity of offering a few brief remarks on such of the other events of this century as have given rise to a diversity of opinion among contemporary or subsequent writers.

The conduct of the supreme council in consenting to the treaty of Ormond, and that of the nuncio in rejecting it, and at the same time separating himself from that body, form a subject on which historians have not been found to agree. Some of those contemplating the bold position which the confederates had at that time sustained, are willing to throw the whole blame of these proceedings on the supreme council; while others, with equal earnestness, appear to advocate the conduct of that assembly, and become as severe as they are unsparing in their censures on the nuncio. The truth might, perhaps, lie as a medium between these two opinions. Scarcely have we ever witnessed an occurrence of this nature, without some error having been committed on both sides. It certainly does appear that the supreme council had taken a wrong step; while on the other hand it is equally clear that the nuncio had acted with an imprudence the most mischievous and fatal, and for which no possible remedy could afterwards be discovered. The supreme council—the whole confederate body bound themselves by a solemn oath, never to lay down their arms until they had seen their religion on a full, free, and secure basis. Now it is certain that Ormond offered them no such desideratum: he annulled the solemn and perfect treaty which had been entered into with Glamorgan, and in its stead substituted a mere, empty, political bubble; he gave them temporary toleration, artfully coupled with a restitution of property to such of the nobility and gentry as had suffered during the confiscations of the late reigns. Were terms such as these sufficient to satisfy a nation of conquerors? with the whole country in their hands; their enemies split into parties; England and Scotland rent asunder between the supporters of Charles and the fanatics thirsting for his blood. Had the supreme council stood firm, it is [illegible] that very time a period would at length have been put to the miseries of Ireland, civil rights would have been conceded to the Catholics, their religion allowed to flourish as in days of yore, and the empire saved from the eternal disgrace of having the scaffold flowing with the blood of the sovereign.

The supreme council, or rather the aristocratic portion of it, were, by their interested servility, guilty of a high crime

against the nation; the imprudent conduct of the nuncio was still more criminal. Unity is always and in all cases the certain forerunner of success; but if once the spirit of dissension be allowed to enter, the catastrophe may be expected immediately after. What good did the nuncio effect by assembling the clergy at Waterford, imprisoning the members of the council and fulminating his censures? He realized the anticipations of Ormond, and made the breach wider; one defeat was followed by another in frightful succession, until the whole bulk of his resources became a wreck, and he was driven to the necessity of taking refuge in the town of Galway. His claim for the restitution of ecclesiastical property was fair, but it could well be dispensed with. Had the church-property, secular as well as monastic, been restored, the clergy would have obtained nothing but what they had a right to; but it must, at the same time, be recollected, that religion can do very well without such an auxiliary, or call it by its proper term, an incumbrance. Religion never flourishes so well as when, separated altogether from opulence, it is allowed to shine forth in the unmixed and heavenly effulgence of its own merits. If any portion of this property should be imperatively demanded, it ought to be that which had been left in trust for the hospitals and alms-houses of the country, or in other words for the benefit of the poor of Ireland; in place of which we are now obliged to have *poor* laws and work houses, while the expenses thereof are thrown on the shoulders of an already tottering community. Had the nuncio effected a reconciliation, even at the period of the second peace, in 1648, there might have been some chance for the country; but he continued as inflexible as ever; unassisted by foreign friends, forsaken almost by all, and driven to the very waves of the Atlantic, until the blood of Charles I. at length completed the tragedy, and Rinuccini was obliged to return without success to his native land. It is but fair to add, that throughout the whole of these proceedings this extraordinary man displayed a truly upright and heroic intrepidity, and had he arrived in Ireland but six months sooner, there is reason to believe that the independence of the country and of its religion would have been established for ever.*

* This theory, however plausible it may seem, is far from being well founded; for no matter at what period after the formation of the Irish Confederacy Rinuccini might have arrived, he would still have had to encounter every sort of opposition from the Ormond faction, who desired nothing so much as the extirpation of the *old Irish*, or Northern Catholics. In fact, the

On the subject of the remonstrance of 1666 there appears also some diversity of opinion, both among the writers of that time and those of the present day. This remonstrance is, in fact, substantially the same as the oath of allegiance taken at present by Catholics; it is also the very same in substance with the remonstrance which had been presented by the Irish clergy assembled at Dublin during that period. But Ormond, as well as his agent, Peter Walsh, intended to create a division among the clergy; expressions of an insulting nature were, therefore, artfully introduced into the body of the document, and the whole scheme was in consequence most deservedly exploded. Allegiance to the ruling power is a duty inculcated by the Catholic faith; but in professing that allegiance no man is at liberty to insult another, much less the sacred and venerable head of his Church.

One grand feature is to be found in the events of this century, which might be very properly denominated "a practical lesson for tyrants." Laws unparalleled in the annals of barbarism were enacted and enforced, for the purpose of crushing for ever the education and literature of the country. But they all most fortunately met the very fate which they deserved. Irish students in vast multitudes flocked even to the most remote regions of the continent of Europe, proclaiming as they went along the eternal infamy of their persecutors, and by their writings as well as by their numbers confirming the observation, "that truth never flourishes so well as when it is oppressed." Such is the fact and such is the moral which this century unfolds: let it be hoped that the lesson may not be thrown away in vain.

leading members of the Anglo-Irish faction, Mountgarret, Fennell, Sir Richard Bellings, and others, were entirely devoted to Ormond's policy, and were ready at any time to compromise their honor and oath, by accepting such terms as it might have pleased him to grant. The nuncio found the whole country split into hostile camps, and he failed in his mission, simply because he could not effect a fusion of parties; or, in other words, because he was not able to harmonize the most discordant elements, of which the Confederacy was composed.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Sufferings of the Church of Ireland during the reign of Queen Anne.—Registration of the Catholic Clergy.—Awful state of the Irish Church on the accession of George I.—Epistle of the Archbishop of Cashel to Clement XI.—Intolerance of the Protestant Primate Boulter, under George I.—Epistle of Benedict XIV. to the Catholic Hierarchy of Ireland.—General Persecution of 1743.—Hamilton's Registration Bill defeated.—Formation of the Catholic Committee.—George III.—Exertions of the Catholic Bishops in arresting the progress of Whiteboyism.—Death of Father Sheehy.—Revival of Catholic Education.—Foundation of the Colleges of Carlow and Maynooth.—Transactions of 1798.—Surrender of the Legislature of Ireland, and of her National Independence.

On the death of William III., in 1702, Anne, daughter of James II., ascended the British throne. Conscious that the security of her title rested on anti-Catholic grounds, whatever direction the current of state parties should happen to take, she was sure of being carried along with it: at one time, the tories ruled, at another the whigs maintained the ascendancy; but whether whig or tory had preponderated in the political balance the Catholics of Ireland were equally doomed to suffer. The penal code had now grown to such magnitude, that it became unwieldy and even disgusting, to many of those who had been intrusted with its execution; on the other hand, the Catholics, whose extermination had been long since anticipated, were seen to multiply, while the hatred of their enemies appeared to be redoubled in the very same ratio. In accordance with this feeling, the whigs, in 1703, introduced into the Irish House of Commons a measure, which even in the absence of every other penal enactment, might be properly termed a consummation of all legal oppression; it was entitled "a bill to prevent the further growth of popery," and was at the same time presented to Ormond, then lord lieutenant of Ireland, with a prayer that it might meet his support and recommendation. Ormond entered warmly into the views of the petitioners; the bill received his decided approbation, and although the sacramental-test clause had been thrown in as a dead-weight, Presbyterians as well as high-churchmen, gave it their support: it passed the commons, and obtained the royal assent on the 4th of March,

1704. In the execution, however, of this measure, a variety of impediments presented themselves; the assistance of the public informer could not well be dispensed with, while the co-operation of an unfeeling magistracy was, perhaps, still more indispensably demanded. With a view, therefore, of removing that national and natural indignation which must always pursue the former class, the commons resolved "that the prosecuting and informing against papists was an honourable service;"* and lest any of the feelings which belong to our common humanity, should make their way to the magisterial bench, it was in like manner resolved "that all magistrates who neglected to execute these laws, were betrayers of the *liberties* of the kingdom."†

That the act already noticed might become a productive instrument, it had been doomed, even before its birth, to have it in the first instance, levelled against the clergy. It was accordingly accompanied by an act of registration, agreeably to which each secular priest in the kingdom was required to appear at the quarter sessions to be held after the 24th of June, 1704, and there register the place of his abode, his name, age, and parish, also the date of his ordination, the name of the prelate from whom he had received orders, and give security for his constant residence in the district assigned him; should he presume to keep a curate, he was liable to the penalty of transportation, and of high treason in case of return. In the meantime all bishops, vicars-general, secular priests not registered, and regulars of every order, were subjected to the statute of the 7th of William III.,‡ and compelled to quit the kingdom. The deadly object of such a measure must appear obvious: on former occasions, for want of sufficient evidence, it was sometimes found impossible to convict a priest, whereas now they had but to evoke the storm, and their victim stood before them adjudged by his own written acknowledgment. This registration was executed according to counties, while the number registered throughout Ireland amounted to 1080.§ Notwithstanding all these precautions, the bill "for the further growth of popery" manifested such symptoms of imbecility, that nothing was heard but complaints and lamentations from every man who had submitted himself to the disgrace of being in any manner mixed up with it. Many of the bishops, vast numbers of the secular clergy, and almost the whole body of the friars continued with unbending firm-

* Com. Journal, vol. iii. f. 319.
† Id. f. 289.
‡ See cent. xvii. chap. i.
§ Hib. Dom. c. viii. p. 157.

ness in the kingdom: they retired to those asylums which Nature had prepared for them, and to which they had been long accustomed—to the caverns of the mountain and to the wild impassible morasses of the country. Such as had submitted to exile, found immediate protection in the generosity of other nations, and ere long were favoured with opportunities of returning in disguise to their native land. The picture which Ireland exhibited under the tory administration of queen Anne was awful enough; it was, however, considered capable of a darker shade; it remained for the whig government under the earl of Wharton to complete the terror of the piece. In the speech of that viceroy to the parliament of 1709, he worked upon the passions of the house by malicious references to the numerical strength of the Catholics, by exhibiting them as a disloyal and treacherous people, and by denouncing the existing laws as insufficient to attain the end contemplated—their total extermination.* To an assembly already prepared for measures of destruction, this language was more than intelligible: the commons accordingly resolved "that several popish bishops had lately come into the kingdom, and by ordaining great numbers had presumed to continue the succession of the Romish priesthood, and that their return was owing to a defect in the laws." A reward of fifty pounds was offered for the conviction of a bishop or other dignitary exercising jurisdiction, and twenty for every regular: this money to be levied on the Catholics of the county in which the individual had been detected; in the meantime it was ordained that all popish schoolmasters, ushers, or private tutors, should be subjected to the same penalties as the proscribed ecclesiastics. Nothing now remained to complete the barbarity of this code except the direct extinction of the registered clergymen; it was, therefore, ordained that before the 25th of March, 1710, each registered priest should present himself at the quarter sessions, and there take the oath of abjuration, under a penalty of transportation for life, and of high treason if he should ever after presume to return to the country.† Out of one thousand and eighty registered priests, thirty-three yielded to the temptation; the remainder stood firm, and set the terrors that surrounded them at defiance. During this awful crisis the unmerited sufferings of the Irish priesthood awakened the sympathies of many a benevolent and noble heart; but among all their

* Com. Jour. v. iii. p. 48. † 23 sect. 8th Anne, c. iii
‡ Hib. Dom. c. viii. p. 157.

benefactors, the name of John V., king of Portugal, deserves to be placed on eternal record. He received the proscribed exiles with the affection of a parent, felt for their sorrows, sheltered them from their oppressors, and supplied them with the means of a comfortable subsistence within his dominions. For these acts he received the congratulations of Clement XI. in a letter full of tenderness, which that pontiff had addressed to him through the agency of John Slyne, the expatriated bishop of Cork, and of Anthony Carroll, a learned Dominican of the convent of Lorragh.*

At the close of Anne's reign, the politics of England underwent a complete revolution: the whigs were thrown out of office, and the tories got the ascendancy. From henceforth the two parties assailed each other with rancorous animosity; and in the violence and fury of the contest, they both lost sight of the Catholics. Anne died on the 1st of August, 1714. She was the last and the worst of the Stuarts. From the moment they ascended the British throne, they became a degenerate, a selfish, and an ungrateful family; they crouched to their enemies, and forsook their friends, and Nature seems to have forsaken themselves. Anne died without leaving an offspring to inherit her crown and dignity.

The accession of the house of Brunswick to the British throne, relieved the public mind with the most favourable anticipations; if these had not been realized, that must be attributed rather to the bigotry of a self-interested faction, than to any inherent disposition for intolerance on the part of the new sovereign, George I. Liberty of conscience had at the time been acknowledged in his German dominions, while the military profession, to which he had devoted no small portion of his life, must have contributed to render him an admirer of this noble and sacred principle. This monarch had been scarcely seated on the throne, when the hatred of a whig administration was directed against the Catholics. In 1715, the Scotch raised the standard of revolt in favour of the Pretender; and although the ranks of the insurgents had been composed chiefly of Presbyterians, and that Ireland had at the time presented an universal calm, nevertheless, the Catholics were marked out, and pursued with the same rancour, as if they had actually taken the field in support of the Scottish cause. In pursuance of an address from the commons, the lords justices issued orders for the apprehension of many of the Catholic nobility; at the same time the

* Vide Bullar. Or. Prædicat. t. vi. p. 465.

chapels, throughout the kingdom, were obliged to be closed; priests were seized, in several instances, on the very altars; and hurried to prison, and the usual encouragement was held out to informers.* To the credit of these times, however, it must be observed, that this description of miscreants, usually termed *priest-catchers*, were generally Jews, who pretended to be converts to the Christian religion, and some of them assumed even the character of the priesthood, for the purpose of insinuating themselves more readily into the confidence of the clergy. The most notorious among them was a Portuguese Jew, named Gorzia; by means of this wretch, seven priests had been apprehended in Dublin, and banished the kingdom. Of this number, two were Jesuits; one was a Dominican, one a Franciscan, and three were secular priests.† The persecution would, no doubt, have been conducted with more rigour, were it not for the public odium in which this infamous tribe had been held, not only by Catholics, but also by great numbers of high-minded, benevolent Protestants; whenever these informers appeared in public, they were sure to be received with marked, execration; they were hooted and pelted in the very streets of the metropolis. The loyalty and peaceable demeanour of the Irish Catholics at length confounded their very enemies; that not one of them had been implicated in this insurrection was honourably attested and fully established by the Protestant primate, Stone, in his memorable address to the House of Lords, in 1762. While the Church of Ireland had been thus assailed by undisguised persecution, the French Jansenists were contemplating the overthrow of her orthodoxy, by means of secret agents as well as by the circulation of books replete with their seductive but pernicious doctrines.‡ It was on this occasion that the father of the faithful, Clement XI., had been pleased to manifest an additional token of his solicitude for the spiritual security of the people of this country. Through the agency of Vincentius Santini, the internuncio at Brussels, that pontiff, in 1719, had an admonitory address transmitted to the prelates of Ireland, cautioning them against the impending danger, and at the same [illegible] receiving from them some publicly-avowed declaration of their acceptance of the constitution usually styled [illegible] nitus."§ The will of the pontiff met with cheerful obedience; letters expressive of attachment to the Holy See, and of

* Curry's Review, p. 252.
† Hib. Dom. chap. viii. p. 159.
‡ Petrus Pollidorus, p. 215.
§ Vide Suppl. Hib. Dom.

communion with the Church of ages, were furnished on the part of each member of the Irish Hierarchy; the import of these documents was substantially the same; for which reason it may be sufficient to present in this place a brief extract from the epistle which had, at this time, been addressed to the head of the Church, by the venerable and learned archbishop of Cashel, Christopher Butler. This prelate was a member of the Ormond family, and was born on the 18th of January, 1673, in Garryricken, the princely residence of his ancestors, in the county of Kilkenny. Having been ordained a priest, he devoted several years to the duties of an arduous mission in Ossory, his native diocese, and in October, 1712, was appointed to succeed Edward Comerford, in the metropolitan see of Cashel. Over this diocese, Christopher Butler presided for forty-five years; he died at West Court, in the county of Kilkenny, on the 4th of September, 1757, and was buried in Kilcash, the ancient cemetery of his ancestors. The letter already alluded to commences in the following words:—

"Most Holy Father—The most reverend and illustrious the internuncio at Brussels, has signified to me, humble as I am, that your holiness, out of your great zeal for religion, expresses a wish to receive from the bishops of Ireland some testimonial of their obedience to and observance of the constitution usually termed 'Unigenitus.' To this most reasonable desire, I am perfectly convinced that all and each of these prelates will accede, agreeably to that obedience which is due to the Holy See and to your holiness, who so gloriously presides therein, and that among them not one shall be found who will not subscribe to the aforesaid most wise constitution, without any tergiversation, cavil, or mental reservation whatever. For although we are poor in this world, still are we rich in faith; if we be deprived of our episcopal revenues, we have not, however, forfeited that obedience which we are bound to yield to those who are placed over us; if we suffer under the sword of persecution, we shall never create a schism in the body of Christ, or to the utmost of our power allow it to be done. We may be despised and oppressed, but we will ever be solicitous to preserve with *you*, our head, the *unity of* [illegible] *in the bond of peace;* in short, although we traverse the plains of our native land in distress and affliction, nevertheless, there abide within us, even to this day, that fervent love and veneration towards the Mother and Mistress of all Churches, and that desire to preserve all those divine rites, which more than thirteen hundred years ago, had been established among our ancestors, by that glorious apostle, St. Patrick, whom your

predecessor, St. Celestine I., had commissioned to preach amongst them. With justice do we glory in the fact, that among our predecessors in the hierarchy, not one can be found who, in a matter of faith, has dared to manifest resistance to any constitution, decree, or apostolical diploma. Moreover, were it necessary, we have even additional motives in which to glory; inasmuch as neither by us, or by our clergy, or by our people, have any of those profane and novel terms, *religious silence* or the *question of right and of fact* been adopted in contempt of the lawfully constituted authority; nor have those infamous books, which caused so much disturbance and scandal in Catholic countries, been known, unless, perhaps, by name, to the greater part of our nation. That love and reverence for the Roman pontiff, which is the first sound that strikes our ears, which, in infancy, has been planted in our hearts, and in a manner forms a component part of our nature, have long since banished these and such like novelties from our land.

"Instructed by apostolical documents and by the uninterrupted tradition of ages, we are confident, most holy father, that to you is committed the important charge of protecting the flock from the ravages of the wolf, of leading them into salutary pastures, and of securing them from whatever may be noxious: a duty which, by the aforesaid constitution, you have admirably executed. That, therefore, no doubt, may remain of the purity and integrity of our faith, we hereby give our assent in heart and in mind to that document and constitution which, about ten years ago, your holiness had thought proper to declare in your paternal letter to the Gallican clergy. This, our mode of proceeding, is in perfect accordance with the faith of our fathers, and with the uninterrupted tradition of ages; it is the rule of the Irish hierarchy as well as of the other Churches of the Christian world, while on the other hand, those convict themselves of having deviated from it, who refuse to subscribe to that most salutary constitution."*

While the abettors of Jansenism had been thus timely defeated, the Irish Catholics, by reason of their numbers and persevering spirit of enterprize, began at length to acquire a share of influence, especially in the cities and commercial towns of the kingdom. Their rising importance excited the jealousy and fears of those who, from their station, should have been the unbiassed patrons of public merit, but with

* Ex MS. Cathed. Archiv. Ossor. et Hib. Dom. Suppl. p. 819.

whom patriotism was merely a vague term, adopted sometimes for fractional purposes, and at all times for the attainment of their own monopoly and aggrandizement. To such impure anti-national sources must be traced those disgusting clauses which had been devised by Irish legislators at the close of this reign—measures, at the bare mention of which humanity recoils, and which, although they had been accidentally defeated, must reflect eternal disgrace on the individuals by whom they had been contrived. The penal code had been already swelled to an awful magnitude; every means within the reach of the most refined cruelty had been put into operation; nevertheless, leave was once more given for introducing into the house, the heads of a bill for amending the act already passed to prevent the further growth of popery. To this bill was appended a clause which would at once upset the credibility of the fact, were it not for the stern testimony of authenticated records. It proposed the castration of the Irish priesthood; a measure which was unanimously agreed to after a short debate, and was ordered to be laid before the lord lieutenant, with a prayer "that he would recommend it in the most effectual manner to his majesty." A memorial, however, was presented by an Irish agent to the duke of Orleans, then regent of France; through the mediation of that prince, it met with the fate which it deserved; it never obtained the royal assent.* Owing to the decay of agriculture, to tithes and rack-rents, the three last years of this reign were marked by an almost continued and unprecedented famine; in the midst of these national calamities, George I. closed his mortal career; he died on the 21st of June, 1727, and was succeeded by his son, George II.

Although the great bulk of the population had, even amid the terrors of death, hitherto clung with an unshaken fidelity to the creed of their fathers, nevertheless, the same noble testimony cannot be adduced with reference to certain branches of the aristocratic portion of the community. The eradication of the Catholic faith from the ranks of the nobility, formed one of the capital objects which the penal laws had, at every state, contemplated. They debarred them from stations of emolument and dignity; they presented them to the view of their fellow-subjects as a proscribed stigmatised class, and at the same time beset them with all manner of allurements for recreancy; while that fortitude, for which their progenitors stood illustrious, unhappily forsook them: they yielded to the

* See Note to O'Connor's Ireland, p. 190.

pressure of the storm, and abandoned that faith which had once constituted the proud boast and glory of their ancestors. Such had been the case with many of our Irish nobility at this eventful crisis; it is, however, worthy of remark, that several of them, who submitted to a mere external adoption of Protestantism, had, nevertheless, taken care to retain Catholic priests in their mansions, who spent their days under the security of disguise, and performed the duties of chaplains and tutors to their families. It was this lingering predilection for a religion which was never conscientiously abandoned, that first worked upon the prejudices and elicited the acrimony of the primate Boulter, by whom the springs of government had been then regulated. That prelate, by birth an Englishman, and by education an anti-Irishman, seems to have taken a peculiar delight in sporting with the feelings of his fellow man, and of outraging all the sacred rights of liberty of conscience. With a view of upholding his system of proselytism, he prepared the heads of a bill purporting to subject to the penalties of the code, all *converts* who should be convicted of bringing up their children papists; the measure passed without opposition, while both houses presented a vote of thanks to his majesty "for having returned the bill, as a happiness peculiar to that session."* The increasing mass of the Catholic population had been at times the subject of bitter reflection to the mind of Boulter. In a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, he states the numerical ratio of Catholics to Protestants as five to one, although it is certain that in the year 1728 the population of Ireland amounted only to 1,700,000 souls, of which number 700,000 were Protestants;† while in 1731 the total number stood at 2,010,221, and of this mass 1,309,768 were Catholics, and 700,453 were Protestants.‡ His love for exaggeration kept pace with his hatred for the Catholic clergy: he represents the number of priests then in Ireland at 3,000, whereas, if credit be given to the report laid before the lords, in 1731, they amounted in that year only to 1,445.§ All his efforts, however, to create alarms throughout England proved abortive, and this man, who from the station which he occupied should have been a friend to humanity, sunk at length into the grave without being able to leave any other memorial to posterity, except those nurseries of vice and bigotry, commonly known by the name of charter-schools.‖

* Crawford's Ireland, vol. ii. p. 292.
† Anderson's History of Commerce.
‡ Hib. Dom. chap. i. p. 28. Boulter's Letters, 1730.
§ Lords' Journal, v. iii. p. 112.

The spirit of intolerance had, by this time, been carried to the highest pitch; still some intervals of relaxation might elapse, of which the Catholics would gladly avail themselves, by petitioning against the oppressions under which they laboured. It was on one of these occasions that a collection originated in the county of Cork, having for its object the defeat of a measure by which Catholics were to be prevented from practising as solicitors. The whole sum collected did not exceed five pounds, yet a priest named Hennesy, who had been suspended for misconduct, accused Doctor M'Carthy, the venerable bishop of Cloyne, with having raised this money by an order from the pope, for the purpose of upsetting the reigning family, and of introducing the Pretender. The bishop's papers were seized by Mr. Law, the collector of Mallow, and were transmitted by him to the speaker of the House of Commons. A committee having been appointed to examine them, it was resolved "that a fund had been established by the papists, through the influence of the clergy, detrimental to the Protestant interest: and that an humble address should be presented to the lord lieutenant, praying him to issue his proclamation, and put the laws against popery into execution."*

Although the aspect of the times had been gloomy enough, and as may be presumed, the presence of the pastor was necessary for the security of the flock, yet, strange to say, a degree of remissness on the part of some of the prelates, became at this time the subject of loud and serious complaint. It appears that many of the sees had for a considerable time been left without a residing prelate, and that the abuse from repetition was growing into a confirmed system. The complaints arising from this non-residence had at length reached the Holy See, and produced the following beautiful letter, addressed to the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, by that learned and venerable father of the faithful, Benedict XIV.

"Venerable brethren, health and apostolical benediction.—It has been to us a source of no small affliction to find, that among the bishops of Ireland, some are so forgetful of the cure of souls intrusted to their charge, that one, from the moment he undertakes the episcopal office, never after resides in his diocese; another, after having devoted scarcely a month to the concerns of his flock, retires into England, and from thence into France, Belgium, and Germany; while some are accustomed to visit their church only once in the year, and

* Com. Jour. vol. vi. f. 183.

that merely for a few days, as it were for the purpose of relaxation. Nor can we find words sufficiently strong to express the sorrow which this inexcusable remissness had occasioned. For what can be expected from this shameful non-residence, but the certain calamity of the people, and the eternal ruin of their souls? We know from experience, that, even in Italy, ecclesiastical discipline, piety, and morals, must deteriorate, should it ever happen that the bishop would remain long absent from his see; although, in the same Italy, there are not wanting vigilant pastors, zealous and learned ecclesiastics, secular and regular, and vicars distinguished for probity and knowledge, who could, according to the extent of their powers, supply the place of the ordinary. What then is to be expected, what evils are not to be dreaded in a country where the clergy are but few in number, where Catholics must live among an heterodox people, and where they are often persecuted by the very magistrates on account of their conscientious adherence to the religion of their fathers!

"Nor is there a necessity for instituting any new ordinance or punishment, with a view to check this evil; whereas ye must be well acquainted with the positive and rigorous manner in which the sacred canons, the apostolical constitutions, and especially the council of Trent, enjoin on all bishops the obligation of residing in their sees, and of never being absent from the flock committed to their charge, unless in cases of very urgent necessity. We understand, moreover, that some of you have been already reminded of these things, by our venerable brethren, the cardinals of Propaganda. Nor is this obligation of residing in the see complied with by those who intrust the government of their church to a vicar or substitute, unless, perhaps, for a short time, and urged by great necessity. It is indeed unnecessary to point out to men well versed in sacred literature, as ye truly are, the difference between what is termed material, and formal residence. For who among you, venerable brethren, can be ignorant, that a bishop resides only materially in his church, when neither by word or example he di[illegible] the word of God, or calls back those who are wandering fr[illegible] the path of justice, when he allo[illegible] no help to [illegible] danger, or protects the fold from the incessant ravages of wolf; in all which protection and pastoral vigilance, the nature of a real and formal residence most properly consists. Verily, we address men deeply skilled in human and divine truths, who know well that the salvation of souls is a divine work; and that to feed the flock of the Lord, is a task to

dreaded even by angels; whereas the chief Pastor will one day demand their blood at your hands, if through your fault or negligence any of them should perish. Nor can any of you attempt to excuse yourselves on the ground that these souls had perished without your knowledge, or allege that such calamity had occurred during your absence and through the remissness of your vicar or substitute; for to each of you individually are these words of the divine oracle addressed: 'Attend ye to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost has placed you bishops to govern the church of God, which He has purchased by His blood.'* To *you*, therefore, and not to *another*, is the precept of feeding the flock directed; on you the eternal salvation of souls depends: a charge which ye have undertaken with all its responsibility. Wherefore, to you must justly be attributed the want of the word of God, the neglect of the sacraments, the corruption of morals, and the lamentable destruction of all those who are in ignorance and error. We, therefore, even with tears, reflecting on all these things, admonish and implore you, through the most tender bowels of Jesus Christ, whose vicegerent on earth we, though unworthy, happen to be, that moved with pity for your own souls, as well as for the souls of those committed to your care, ye would in time put an end to these evils, reflecting deeply on that awful judgment which the Prince of pastors will pronounce against those who preside over the Church, and do not contribute to the salvation of His people. Place before your eyes that most glorious and, to you, domestic examples of those numberless saintly bishops, who, replenished with charity and with a burning love for the salvation of souls, rendered Ireland illustrious by their zeal for the Catholic faith, and exhibited it to the world as a land abounding in sanctity and religion. Recall to your minds that immortal apostle of your nation, St. Patrick, whom St. Celestine, our predecessor, sent amongst you, and in the history of whose apostolical missionary career this, among other triumphs, stands recorded, that Ireland, which had hitherto been the seat of idolatry, becomes at once universally and deservedly celebrated as an *island of saints*. Recollect St. Malachy, archbishop of Armagh, and legate apostolic of all Ireland, whose extraordinary zeal for the salvation of souls, is thus most beautifully described by St Bernard: 'The pastor remained unintimidated, reflecting within himself how he might transform the very wolves into sheep: he admonished them publicly, he reasoned with them in private; he wept with them individually;

* Acts, xv. 28.

at one time, he treated them with rigour, at another with lenity, according as the nature of the case might seem to require; he traversed the city in quest of souls, anxiously desirous to gain them to Christ; he journeyed through the land, from one extremity to the other; and in his progress collected, even from an ungrateful people, the full and abundant measure of the heavenly harvest. These journeys he performed not on horseback but on foot, which alone is a convincing proof of his apostolic merits.' Thus writes St. Bernard. Moreover, revolve in your minds the disinterested life of St. Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, whom, descended of royalty, our predecessor, Alexander III., selected in the third council of Lateran, as legate apostolic in Ireland, and whom Honorius III., also our predecessor, had afterwards solemnly canonized: you will then be sensible what great things this apostolic man has done and suffered for his flock. But were we to enumerate all the saintly men, Columbanus, Kilian, Virgil, Rumold, Gallus, and numberless others who conveyed the Catholic faith from Ireland into other provinces, or, martyrs-like, rendered it glorious by their blood, we should encounter a task which would far exceed the limits of this epistle. Let it suffice thus briefly to point out these few, that ye may the more easily recall to your minds the religion and sanctity of your forefathers, together with the high solicitude which belongs to the episcopal dignity, and which has contributed to render these men both glorious and happy. That ye may, to the utmost of your power, walk in their footsteps, is our repeated and earnest prayer to the Almighty. We have every confidence that you, influenced not so much by the terms of this paternal admonition as by the dictates of conscience, will, from henceforward, reside in your respective dioceses, and make the arduous duty of feeding the flock the subject of your most serious meditations. But should any one of you, by reason of old age or infirmity, become really inadequate to the discharge of the pastoral duties, let him memorial us for a coadjutor, and at the same time notify to us him whom he should consider qualified to undertake that office: as soon as we shall be made acquainted with his piety, his learning, and other qualities requisite for the episcopal charge, we will allow him to be advanced as coadjutor. Meanwhile we, with paternal love, impart to you our apostolical benediction.

"Given at Rome, at St. Mary Major, this 1st day of August, A.D. 1746, and in the first year of our pontificate."*

* Vide Hib. Dom. Suppl. p. 830.

During the greater part of this reign the history of the Irish nation presents little more than an almost continued succession of varied calamities. The year 1741 was ushered in by a dreadful famine; fluxes and malignant fevers prevailed; the streets and highways were covered with the bodies of the dead, while the number of those who perished by famine and pestilence had been computed at 400,000.* Scarcely had this awful visitation subsided, when the rumour of an intended invasion by France, under Mareschal Saxe, in 1743, supplied the intolerants with new grounds for oppression. Inflammatory pamphlets issued from the press; the pulpit resounded with invectives against popery, and pastoral letters of a similar tendency had been circulated without number throughout every part of the kingdom: at one time the arrest of the Catholic clergy was demanded, at another the aggregated strength of the code was to be brought into requisition, while a member of the privy council openly proposed an indiscriminate massacre of the Catholic population, as the only means by which the safety of church and state could be secured.† To satisfy this unnatural rage for human destruction, the proclamation of the lord lieutenant, Devonshire, appeared on the 28th of February, 1743; a reward of one hundred and fifty pounds was offered for the conviction of an archbishop or bishop; fifty pounds for the conviction of a priest, secular or regular; and two hundred pounds for the conviction of any person who should afford protection to a bishop, besides the premium already specified by law.‡ The promulgation of this edict struck the nation once more with dismay; Catholic chapels all over the kingdom were closed, and in the meantime the clergy were obliged to take shelter, some in the recesses of the mountains, and great numbers in the metropolis and other populous cities, where they found means of concealing themselves among the dens and obscure haunts of the poor. This is the period of which we often heard our fathers, in the bitterness of their soul, unfold many a melancholy and heart-rendering narrative; when the divine mysteries were celebrated on the brow of the mountain, the unhewn rock serving as an altar, and the canopy of heaven as a roof for the temple, and when some were obliged to be stationed as watchmen in the plains beneath, while the great mass of the people congregated on the mountain, were on bended knees offering up the Christian sacrifice to the God of heaven. Notwithstanding the opportunities of concealment

* Groans of Ireland, in Gentleman's Magazine, vol. ii.
† Curry's Review, vol. ii. p. 260. ‡ Hib. Dom. p. 718.

which the large towns and cities afforded to the clergy, it became at length almost impossible to escape the vigilance of their pursuers. By means of an alderman, named Aldrich, several of these inoffensive men were, in 1744, apprehended in Dublin, among whom must be noticed Nicholas English, a secular priest, attached to the parish of St. Paul; Dominick Kelly and Thomas Nolan, chaplains to the Dominican nunnery in that city, and Michael Lynch, a Franciscan. Nicholas English was arrested at the altar of the parish chapel of St. Paul, while in the act of celebrating the sacred mysteries, and was hurried off to prison: the others having been apprehended soon after, were consigned to the same dungeon.* The spirit of the persecution continued thus unabated until at length an occurrence of a most appalling nature awakened the sympathy of some of the public authorities. John Fitzgerald, a priest from the diocese of Meath, attended by a most crowded congregation, happened to celebrate Mass in a house in Cook-street, which had been almost crumbling into ruins: at the close of the sacrifice, and immediately after he had given the blessing, the loft gave way; the priest and nine of the congregation were crushed to death, and great numbers were mortally wounded.† From henceforth the rigours of the code, alike disgraceful to Christianity and civilization, appear to have been gradually mitigated: on the 17th of the following March, 1744, the chapels of Dublin were allowed to be opened, while a similar indulgence was soon after extended to the whole kingdom, through the wisdom and humanity of that excellent viceroy, the earl of Chesterfield.‡

The repose which the interest of the nation had so urgently required, and which it actually did enjoy after the administration of Chesterfield, would have continued to dispel the miseries of a distracted country, had it not been interrupted by one of those political factionists who, at all times, are found ready to sacrifice public principle to the ascendancy of their own favourite party. Experience had long since demonstrated that the laws, which cast such a stain on the memory of queen Anne, were, in the worst of times, unable to check the irresistible progress of Catholicity in Ireland; yet, unaccountable as it may appear, these self-same statutes, accompanied with clauses still more oppressive, were once more submitted to the wisdom of the legislature, and an effort was made for their revival. The individual to whom the infamy of this odious measure must be attached, was James Hamilton, then viscount

* Hib. Dom. p. 175. † Id. p. 176. ‡ Maty's Life of Chesterfield, vol. i.

Limerick. In the parliament of 1756, he introduced a bill for a new registration of the Catholic clergy: only one priest was to be allowed for each parish; the nomination of his successor was to be vested in the grand jury, with a veto in the privy council and the lord lieutenant; they were bound to inform of all priests, secular or regular, residing within their parishes; they were on no account to make proselytes; and all bishops, dignitaries, and friars, were to quit the kingdom. On the third reading it met with powerful opposition, particularly from primate Stone, who, in a speech of more than two hours, poured forth such a display of upright and liberal principles as must reflect honour on his name. From among the Protestant hierarchy three archbishops and nine bishops voted against it; it was ultimately lost by a majority of two.* Notwithstanding this defeat, the same measure was introduced on the following year, with some trifling modification in the oath to be taken by the registered clergy, when, in despite of the primate, it passed the lords, but the prerogative of the crown interfered, and it was abandoned for ever.

At this eventful crisis, upon a gradual relaxation of the penal code, the light of religious liberty began at length to dawn upon the nation. To the exertions of that unwearied patriot, Doctor Curry, aided by Mr. O'Connor, Mr. Wyse, and others, this country is indebted for the first struggle which had been made to burst asunder the chains rivetted by the oppression of centuries on an enslaved people. Animated by the growing spirit of toleration, they convened their meetings generally at the Elephant Tavern, in Essex-street, and formed a committee for the management of affairs, composed of citizens and of the mercantile interest; the nobility and gentry having declined to take any part in their proceedings. The opening speech of George III., immediately on his accession to the throne in 1760, diffused an additional portion of vigour through the Catholic body; he announced himself "the friend of religious toleration, and the guardian of the civil and religious rights of his subjects."† Impelled with feelings of deep gratitude, the committee prepared an humble address, expressive of their thanks and attachment to his majesty, but the nobility and gentry, who had from the commencement acted as a distinct body, refused to affix their names to it; they held their meeting at Trim, and drew up a separate address. Both these addresses were, however, graciously received, and immediately after were inserted in the *London Gazette*.

* Hib. Dom p. 722. † Exshaw's Magazine, 1760.

In consequence of a foreign demand for beef and butter, in 1762, the decline of agriculture became so general, that the greater and best portion of the country had been converted into pasturage; the humbler classes were driven to the alternative, either of emigration or of fruitless labour in endeavouring, without means, to reclaim the waste and barren mountains of the country. In addition to this, the price of the common necessaries of life had trebled within the last fifty years, while the ordinary amount of wages remained stationary; and to complete the climax of wretchedness, the exorbitant demands of tithe-proctors, and the unrelenting severity with which that impost had been exacted from the poor, rose at length almost beyond the power of human endurance, and in many places drove the peasantry into a state of actual desperation. They assembled in vast multitudes at night, and being clothed in frocks, were generally denominated "Whiteboys"; they levelled inclosures, maimed the cattle of the opulent grazier, and with implacable rancour wreaked their vengeance on the person and property of the tithe-proctor. To check the career of these infatuated people, the clergy, even at the risk of their lives, interposed; the bishops of Cloyne, Waterford, and Ossory, where these tumults more generally prevailed, manifested, by pastoral letters as well as by the announcement of the censures of the Church, their abhorrence of these abominable proceedings,* while, at the same time, many of the rioters had, by the forfeit of their lives, made atonement to the outraged laws of their country. As had been the case in preceding times, persons were to be found base enough to put the most malicious construction on this popular excitement; it was denounced as a popish plot, as the forerunner of a French invasion, and as a preparatory movement for the reception of the Pretender. To impart some degree of currency to these inventions, it became necessary to implicate the clergy, by singling out one of their body as a ring-leader of the insurgents; accordingly, Nicholas Sheehy, parish priest of Clogheen, in the county of Tipperary, was selected as a victim. This virtuous tender-hearted man had already rendered himself obnoxious to some of the petty village tyrants, with whom that part of the country then abounded; he felt for the sufferings of his people, and often interposed as a mediator between them and their insatiable landlords. Informations of being concerned in a conspiracy against the state were now laid

* Exshaw's Magazine, 1762.

against him, and a reward of three hundred pounds was offered by proclamation for his apprehension. Father Sheehy possessed at the time the means of effecting his escape, but conscious innocence naturally prompted him to seek for ample justification; he addressed a letter to Mr. secretary Waite, and proposed to surrender himself without delay, requesting at the same time that his trial might take place not in Clonmel, where the ends of justice were sure to be defeated by the malice of his enemies, but in the court of King's Bench, in Dublin. He accordingly proceeded on his trial in Dublin; the only witnesses appearing against him being a common prostitute, a street vagrant boy, and a robber, all brought for the purpose out of the gaol of Clonmel! The prevarication of the witnesses being in accordance with their infamous characters, was readily discovered by a Dublin jury, and Father Sheehy was honourably acquitted. Had he attended to the suggestions of his friends, and quitted the kingdom on his releasement, this innocent man would not have been sacrificed to the insatiable resentment of his pursuers. Scarcely had he been settled in his parish, when he was again arrested, for the pretended murder of an informer named Bridge; although it had been well known, and was actually swore on the trial, that this individual, alleged to have been murdered, had absconded from the kingdom some short time previously. A subsequent order for proceeding with the trial before a Clonmel jury, was the sure indication that his doom had been fixed; the same three infamous witnesses, whose testimony had been rejected in Dublin, appeared once more against him: upon their sole evidence, he was convicted, and sentenced to be hanged and quartered. From the public contemporary reports of this trial, it would appear that all the regular forms of justice had been totally disregarded; the streets and avenues leading to the court were blockaded by a military force; every species of intimidation was employed to prevent his friends from coming forward, and to such an extent had this system of atrocious violence been carried, that one of his witnesses, a gentleman of high respectability, was even arrested while in the act of sustaining the innocence of this devoted man.* At the place of execution, Father Sheehy made solemn protestation of his innocence; he declared, as he was a dying man, and about to appear before an all-seeing Judge, that he had never, either by the distribution of money, by the sanction or tender of an oath, or by any other means, engaged

* Exshaw's Magazine for April and June, 1766.

any of the rioters in the service of the French king; that he had never received money from any foreign court for such a purpose, and that he knew nothing whatever of the murder of Bridge, until he had heard it by public report throughout the country. Thus was this innocent victim immolated, while the visible vengeance of Heaven overtook his persecutors, even before they had closed their eyes on the scenes of this transitory world.

The system of whiteboyism, together with its frightful train of calamities, would have been at once checked, had the causes from which it sprung been promptly and effectually removed; and, indeed, according as the legislature seemed disposed to bestow any share of attention to the wants of the poor, or to redress any of the grievances under which they suffered, in the same proportion did these nocturnal movements cease, and a comparative calm appeared to settle upon the nation. There was one grievance, however, which pressed with peculiar severity on the labour and pittance of the Irish peasant, and that was the tithe-system. This burden had been permitted to continue without any diminution; and to render it still more insupportable, the proctors, a class of men already detested, had, by their extortions and cruelty, brought down upon themselves the heavy vengeance of an irritated and oppressed people. Sometimes by means of legal terrors, or through the interference of some humane and popular magistrate, the public excitement might be tranquillized; but a repetition of tithe exorbitancy would immediately occur, and accordingly the work of desolation was renewed; thus had the state of society been convulsed during the greater part of this reign.

Various circumstances had now combined to render the Irish Catholics an influential body in the community; in number, wealth and intelligence they were rapidly progressing; their patience, perseverance and loyalty endeared them to many a benevolent and liberal Protestant, and while every honest man deprecated those tumultuary associations of whiteboyism, in which no respectable Catholic had been concerned, few there were who did not blend their sympathy with the complaints of an aggrieved people, and maintain that the time had at length arrived, when the name of religion was no longer to be placed as a barrier between man and his rights. This noble spirit of toleration was assuming fresh vigour at every step; the recognition of American independence, and the energies of the Irish Volunteers, hastened it to maturity. Nevertheless, the remnants of party feeling were

not even yet banished from a land which Nature had intended for a better destiny, and every foolish ephemeral symptom of local fermentation was seized upon and used as a pretext for intolerance.

During the year 1779, on the re-appearance of whiteboyism in various districts of the south, and particularly in the counties of Tipperary and Kilkenny, the Catholic clergy interposed, and at great hazard succeeded in subduing the spirit of these refractory desperadoes. In the discharge of the united duties of charity and patriotism, Doctor Troy, who had been then bishop of Ossory, was eminently conspicuous. This venerable prelate was born at Porterstown in the county of Dublin, and at an early age repaired to Rome, where he embraced the Dominican institute, and after some time became rector of the college of St. Clement in that city. On the death of Doctor Burke, bishop of Ossory,* in 1776, he was nominated by the pope to the vacant see, and during the same year was consecrated at Louvain by the archbishop of Mechlin, assisted by two mitred abbots. Only three years had elapsed, when the tranquillity of the country appeared to give way to the turbulence of former times; by pastoral letters as well as by the censures of the Church, this excellent prelate succeeded in restoring order. He continued in the administration of the diocese of Ossory until 1786, when on the decease of Doctor Carpenter, he was translated to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin.

The important position which the Catholic community had now attained, together with a gradual relaxation of the penal code, contributed at length to open those sources of domestic education which had been so long sealed against them. A college, intended for the education of Catholic youth, was erected on a most eligible site in the town of Carlow, by the truly zealous bishop of the diocese, the Right Rev. Doctor Keefle, and was opened for the admission of pupils, in 1793, under the direction of the late Very Rev. Dean Staunton. At this revolutionary crisis, when the altar, as well as the throne, was marked out for destruction, these foreign colleges, which had been hitherto the resources of the Irish mission, were completely deserted; for which reason it was deemed necessary to associate with the original object of this establishment, the education of candidates for the ecclesiastical state. Among the first professors of the college of Carlow, were the abbés Noget, Chabout, and Labruné

* See chap. iii.

three talented French refugees. On the death of Doctor Staunton, in 1814, the present learned and venerable Doctor Fitzgerald entered on the administration of the college. It may be proper to observe, that there is no communication between the students of the ecclesiastical, and the pupils of the lay college, and that no portion of its revenues has been converted to private emolument; whatever remains, after defraying the necessary expenditure, is applied to the improvement of the institution itself: a circumstance which accounts for the present enlarged and splendid appearance of the building. The numerous advantages derived from this literary asylum, must render it an object truly interesting to every philanthropist. It has been lately honoured with peculiar marks of distinction: in May, 1840, it obtained from her majesty a charter, by virtue of which it became associated with the university of London.

When, in 1793, the Catholic delegates, after a successful mission in the British metropolis, had returned to this country, the subject of national education was that which, of all others, appeared to possess a pre-eminent claim to their attention. Those seats of literature, in which the more respectable classes of the laity, as well as ecclesiastical candidates, might be competently qualified for the discharge of the duties of their respective stations in life, had been long since proscribed, and at length became numbered among the melancholy ruins of the country; while, as has been already noticed, our foreign colleges on the continent of Europe were either sinking rapidly into decay, or yielding to the shock of an anti-Christian revolution. This it was which suggested the idea of reviving a system of home education, adapted to the wants of the Catholic youth of Ireland, commensurate with the exigencies of the mission, and resting on a fund to be raised by public voluntary contribution. The plan having been submitted to the members of the Catholic hierarchy, met at once with their concurrence; and that the undertaking might be rendered, in some measure, worthy the circumstances and growing importance of the Catholics of Ireland, it was proposed that four spacious colleges should be established, one in each province of the kingdom.

In the meantime, the spirit with which subscriptions had been advanced, was truly unprecedented: cities and towns, as well as individuals, entered into a noble rivalry on this patriotic occasion; the literary glories that once settled around the halls of Bangor, appeared at length to revisit the land, and an enthusiasm, as boundless as it was honourable to the national

character, seemed almost instantaneously to pervade the great mass of the Catholic population of Ireland. If the numerical strength, increasing opulence, patriotism, and religious zeal of the Irish Catholics be admitted as data, it must inevitably follow, that the system of education already contemplated, could be a work of no difficulty. Had the feeling displayed at this eventful period been allowed to operate, they would have reared up literary foundations that might well compete with the first and most learned establishments in Christendom. Of this truth the British government were fully sensible; and to it, perhaps, principally must be attributed the adoption of a measure, introduced at this time into the legislature, for the purpose of promoting the education of the Irish priesthood. The bill itself originated from government, and passed through the usual formalities of law, but the sum voted was paltry in the extreme; for the education of the clergy of seven millions of people, eight thousand pounds per annum was granted by the government of a nation which makes so great a boast of its equity, of its wealth and munificence. This grant was accepted, and in 1795 an ecclesiastical college was founded in Maynooth, a town in the county of Kildare, and about twelve miles from Dublin. The first president of this invaluable establishment was the learned Dr. Hussey, afterwards bishop of Waterford; Dr. Aherne was appointed to preside in the school of dogmatic theology, Dr. Flood* in that of morality, Delort professed mathematics and natural philosophy, Clinch taught rhetoric, Lovelock humanity, and Eustace, English elocution. This splendid combination of talent was soon after reinforced by the accession of

* To the unwearied exertions of Dr. Flood, the rising institution of Maynooth was considerably indebted. He succeeded Dr. Hussey in the office of president, and from the laudable manner in which genius was patronized under his administration, the college in a short time presented a galaxy of talent which it would be rare to discover in other contemporary institutions. It is pleasing to think that the college of Maynooth, at the present day supports the same noble and distinguished character, and sends forth, from year to year, ecclesiastics distinguished in every department of knowledge. This grand institution, indeed, may be justly proud of such men as the Most Rev. Dr. Dixon, archbishop of Armagh; Most Rev. Dr. MacHale, archbishop of Tuam; Most Rev. Dr. MacEvilly, bishop of Galway; Dr. Russell, its actual president, the late Dr. Renehan, O'Kelly, and Callan, who has rendered such signal service to the study of natural philosophy. The names of Murray, Crolly, McCarthy, Jennings, and other distinguished professors of Maynooth, are well known to the literary world, and if space allowed, we could mention many others, whose published works reflect lasting credit on their *alma mater*. 'Tis hardly necessary to add that Maynooth has given to the Irish Church, a series of bishops not excelled by the hierarchy of any other country, and that the faith has been carried into the most distant regions by prelates and priests educated in its halls.

La Hogue, Darre, Anglade, and the highly gifted and venerable Ferris.

That the paltry grant originally voted for an establishment of such national importance, should at length be pronounced as unbecoming the character of a great nation, is only what might be expected; government itself became ashamed of the pittance, and accordingly the whigs, in 1806, advanced the annuity to thirteen thousand pounds. To the discredit, however, of these times, intolerance was allowed, even in a free senate, to triumph over the demands of justice and the wants of a faithful nation: Maynooth College enjoyed the grant of 1806 for the short term of two years; in 1808 it was shamelessly reduced to the original sum! It is almost unnecessary to state that no augmentation has since been offered, although the Catholic population of Ireland has amazingly increased, and the vast utility of the clergy (both bishops and priests), who have received their education in that college, is admitted by government and cannot be fairly questioned, even by their most bitter opponents. It is to be hoped, however, that the time has now arrived when that spirit of bigotry, which had been too long the scourge of mankind, will be excluded for ever from the councils of an enlightened nation, and that religion will be no longer permitted to be used as a pretext for oppression, or as a barrier to separate man from his rights.

At the close of the eighteenth century, Ireland had reason to glory in the possession of her ancient faith, yet, lamentable to say, this is the period at which she must date the overthrow of her national independence. The project of a legislative union had been long since contemplated by the British ministry; while among the various means by which that mischievous measure was effected, the creation of political parties, and that of consequent insurrection, particularly in the county of Wexford, were not among the least remarkable. This county had been eminently distinguished for the industrious, orderly, and inoffensive conduct of its inhabitants; yet with all these and other endearing qualities they had been singled out as objects of the most refined and intolerable barbarity. On the 27th of May, 1798, the chapel of Boolavogue, in the parish of Kilcormick, having been profaned and reduced to ashes by a party of yeomen, gave rise to a reaction on the part of the people throughout that district; innumerable other outrages served at the same time to exasperate the public feeling; at length the spirit of retaliation became general. The detail of those melancholy

scenes, which fill up the history of this unhappy period, belongs not to an analysis such as the present; suffice it to observe, that throughout the entire of this insurrection the Catholic clergy, when the power of appeasing an inflamed people was no longer at their disposal, undertook to employ their influence in the service of humanity, and even at the hazard of their lives interfered for the safety of their Protestant fellow subjects. Did space permit, a variety of instances could be adduced;* gratitude, however, for the disinterested benevolence of that amiable ecclesiastic, the Very Rev. John Corrin, parish priest of Wexford, obliges us to place the following noble Christian-like act on public record. While the town of Wexford had been occupied by the insurgents, a very considerable number of Protestants had fallen into their hands, and were detained in custody within the precincts of the gaol. At length, on the 20th of June, through the contrivance of a dastardly and brutal leader named Dixon, a general massacre of these prisoners was resolved upon; the bridge of Wexford being selected as a place best adapted for the execution of this revolting tragedy. It is but just to remark, that the high-minded and valiant portion of those in arms had, on the previous day, and in compliance with orders, marched out from Wexford to the camp at the Three Rocks; none remained in the town except Dixon and a drunken mob, composed of the outcasts of the country, whom he had detained for the purpose of perpetrating his diabolical designs. At two o'clock on that day, the slaughter of the unfortunate prisoners commenced, thirty-five of whom had been massacred when the news of this inhuman transaction was communicated to Father Corrin, then curate to Doctor Caulfield, the venerable bishop of the diocese. Immediately this good priest resolved, even at the peril of his life, on proceeding to the spot; he hastened to the scene of slaughter, and having been obliged to make his way through a forest of pikes, he at length reached the bridge. It happened that those engaged in this butchery, had in general been persons from remote parts of the county, and consequently had not been acquainted with Father Corrin: a circumstance which rendered his situation still more perilous. Regardless of his own life, he rushed forth and stood between the murderers and their victims; he implored them in the name of a crucified Redeemer to desist; by some of the infuriated multitude he was insulted, by many he was threatened,

* See Doctor Caulfield's reply to the calumnious charges of Sir Richard Musgrave.

and by all unheeded. At length, and as a last resource, he prevailed on them to kneel down and join with him in prayer; to this they consented, and he prayed that the eternal Judge might hereafter bestow the same mercy unto them, which they should show to the prisoners at that moment in their hands. This pious act had the desired effect, and the massacre ceased. They still, however, remained unwilling to set the prisoners at liberty: he obtained the immediate liberation of one highly respectable Protestant gentleman, a resident of the neighbourhood, the others were re-conducted to prison under a strong escort of pikemen. The insurgents having, on the following day been compelled to evacuate the town, these prisoners also were released; thus were they indebted for their lives to the noble exertions of that charitable and disinterested pastor, the Very Rev. John Corrin.

Under the administration of the marquis Cornwallis, who arrived in Ireland on the 21st of June, 1798, the spirit of insurrection was gradually suppressed. An endless train of calamities, the bitter consequences of civil war, continued, however, pressing heavily upon the nation; while the experience of a short interval afforded the melancholy demonstration, that though the country had suffered much, her final destruction remained still to be completed. Only two years had elapsed, when Ireland surrendered her legislature, and to finish the catastrophe, her national independence disappeared along with it.

CHAPTER II.

Successors of St. Patrick—Episcopal Sees—Religious Foundations of the Eighteenth Century.

During the exile of the venerable primate, Dominick Maguire,[a] the administration of the see of Armagh was committed to the care of a vicar-general, Doctor Donnelly. Perilous as this office had been ever since the days of Elizabeth, it became awfully so under the ministry of queen Anne; however, the death of the primate occurred in 1708, and immediately after

Hugh MacMahon was advanced by the pope to the vacant see. This prelate, descended from an ancient and powerful family of that name, in the county of Monaghan, was born

[a] See cent. xvii. chap. ii.

in the year 1660. The laws which, at one period, had compelled him to withdraw to a foreign country for his education, were no longer capable of intimidating him: he returned to Ireland soon after his consecration, and entered on the duties of his ministry. Those intervals of toleration, which had occasionally taken place on the accession of the house of Brunswick, afforded him those opportunities which he had so anxiously desired, and of which he took care to avail himself. Through his application, the Dominican nunnery at Drogheda had been founded, in 1722; Augustin Pipia, then master of the Order of Preachers, having issued his precept to that effect: at the same time Catherine Plunket was appointed its first prioress.* To the revival of the long-contested question, connected with the primacy, we are indebted for that splendid specimen of talent and research which now proceeded from the pen of Doctor MacMahon. In 1728, he published his "Jus Armacanum," together with a reply to some arguments advanced on the same subject by John Hennesy, a Jesuit of Clonmel. It would, indeed, be an irksome as well as a fruitless task, to occupy the attention of the reader by any disquisition on the superior merits of this undecided question; suffice it to say, that in the work already mentioned, the subject appears to have been handled with such comprehensive power and singular cleverness, that it may be well said to have been actually exhausted. Doctor MacMahon has also left in manuscript a lyric poem, in honour of the Blessed Virgin, and a Latin translation of the "Song of Moses." He died on the 2nd of August, 1737, and in the 77th year of his age †

Bernard MacMahon, bishop of Clogher, was translated to the primatial see immediately on the death of the late primate ‡ Owing to the unabated rigour with which the laws had been specially levelled against the prelates of this archdiocese, it may be readily supposed that their situation partook of none of those inducing advantages which naturally belong to a state of independence and competency. The primate, Bernard MacMahon, resided in a retired place, named Ballymascalon, in the county of Louth; his habitation was little superior to a plain farm-house, and for many years he was [illegible] the country by the name of Mr. Ennis. In this disguise, which personal safety so forcibly prompted, he was accustomed to travel over his diocese, make his visitations, exhort his people, and administer the sacraments. He is represented as

* Hib. Dominicana, p. 360.
† Harris' Writers.
‡ Stewart's Armagh, p. 404.

a plain, humble, apostolical man, indefatigable in preaching the sublime doctrines of patience and forgiveness, and confirming that doctrine by his own great example: he was succeeded in the see by his brother,

Ross Mac Mahon. This prelate, as well as the former, had been bishop of Clogher, from which see he was translated on the death of his brother. The same apostolical simplicity and holiness of life seem to have marked his career; they served to disarm his enemies, while they inspired his flock with a spirit of resignation, and a still more ardent attachment for the persecuted religion of their country. His administration has been justly praised, and on his decease

Michael O'Reilly was advanced to the primatial see. This laborious prelate, after having been for some time vicar-general of the diocese of Kilmore, became bishop of Derry, from which see he was translated to Armagh. The moral education of youth, so long subjected to an iniquitous proscription, became the first object of his solicitude. He composed two catechisms, one in Irish, and the other in the English language, which, for perspicuity and matter, were greatly admired, and were, for many years, generally used throughout the province of Ulster. In his days the chapels all over his diocese, as may well be supposed, were of an humble description; but his constant maxim was, that poverty was not incompatible with decency and decorum; accordingly, he gave strict injunctions to his clergy, that all matters connected with those sacred places and especially with the altar and the sanctuary, should be kept in a state befitting the purity and sanctity of the Most High. He was accustomed to visit these chapels on Sundays, and other times when he might be least expected; but if, on these occasions, he could discover any culpable remissness on the part of either the pastor or the people, they were sure of being severely reprimanded. He resided in an humble dwelling at Turlegin, near Drogheda; here he died about the year 1758, and was interred in a grave-yard called the Chord, near St. Laurence's-gate, Drogheda.

Anthony Blake, bishop of Ardagh, was translated from that see to Armagh, on the death of the primate, Michael O'Reilly. He was a native of Galway, and was lineally descended from the Blakes, who had accompanied king John on his first expedition to Ireland. The attachment which he appears to have had for the place of his nativity, prevented him from paying that constant attention to the government of his diocese which ordinary prudence as well as the canons of the Church would seem to demand. He resided generally

among his relatives in Galway; at stated times he would make the usual visitations of his diocese, but this duty having been discharged, he was accustomed to return immediately to his native town. This unaccountable remissness gave universal dissatisfaction to his clergy; complaints proceeded against him from every quarter, while a remonstrance, grounded on a charge of non-residence, and conducted by Doctor Philip Levens, parish priest of Ardee, and the Rev. Peter Markey, parish priest of Louth, had been forwarded against him to Rome. In consequence of this accusation, supported as it had been by unanswerable evidence, the primate, it appears, was suspended from the discharge of his episcopal functions. While this disagreeable litigation had been pending, Doctor Troy, who was residing in Rome, had just received his appointment to the see of Ossory. On the return of this prelate to Ireland, he was commissioned to proceed with an investigation of the case; in virtue of which powers he cited the parties to appear before him in the chapel at Drogheda. At this meeting, a considerable number of the clergy of the archdiocese attended, but with the particulars of it we have not been made acquainted; it is, however, certain that the primate was reinstated, the clergy were reconciled, and the see was restored to its former state of tranquillity. Doctor Blake, after a short interval, became paralyzed: a circumstance which rendered it necessary to provide for the interest of the see by the appointment of a coadjutor.*

Richard O'Reilly, already coadjutor to Doctor Keeffe, bishop of Kildare, was on this occasion selected. The prelate Richard O'Reilly was a native of the diocese of Kildare, and in the 16th year of his age, repaired to Rome, where he became a student of Propaganda in 1762. Having returned to Ireland, he devoted eleven years to the duties of a laborious mission in his native diocese, and was appointed parish priest of Kilcock. His enlightened mind and amiable disposition had endeared him to both prelates and clergy, and in 1781, having been nominated coadjutor to Doctor Keeffe, he was consecrated in his own parish chapel at Kilcock, by the Most Rev. Dr. Carpenter, assisted by Doctors Troy of Ossory, and Plunket of Meath. Only one year had elapsed when, in 1782, he was translated to Armagh, and became coadjutor to the primate, the Most Rev. Dr. Blake. The presence of this excellent dignitary among the clergy of the archdiocese, became the successful cause of cementing that union for which it has ever

* Stewart's Armagh.

since been so honourably distinguished; he visited each parish with parental solicitude, while his own powerful example of forbearance and conciliation, served to render his admonitions altogether irresistible. Doctor Blake, after a short interval, retired to Galway, and obtained a pension out of the archdiocese until his death, which occurred in 1786; while the administration of the primate Richard O'Reilly continued until the close of January, 1818.

The history of the Irish hierarchy, from the period of queen Anne's proscriptions, down to the close of the last general persecution, in 1744, presents an outline somewhat similar to that of the two preceding centuries. When the dawn of toleration, which appeared to accompany the house of Brunswick to the throne, had in some measure dispelled the gloom so long impending over the nation, the prelates of the kingdom, availing themselves of a crisis so favourable, resumed in each diocese the public exercise of their jurisdiction. Nevertheless, the security on which they rested, was just as precarious as the caprice of the party in whose hands the executive happened to be lodged; intervals of tranquillity would occur, but in a moment, and when least expected, the storm would again burst out in all its fury. It was not until about the year 1750 that the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland began to assume a settled and well-organized appearance. Up to this period the union of various parishes had (through an unavoidable scarcity of priests) become general in almost every diocese; some of these unions branched out to an unreasonable extent; while, in many instances, the population of this immense district was necessarily committed to the care of an individual pastor. To remedy this grievance, a decree emanated in 1751 from the Congregation of Propaganda: it was transmitted by the nuncio apostolic, to John Linegar, archbishop of Dublin, with directions to have the same notified to the archbishops of Armagh, Cashel, and Tuam, and to be by them communicated to their suffragans. Agreeably to the tenor of this decree, those parishes which might be considered too extensive, were to be subdivided, so as to form new parishes; if that could not be conveniently effected, coadjutors were to be appointed from the body of the secular clergy; or in case of necessity, regulars might be substituted by way of provision, and as temporary assistants. The same decree enforced the canonical rule of constant residence, agreeably to the instructions conveyed to the prelates of Ireland by Benedict XIV.;* it recommended the appointment of

* See chap. i.

authorized examinators in each respective diocese, cautioned the clergy against receiving alms in the sacred tribunal, and reminded them of that most indispensable part of their duty, the catechetical instruction of youth. The bishops were likewise admonished to be careful in conferring the faculty of celebrating the sacred mysteries twice on the same day; this privilege was to be allowed only in cases of great necessity, and to such priests as had been distinguished for zeal, prudence, and missionary experience. They were, moreover, enjoined to submit a report of the state of religion in their respective dioceses, every second year, to the nuncio at Brussels, to be by him transmitted to the Sacred Congregation.*

From the eighteenth century must be dated the union of the sees of Cloyne and Ross. The dioceses of Cork and Cloyne, which had continued united since the fifteenth century, now became separate sees, while the ancient diocese of Ross was, about the year 1758, annexed to the latter, under the incumbency of Doctor O'Brien, bishop of Cloyne. To this century, likewise, the union of the sees of Kildare and Leighlin must be referred; while the circumstances of the times, and the limited state of the population, are among the probable causes to which these regulations may be traced.

The ancient religious foundations of the country presented at this period one indiscriminate melancholy mass of ruins, while the possessions, a great portion of which actually belonged to the poor of Ireland, were swept away amidst the unsparing and continued spoliations of nearly two hundred years. During this long and dismal period, the regular orders,

The following prelates presided over the archiepiscopal see of Dublin during the eighteenth century:

Edmund Byrne succeeded archbishop Creagh in 1707, and governed the archdiocese for about seventeen years. Edward Murray was translated from the see of Kildare in 1724, and died after an incumbency of five years. Luke Fagan, bishop of Meath, was translated to Dublin in 1729: his death occurred about the year 1734. John Linegar was advanced to the see on the death of archbishop Fagan: this prelate presided over the archdiocese for twenty-two years. Richard Lincoln succeeded in 1757: he died in 1762, and was interred in St. James's Church-yard, Dublin. Patrick Fitzsimon, dean of Dublin, and parish priest of St. Audoen's, became his successor in 1763: the administration of this prelate continued for six years. John Carpenter, prebendary of Wicklow, and curate of St. Mary's in Dublin, was consecrated in Liffey-street Chapel, on the 3rd of June, 1770, by the primate, Doctor Blake, assisted by Doctor Keeffe, bishop of Kildare, and Doctor Burke, bishop of Ossory: this prelate died on the 29th of October, 1786, and was buried in St. Michan's Church-yard. John Thomas Troy was translated from the see of Ossory during the same year.—See chap. i.

* Vide Constitutiones Provinciales Ecclesiæ Metrop. Dub. anno. 1770

as well as the hierarchy of Ireland, had been specially marked out as the destined victims of legislative vengeance; if the blind self-interested bigot felt a desire to trample on the sacred rights of conscience, or to raise up the hackneyed outcry of "no popery," the regular clergy of the kingdom formed an inexhausted subject for his vociferations; if the legislature of the day wanted to amuse the popular phrenzy, by the exhibition of new-fashioned enactments, or of a new series of tragedies, monks, Jesuits, and friars were sure to come in for their part of the entertainment. The ministry of queen Anne undertook to do that which they well knew their predecessors had never been able to accomplish. To prevent "the further growth of popery," the whole strength of the code was brought into requisition, the regular communities were proscribed and ordered to quit the kingdom, while the gibbet was prepared, and the executioner was at his post, in case they should return. But to the eternal honour of these great men, they did not quit the kingdom; they stood by the people, adhered to their duty, and defied their enemies. In demonstration of this fact, the authenticated records of these religious orders, which have providentially escaped the wreck, must be admitted as a sufficient voucher. Let us take, for example, the existing records of the Franciscans: in these authorized sealed documents we find, that during the reign of Anne, while the laws in their full vengeance were promulgated and the magistracy inexorable, while the country was overrun with informers and a general panic pervaded the land, these self-same proscribed regulars, so far from deserting their duty, came in numbers, and with the courage of martyrs, into the very metropolis: here they assembled, held their general chapters, elected their provincial, and went through the usual ordeal of their proceedings nobly and heroically; and at the very moment when their pursuers, within a short distance, were met together super-refining the code, and devising new plans for their destruction. A general chapter of the Franciscans was held in Dublin* in 1703, a year peculiarly awful in the annals of terror; in this chapter sixty-four vocals attended;† in 1705 a middle chapter was convened in the same city. Another general chapter, at which sixty-two

* These chapters are all dated "In loco refugii nostri," signifying that they assembled in a place of refuge and security from their enemies.

† By vocals are understood persons who have a right to vote at these capitular elections. It is most certain that the number of members who were present at these chapters, was by no means confined exclusively to the vocals above specified.

vocals assisted, was solemnized in the metropolis during the November of 1706, and an intermediate one in 1708. A third general chapter was held in Dublin, October 12th, 1709, the number of vocals being sixty-two; the intermediate chapter is dated the 7th of June, 1711. The fourth general chapter, at which sixty-three vocals attended, was held in the same city, on the 13th of October, 1714; about the very period in which queen Anne closed her mortal career.*

It was not until about the termination of the reign of George I. that the regular orders in Ireland could, with any degree of safety, comply with the public practical ordinances of their institutes. At that time, availing themselves of the temporary relaxation of the laws, they ventured to procure places of residence, to live in community, and to erect chapels in the metropolis and other towns of Ireland. In the year 1721 the Dominicans had been thus settled in Dublin, Limerick, Cork, Cashel, Drogheda, Sligo and Galway; while in the country districts, the same order had at this period been similarly re-established.† The persecution of 1744, although truly awful, was but of short continuance; it was manifestly an impotent attempt to subdue the spirit of these men, accustomed as they had been, during the course of their lives, to sufferings and oppression. Its severity appears to have been most acutely felt in Dublin, Kilkenny, and Waterford; in these cities the religious communities were dispersed, but, as has been already noticed, the storm soon subsided, and the revival of ancient discipline was accordingly restored.

A decree, connected with the regulars of Ireland, and emanating from Propaganda, had, in 1751, been transmitted to John Linegar, archbishop of Dublin. It ordained that these houses are to be considered formal convents in which regulars live in community; and that such regulars as do not reside within these convents, are in every respect to be subject to the ordinaries, as the delegates of the Holy See. It prescribes that all regulars, on their return from the continent to Ireland, shall exhibit to the ordinary their letters of obedience, together with testimonials from the nuncio apostolic at Brussels; the same rule, as to the testimonials, to be observed by the secular clergy. The superiors also of the regular orders were enjoined to transmit a report of the spiritual state of the province to the said nuncio. In conclusion, it prohibited regular superiors

* Capitular records preserved in the archives of the Franciscan convent, Wexford.

† Hib. Dom. p. 716.

from receiving any more novices in Ireland; such postulants were to be sent to Catholic countries, in which regular noviciates had been established agreeably to the constitutions; nor were these individuals to return to Ireland, until they had completed the usual course of dogmatical and moral theology.* That portion of the decree, which prohibited the reception of novices in Ireland, produced considerable dissatisfaction among the superiors of the different orders; while Father Bernard MacHenry, provincial of the Dominicans, addressed to the master of his order in Rome a remonstrance, written in an exquisite style, and replete with solid and convincing arguments.† This prohibitory clause was, however, afterwards withdrawn, and novices were allowed to be received and professed in this kingdom, precisely as they had been in antecedent times.

CHAPTER III.

Religious and Literary Characters of the Eighteenth Century—General Observations.

Francis Porter, the laborious author of the "Ecclesiastical Annals of Ireland," was born in the county of Meath about the year 1640, and at an early age retired to Rome, with an intention of embracing the Franciscan institute. A decided superiority of talent, together with the natural meekness of his manners, entitled him to be raised to the guardianship of the convent of St. Isidore. Having continued to discharge the duties of this office for some years, he was appointed lector of philosophy, and was ultimately advanced to the chair of moral and speculative divinity in that establishment. The number of learned Irishmen by whom that college had at this period been adorned, served to bestow lustre on the character, not only of the priesthood, but likewise of the country from whence they came. These men withdrew from their native land, and took shelter within the walls of this literary asylum, for the purpose of consecrating their lives to study, and of rendering their researches a benefit both to their religion and to their country. Among these invaluable Irishmen, Francis Porter unquestionably merits a conspicuous place. His controversial

* Constitutiones Provin. Eccl. Metrop. † Hib. Dom. p. 181.

writings, although received with great applause, had not, in consequence of the mass of similar productions, been so indispensably required. The work which entitled him to most merit, and in which he proves himself decidedly useful, is, without doubt, his "Compendium of the Ecclesiastical History of Ireland." He commences this record with a brief account of the ancient kings of his native country, their laws, wars and treaties: he then proceeds with an analysis of its conversion to Christianity, and an outline of the cathedrals, monasteries and schools of Ireland, together with a concise history of many of its sainted and learned men. Throughout the work he presents to his reader an awful development of the persecutions of his native land, and concludes with splendid illustrations of the reverence and heroic attachment which the people of this country had always cherished towards the Holy See. Francis Porter continued his laborious researches until 1702, in which year he died at Rome, and was interred in St. Isidore's. He has written: 1. Securis Evangelica ad Hæresis radices posita; Romæ, 1674, octavo. 2. Palinodia Religionis prætensæ Reformatæ; Romæ, 1679, octavo. 3. Compendium Annalium Ecclesiasticorum Regni Hiberniæ; Romæ, 1690, quarto. 4. Systema Decretorum Dogmaticorum; Avignione, 1693, folio. 5. Opusculum contra vulgares quasdam Prophetias de Electionibus S. Pontificum, S. Malachiæ falso attributas, gàllice primùm editum, nunc in Latinum Idioma translatum; Romæ, 1698, octavo.*

Michael Moore, to whom also the literature of Ireland is indebted, was born in Bridge-street, Dublin, A.D. 1640. Having acquired a good classical education in his native city, he repaired to France, and commenced his ecclesiastical course in the Irish college at Nantz Here he remained for some years, and removed to Paris, where he completed his theological studies. His knowledge of the Greek language had gained him such celebrity, that after a period he was nominated professor of rhetoric in the Grassan College, which office he continued to enjoy for some years with singular credit. The state of his health having obliged him to return to Ireland, he was ordained priest by Luke Wadding, the learned bishop of Ferns, and soon after became prebendary of Tymothan and vicar-general of Dublin, under its venerable archbishop, the Most Rev. Patrick Russell. In his subsequent advancement to ecclesiastical dignities, Tirconnell, then lord lieutenant of Ireland, appears to have taken an active part; he was intro-

* Archiv. Isidor. arm. vi

duced by that nobleman to James II., became one of the king's preachers, and through the recommendation of the prelates of Ireland, was ultimately appointed provost of Trinity College.* This situation, however inviting it might appear, was not without its difficulties; it prepared the way for Doctor Moore's perpetual banishment from the kingdom. It appears that James had, about this time, some intention of placing the university in the hands of the Jesuits; the intimacy which was known to subsist between that monarch and Father Peters, the superior of the society, gave confirmation to the report, while the sensation which it created among the parties immediately interested, was no longer confined to the metropolis, it spread with rapidity through every diocese of the kingdom. Among those who felt aggrieved, and gave expression to their feelings on this occasion, was Doctor Moore; he publicly denounced the measure, made it the subject of his most bitter invectives, and levelled the whole weight of his indignation against Father Peters, whom he represented as a selfish designing and dangerous adviser. While this subject had thus occupied the public attention, Doctor Moore was called upon to preach in Christ Church, in the presence of the king and a large concourse of the nobility, on which occasion he took for his text these words of the Gospel, "If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch." It happened that Father Peters laboured under a defect of vision; a circumstance which inclined James to suppose that the preacher had made an intentional application both of the text and of its inferences to himself and the Jesuit. At all events, Doctor Moore had scarcely returned from the pulpit, when he received positive orders to quit the kingdom, without the hopes of favour or forgiveness. This mandate, which was delivered personally, met with an immediate compliance; the doctor, in the meantime, observing to those around him, "Go I will, without doubt; but remember, the king himself will soon be after me." Which remark happened after a short interval to be literally verified. Doctor Moore withdrew to Paris, where he was universally caressed; but on the arrival of James in that city, he deemed it imprudent to reside [illegible] and accordingly removed to Rome. Here also his acquirements soon brought him into honourable notice: he was appointed censor of books, professor of philosophy and Greek; at length he became rector of the college of Montefiascone. On the death of James he returned to France, where, through

* Harris, Writers.

the patronage of Cardinal Noailles, he was nominated professor of philosophy, Greek and Hebrew, and became soon after president of the college of Navarre, and rector of the university of Paris. His solicitude for the interest of the Irish mission was unabated. With the assistance of Doctor John Farelly he purchased a house near the Irish college, in which ecclesiastical candidates for that mission were received and educated. Some years before his death he became blind, and employed a person for the purpose of reading for him. This individual, however, by his vile dishonesty, betrayed the confidence which his master had reposed in him; he pillaged the library of some hundreds of volumes, while the remainder were bequeathed by the doctor to the Irish college for the benefit of his countrymen. Doctor Moore died in the college of Navarre on the 22nd of August, 1726, and was interred in the chapel of the Irish college. He has written: 1. De Existentia Dei, et Humanæ Mentis Immortalitate; Parisiis, 1692, octavo. 2. Hortatio ad Studium linguæ Græcæ et Hebraicæ; Montisfalisco, 1700, duodecimo. 3. Vera Sciendi Methodus, Lutet; Paris, 1716, octavo.

Cornelius Nary was born in the county of Kildare about the year 1658, and obtained an early classical education at Naas. Having, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, received ordination at the hands of Dr. James Phelan, bishop of Ossory, he proceeded to Paris, where he became an alumnus of the Irish college, and was afterwards appointed provisor of the same establishment, the duties of which office he continued to discharge for seven years. His transcendant talents, enhanced by unremitted application, soon opened the way for further literary honours; in 1694 he acquired superior distinction as a canonist, and took out a degree of doctor of laws in the university of Paris. With a view of contributing assistance to the exigencies of the Irish mission, he resolved to return to his native country, but when he reached London, he was prevailed upon by his friends to remain for some time in that city, and became domestic chaplain to the earl of Antrim. Notwithstanding the discouraging state of Ireland at this period, the love which he cherished for the religion of his native land, and his anxiety to co-operate with his fellow-countrymen, would not permit him to prolong his [illegible] London; he soon after proceeded to Dublin, and was appointed parish priest of St. Michan's in that city. The reputation of Doctor Nary was soon universally established; he ranked as the leading and most successful controvertist of the day; by his writings as well as by his discourses he contributed to the

triumph of truth and to the conversion of numbers. During the registration of 1704, Doctor Nary clung with the affection of a father to his flock; he was one of the 1,080 priests who submitted to the process of that penal ordeal, his sureties on that occasion being Nicholas Lincoln, a merchant in Capel-street, and John Butler, of Ormond-quay.* This learned and truly valuable pastor continued unmolested in the government of his parish until his death, which occurred on the 3rd of March, 1738. Doctor Nary has written: 1. A Modest and True Account of the Chief Points of Controversy between Roman Catholics and Protestants; London, 1699, octavo. 2. Prayers and Meditations; Dublin, 1705, duodecimo. 3. The New Testament, translated into English; London, 1705, octavo. 4. Rules and Godly Instructions for devout Widows; Dublin, 1716, 16mo. 5. A Brief History of St. Patrick's Purgatory; Dublin, 1718, duodecimo. 6. A Catechism for the use of his parish; Dublin, 1718, duodecimo. 7. A New History of the World, according to the computation of the Septuagint; Dublin, 1720, folio. 8. A Letter of Controversy to the Vicar of Naas; Dublin, 1722, quarto. 9. A Letter to the Archbishop of Tuam; Dublin, 1728. 10. An Argument, showing the difficulties in Sacred Writ (manuscript).†

Timothy O'Brien, contemporary with Cornelius Nary, was born in the county of Cork, and in 1691 withdrew from his native country, with a view of obtaining that education in a foreign land which was denied him at home. The Irish college at Toulouse had the honour of placing this distinguished Irishman on the list of its alumni; here he completed his scholastic course, and after a period took out a degree of doctor of divinity; he was ultimately advanced to the administration of the establishment, in which situation he continued for about nine years. Having returned to Ireland in 1715, he became parish priest of Castlelyons, in the then united dioceses of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross.

For the purpose of keeping up an intolerant outcry, it was usual at that period, but particularly during the reign of George II., to have the press as well as the pulpit in requisition, and among the various tracts which appeared was one from the Rev. Rowland Davies, Protestant dean of Cork, entitled "The truly Catholic and old Religion." This production was ably refuted by Doctor O'Brien, and occasioned a lengthened controversy, in which the dean and the antiquity of his religion underwent a most awful exposure. During

* See Act for Registering, etc.; Dublin, 1704. † Harris, Writers

the year 1743 Doctor O'Brien published in Cork "A Brief, Historical, and Authentic Account of the Beginning and Doctrine of the sects called the Vaudois and Albigiois." To this work Doctor Clayton, Protestant bishop of Cork, undertook to produce a reply, while the controversy was prolonged until 1745, when the bishop, finding himself upset, appears to have lost all temper, and began to threaten his antagonist with the vengeance of the "No-Popery Laws!" Doctor O'Brien continued in the discharge of his pastoral duties until 1747, in which year he died. Besides the above mentioned works he has written, "An Explanation of the Jubilee," in two parts, 1725. Also "The bishop of Cork's Pastoral Letter Answered."

Thomas De Burgo, the learned author of the "Hibernia Dominicana," was a native of Dublin, and was born about the year 1709. Scarcely had he attained the fifteenth year of his age when he proceeded to Rome, and embraced the Dominican institute. Having completed his course of ecclesiastical studies under the distinguished lectors, Vincent Kelly, a native of Kilkenny, and John Brett of Sligo, his merit entitled him to be promoted to the rank of regent of the college of SS. Sixtus and Clement in that city, which office he continued to enjoy with singular honour for six years. His learning, added to an ardent attachment for the ancient religion of his country, had been among the motives which prompted the prelates of Ireland to intrust him, in 1740, with a commission connected with the festivals and offices of some of the eminent fathers of this once sainted isle. The number specified in the commission was ten; namely, SS. Rumold, Malachy, Laurence, Frigidianus, Brigid, Celestine, Columba, Gallus, Columbanus, and Dympna.* Having succeeded in obtaining the decree of Benedict XIV., dated the 8th of July, 1741, he forthwith transmitted a copy of it to the archbishop of Dublin, John Linegar, while the original was deposited in the archives of the convent of SS. Sixtus and Clement, in Rome. During the year 1743 he returned to Ireland, and commenced his missionary career with superior zeal in the metropolis. The concession of the supreme pontiff, which had been already obtained, elicited, in 1745, a second memorial from the Irish prelates, which, in due manner, was committed to the management of De Burgo. The number of feasts embodied in this document amounted to fourteen; viz., those of SS. Fursey, Fintan, Cataldus, Cuthbert, Rupert, Celsus, Congall, Kilian, Fiachre, Firmin, Canice, Donatus, Colman, and Livinus. By the direction of De Burgo

* Hib. Dom. cap. xv. p. 552, et cap. p. 22.

and the agency of John Lynch, a native of Galway, and at that time rector of St. Clement's, a second decree was procured for these feasts in 1747, and copies thereof transmitted to Ireland. In the meantime, De Burgo undertook the task of collecting the proper offices for these feasts, or at least the lessons of the second nocturn, and at length had the satisfaction of finding his labours attended with success; out of the twenty-four offices there was a deficiency of only two, those of SS. Celsus and Colman; the lessons for these he himself carefully compiled.

To the unwearied research of this great man, the literature of Ireland, as well as that of the institute to which he belonged, stands highly indebted: in the provincial chapter of 1753, he received an injunction to compile the history of the Dominican Order in Ireland, which task he completed by the production of that elaborate and invaluable work, the "Hibernia Dominicana." Six years had scarcely elapsed, when his merits, already appreciated at Rome, had entitled him to still further distinction. On the decease of John Dunne, bishop of Ossory, De Burgo was advanced to the vacant see, and on the 22nd of April, 1759, was consecrated in the Dominican nunnery at Drogheda, by Anthony Blake, archbishop of Armagh. On this occasion also, he received *in commendam*, by apostolical letters, the parish of St. Mary, situated in the city of Kilkenny, and which at the time happened to be placed under the pastoral care of Patrick Molloy, an ecclesiastic distinguished for his eloquence and other superior endowments. Doctor Dunne, the predecessor of De Burgo, had, it appears, also obtained this parish *in commendam*, and soon after undertook to make a collation of it to Father Molloy, in consequence of his meritorious services. This circumstance gave rise to a most disagreeable litigation between the incumbent, Patrick Molloy, and the newly-consecrated prelate, De Burgo; the excitement which it created in the city of Kilkenny, had been prolonged for about six months; an appeal to Rome emanated from both parties, when at length, the bishop was successful, having, on the 30th of July, 1761, received a confirmation of the original apostolical letters by a new pontifical diploma.

On the following year his "Hibernia Dominicana" proceeded from the press; owing to the temper of those times, it was represented in the title to have been published in Cologne, but in reality, that honour belongs to Kilkenny, the city in which he resided. This immortal work, exhibiting an ample, fearless, and terrific outline of the sufferings of our national Church, became sorely obnoxious to the bigotry of the day; an outcry

was raised against it in various quarters; at length, the bishops of the province, acting, as they conceived, on prudential grounds, adopted the design of holding a convocation for the purpose of reviewing and purging the work, the city of Kilkenny having been the place appointed for their meeting. The execution of this measure was soon found to be impracticable; the bishop of Ossory loudly protested against the illegality of such a meeting within the precincts of his diocese, and denounced it as a censurable infringement on his canonical rights. The project was accordingly abandoned: some of the prelates refused to attend at Kilkenny; Doctor Sweetman, bishop of Ferns, after having proceeded on his journey as far as Ross, and being there made acquainted with the intentions of the bishop of Ossory, very prudently changed his determination, and returned home. The prelates of Munster, however, assembled soon after at Thurles, and expunged a small portion of the work, consisting of merely an extract from Porter's Ecclesiastical Annals, relative to the proceedings of James II.

The venerable and truly learned De Burgo continued to govern his diocese with great honour to himself and advantage to religion, until 1786, in which year he died, and was interred in the ancient cemetery attached to the parish chapel of St. John, in Maudlin-street, of which he had been for so many years the brilliant and distinguished ornament.

The events of this century, as well as those of the ages which have preceded it, must serve to furnish us with a convincing argument of the folly and absolute impotence of human power, in attempting, either by state artifice or by the terrors of the sword, to overthrow the sacred foundations of truth, or to extinguish the noble elementary principle of liberty of conscience. The experiment has been tried in every age and in almost every national Church of the Christian world; in Ireland its duration was longer, its violence more unrelenting, its consequences more awfully appalling. The penal code alone stands without a parallel in the whole wide range of systematic cruelty. From the commencement of the sixteenth century, down to the days of [illegible] this volume of death was swelling in magnitude and darkening in terror, until at length it was found impossible to render it more frightful by the addition of a single enactment. Had the reign of Anne been continued for a more lengthened period, and had the measures of her government been followed up, the probable consequences would, of themselves, furnish a melancholy subject for reflection. The registration clause

enacted and rigorously enforced at that period, was one of the most dark and subtle schemes ever yet devised for subverting Catholicity in Ireland, by the gradual, but ultimate, extinction of its priesthood. That the destructive materials of which it was composed might be kept, as it were, from the view of the nation—that the suspicions of the public mind might be tranquillized by the show of an apparent security, the measure itself was brought forward, and passed under the pretext of a reasonable toleration; meanwhile, the catastrophe was slowly, yet inevitably, expected; the angry element was collecting, but the cloud was dissipated before it had time to come to an explosion. The subsequent events of the eighteenth century, serve only to cast a darker shade on this frightful picture of national sufferings; but if we may complete the piece by the introduction of scenes that belong to epochs still more remote, it must be confessed, that in the entire annals of persecution, the Catholic Church of this country, for trials on the one hand, and heroic fidelity on the other, stands unquestionably without a rival. Other national churches, no doubt, have been compelled to pass through a similar element; in primitive ages, and in times less remote, they have had their dark and dismal night of persecution; still it was but temporary; it was, moreover, confined to certain localities, and when the tempest in its fury visited one country, the faithful generally had it in their power to make their escape to another. Such, however, was not the case with the Catholics of Ireland; the storm continued unabated, it blew from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, and while the sword of extermination forced them to the very shores of the island, the waves of the ocean repelled them back into the hands of their pursuers. For upwards of two hundred years, the caverns of the mountain and the inaccessible wilds of the country, were the great asylums which Nature had prepared for the proscribed priesthood of Ireland; and had not Providence above stupendously interfered, the ancient religion of the nation would have ended in a wreck without, perhaps, leaving even a remnant to perpetuate the recollections of its former grandeur.

Many of the events connected with this century, may [illegible] serve to confirm the opinion which, throughout this analysis has been so justly advocated. It has been asserted that nothing can be more destructive to religion or dangerous, even to society, than a Church encumbered with overgrown wealth or mixed up with the intrigues of state policy. Of this species of ecclesiastical revenue, the tithes form a prominent and an obnoxious portion. Their consequences have

been generally ruinous in other nations; in Ireland they have been truly awful. To this system must be principally traced those unfortunate combinations of whiteboyism, and that spirit of midnight outrage which every good man must deprecate, and for which humanity is left to deplore. Nor are its consequences confined to the eighteenth century; even since that period, what numbers of lives have been sacrificed—what torrents of blood have flown? One scene of terror was replaced by another still more appalling, while the whole series must ultimately fall as a blot on the name and character of our common Christianity. The system, in its original form, possessed some recommendatory advantages; it exonerated the community from various contingent expenses, but above all, it administered to the wants of the poor—benefits with which the tithe-impost of modern times has no participation whatever. Whether considered in its application to a class of persons from whom no benefit could be derived, or in its exaction, or in its tragical results, it would be difficult to show how it can conduce to the moral happiness of a nation. True religion wants no such auxiliary, it rests on its own merits; and with a priesthood depending (as the Apostles did) on the voluntary contributions of a grateful people, it must, despite of all opposition, eventually triumph.

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of the Veto.—Its rejection by the Irish Prelates in 1808.– Intrigues of the Vetoists defeated in Kilkenny and Louth.—English Catholic Board.—Proceedings of the Prelates in 1810 and 1813.—Rescript of Quarantotti.—Meeting of the Clergy in Dublin in Bridge-street Chapel.—Letter of the Pope from Genoa.—Memoir of Cardinal Gonsalvi.—National Synod in Dublin.—Episcopal and Lay Deputations.—Rev. Richard Hayes.—Proceedings of the Delegates in Rome.—Domestic Nomination.—Removal of the Rev. R. Hayes from the Roman States.—Subsequent Proceedings of the Catholic Board.—Decline and ultimate extinction of Vetoism—History of the Right Rev. Doctor Doyle.—Evidence of the Catholic Bishops in 1825.—Catholic Emancipation.

The prostration of Irish independence, generated by the legislative union, was not the only measure contemplated by the British cabinet at this eventful period. For upwards of two hundred years, every means within the reach of human power had been employed to crush the religion of the country; open violence and secret intrigue had been alternately brought into operation, but every effort ended in a failure, each experiment only proved the impotency of the former, while the whole series of which the ordeal was composed, demonstrates to the world the insufficiency as well as the impiety of man, in attempting to overthrow the sacred and eternal principle of religious toleration. Nevertheless, when once bigotry becomes arrayed against liberty of conscience, it seldom fails in its discovery of new resources; and thus it is that we are enabled to account for that strange movement, which the policy of the British minister had at this time entered upon, but which, like every other experiment, was ultimately defeated. Hitherto the channels of ecclesiastical jurisdiction had stood beyond the reach of [illegible] ment; the Irish hierarchy, as uncorrupted as it was persevering, pious, and learned, had not yet been tried in any process, save that of terror and destruction; now, however, a state theory apparently the reverse is concocted, and that venerable body is to be undermined by promises which might never be fulfilled, and which in any case would be incapable of secur-

ing the religion of the Irish people from ultimate ruin. The state of Ireland in the year 1799 was awfully deplorable: between martial law, the irritation of party, the horrors of an impending famine, and other calamitous consequences of civil war, the country, from one extremity to the other, presented little better than a general scene of desolation; yet this was the period which the minister, in his policy, selected for putting the intrigues of the cabinet into a train of execution. During the course of that year, ten of the Irish bishops, constituting the board of Maynooth College, happened to be convened in Dublin on the arrangement of some ecclesiastical business, when lord Castlereagh, then secretary for Ireland, availed himself of their presence, and submitted for their adoption two vitally momentous measures originating from the British ministry.*

By the first of these it was proposed, that his majesty should be invested with the power of a veto in all future ecclesiastical promotions within this kingdom, and agreeably to the second, the Catholic clergy of Ireland were to receive a pension out of the treasury; at the same time assurances were solemnly pledged by government, that on the acquiescence of the Irish hierarchy in these state measures, the fate of that great national question, Catholic Emancipation, entirely depended. Thus beset by the proffers of the minister on the one hand, and by the alarming posture of the country on the other, the bishops already alluded to agreed, "that in the appointment of Roman Catholic prelates to vacant sees within the kingdom, such interference of government as may enable it to be satisfied of the loyalty of the person appointed, is just, and ought to be agreed to;" this statement was accompanied with an admission, "that a provision, through government, for the Roman Catholic clergy of this kingdom, competent and secured, ought to be thankfully accepted." To prevent any undue infringement, either on the discipline of the Church or on the influence which the prelates themselves ought to possess, it was subsequently ordained, that the candidate for the vacant see should, as usual, be recommended by the clergy of the diocese to the prelates of the ecclesiastical provin to be by them elected by a majority of suffrages: the name of the candidate so elected was then to be presented to govern-

* The prelates composing the board were:—Richard O'Reilly, R.C.A.B., Armagh; J. T. Troy, R.C.A.B., Dublin; Edward Dillon, R.C.A.B., Tuam; Thomas Bray, R.C.A.B., Cashel; P. J. Plunkett, R.C.B., Meath; F. Moylan, R.C.B., Cork; Daniel Delaney, R.C.B., Kildare; Edmund French, R.C.B., Elphin; James Caulfield, R.C.B., Ferns; John Cruise, R.C.B., Ardagh.

ment, and if no objection should appear against him, a return was to be made within one month, after which the name of the person so approved of was to be transmitted to Rome, in order to receive appointment from the Holy See. If, however, government should have any proper objection against such candidate, the president of election is to be informed thereof within one month after presentation; in which case, he is to convene the clergy again, and proceed to the election of another candidate. These prelates were, moreover, satisfied that the nomination of parish priests, together with a certificate of their having taken the oath of allegiance, be notified to government: in conclusion, it is observed "that agreeably to the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church, these regulations can have no effect without the sanction of the Holy See," to procure which they pledge themselves to use their best endeavours.*

The excitement which the publication of these arrangements had created throughout the kingdom may be readily anticipated; among the clergy and the great mass of the people there was but one opinion; their religion was again assailed, while the visible support on which its vitality depended, was about to be yielded up to the discretion of a powerful and an inveterate adversary.

This doctrine of vetoistical arrangements, promulgated at such a crisis, mixed up with the principle of allegiance, and constituting the grand basis of Catholic Emancipation, was a measure in every respect befitting the policy for which the Pitt administration is known to have been characterized. Should it happen to be rejected by the clergy and people, as its authors had reason to anticipate, it supplied them with an argument for withholding the rights of the nation; but if, on the other hand, the measure of a veto should meet with an unanimous concurrence on the part of the Irish Catholics, then the overthrow of their religion in this country became inevitable. Viewed in any light, it presents itself as a piece of cabinet intrigue pregnant with incalculable mischief: it served for a series of years to create an unhappy division among the Catholic body, and kept the country in a state of constant state of fermentation and alarm. Notwithstanding the insecure nature of the ground on which it rested, and the numberless dangers with which it seemed so awfully environed, some there were among the Catholic community who

* See resolutions of R. C. prelates, 17th, 18th, 19th January, 1799; *Dublin Chronicle*.

recklessly overlooked the precipice that stood before them, and joined in a formidable but fruitless outcry for its adoption. This class appears to have been unexceptionably composed of a considerable part of the Irish aristocracy, together with that varied description of speculating misnamed patriots with which every nation abounds, and among whom the principle of self-aggrandizement is universally embraced as a leading article. With the former, emancipation was a sure and an immediate step to office and dignity; with the latter, it became a sort of passport, by virtue of which they were at liberty to set out in quest of new discoveries, and seek their fortune under whatever constellation they might please to follow within the whole wide compass of the political hemisphere. Hence it is that these two classes of characters had strenuously contended for the concession of a veto, while the great bulk of the nation, lay and ecclesiastical, with no less vigour, conscientiously resisted the measure. The division thus created, and the agitation with which it was accompanied, were in admirable accordance with all the expectations of the ministry; they encouraged both parties to exhaust their energies in fruitless contentions, while they themselves were sure of having a ready apology either for postponing or rejecting the fair and open discussion of the great national question of civil and religious liberty.

Such had been the lamentable posture of affairs when, in 1808, Lord Fingall arrived in London, as the bearer of a petition from the Catholics of Ireland, with instructions to have it placed in the hands of Lord Grenville, Mr. Grattan and Mr. Ponsonby. His lordship, on this occasion, thought proper to step beyond the bounds of his commission; at all events, he employed a most inappropriate colouring in the representation which he drew of the feelings of the prelates, priests, and people of Ireland on the subject of vetoistical arrangements. These advocates of religious toleration to whose management the petition was to be intrusted, were now furnished with assurances, that in case government acquiesced in the achievement of Catholic Emancipation, the clergy and people of Ireland, on their part, were satisfied to consent to a veto; while in confirmation of this statement, Doctor Milner, who the year before had been appointed agent in London for the Irish prelacy, took upon him to aver, that although the Catholic bishops of Ireland could not concede to the crown a *direct and efficient* power in the nomination of prelates,* yet he was of

* That a positive nomination cannot be allowed to an heterodox government, appears evident from the letter of Benedict XIV., addressed to the

opinion that they were disposed to grant a *negative restricted* interference, in virtue of which a limited number of candidates might be rejected, so as to enable government to be satisfied as to the loyalty of the Catholic hierarchy in this kingdom.* Thus was the question of a veto in the election of Irish bishops introduced by lord Grenville in the House of Lords, and by Messrs. Grattan and Ponsonby in that of the Commons, without any sanction or even suspicion on the part of either the clergy or people of this country.

The alarm which the intelligence of this unexpected movement had circulated throughout Ireland became as awful as it was general; among the clergy of the second order a veto, in any shape, was emphatically denounced; by the laity it was indignantly reprobated. In the meantime the prelates of the kingdom assembled in Dublin on the 14th of September, 1808, and, after a full and fair investigation of the [illegible], adopted a resolution of which the subjoined is a copy:—

"It is the decided opinion of the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland, that it is inexpedient to introduce any alteration in the canonical mode hitherto observed in the nomination of the Irish Roman Catholic bishops, which mode long experience has proved to be unexceptionable, wise, and salutary."†

To the learned patriotic bishops of Ossory and Cloyne, Doctors Lanigan and Coppinger, the honour of this memorable resolution is to be chiefly attributed, in co-operation with whom must be ranked that zealous, eloquent, and enlightened prelate, Doctor Florence MacCarthy, coadjutor bishop of Cork. Twenty-three of the prelates affixed their signatures to it; only three expressed their dissent.

Although this solemn declaration of the Irish hierarchy ought to have been sufficient to silence the clamour of the vetoists, nevertheless they persevered in their system with as much confidence as if they themselves had been the regularly authorized guardians of church-discipline. Any attempt at enlisting the services of the people in their behalf by an open and fair line of proceeding, would be worse than

bishop of Breslau, and dated the 15th of May, 1718; in it the pontiff expresses himself: "In the whole history of the Church [illegible] a single example of allowing the appointment of a Catholic bishop or abbot [illegible] a sovereign of another religion." He adds, moreover, "That he would not and could not introduce an example which would scandalize the whole Catholic world, and that besides the dreadful judgment inflicted on him in the next world, he would render his name odious and accursed during life, and much more so after his death."—See letter from the Secretary of Propaganda to Doctor Concanen, dated in 1805.

* Doctor Milner's "Elucidation of the Veto," p. 9; London, 1810.

† See Resolutions of R.C. prelates, 14th Sept., 1808, *Dublin Chronicle*.

visionary; recourse is therefore had to one of those forlorn expedients which are generally to be found in the recesses of dark intrigue, and are at all times the unerring index of a tottering cause. Under pretence of complimenting lord Fingall for his late conduct in London, they prepared an address, intending to have it circulated through the country for signatures. At that time the city of Kilkenny, in consequence of its celebrated theatricals, presented an overflowing concourse of Irish and English aristocracy; thither, therefore, as an introductory experiment, the address was first forwarded; it was afterwards to be submitted to the several counties of the kingdom. The honest citizens of Kilkenny were, however, too enlightened and too spirited to suffer themselves to be imposed upon: they assembled in thousands, denounced the document as an impudent intrusion on the rights of their hierarchy, and under the guidance of their venerable and truly zealous dean, the Very Rev. Richard O'Donnell, they drew up a counter-address,* to be directed to the bishops who had attended the synod in Dublin. A declaration embracing the substance of this counter-address having been exhibited to the county, received at once forty thousand signatures: fifty individuals signed the aristocratic document, of which number forty-six immediately after repented of their rashness and publicly retracted.

This discomfiture, accompanied by a similar occurrence in the county of Louth, served to give the fatal blow to vetoism throughout the country. A meeting of nine gentlemen having taken place at Rokeby Hall, in that county, the seat of lord Southwell, they thought proper to address a letter to the archbishop of Armagh, supposing that his abjuration of the veto had proceeded from existing circumstances. The authors of this correspondence appear to have been altogether unmindful of that high spirit of independence for which this country had

* This counter-address is thus expressed: "We, the Catholic inhabitants of the city and county of Kilkenny, deem it expedient, in duty and in gratitude, to make you the sincere offer of our thanks, which we accompany with the feelings of our hearts, no less than with the assent of our judgment. In your temperate yet firm disapproval of any innovation in the mode of perpetuating that divine hierarchy which (covered with glories won out of a rude and lingering struggle) we look up to as the last undestroyed monument of our faith and ancient national grandeur, we solemnly recognize the succession of those virtues by which your sainted predecessors were ennobled; and in your steadiness we as solemnly anticipate the unimpaired transmission of these virtues to future times. We hope that Catholic Ireland has but one voice and one opinion on this momentous national question. Signed for the Catholic inhabitants of the city and county of Kilkenny: Richard O'Donnell, R.C. dean of Ossory."

been so properly characterized: the inhabitants assembled at Dundalk, resolutions were passed condemnatory of all vetoistical arrangements, and upwards of five thousand sanctioned them by their signatures.

While the hated measures of vetoistical arrangements had been thus condemned by the prelates and people of Ireland, and its cause held up to public execration by the press,* it

* Among the many able productions which at this time appeared against vetoism, the most powerful and convincing were, perhaps, those which proceeded from the pen of Mr. Clinch. This highly-gifted man, as has been already noticed, was for many years an eminent professor of rhetoric in the college of Maynooth. When that establishment was about being opened, the president, Doctor Hussey, visited London for the purpose of making a selection of professors from among the host of learned French refugees, and other distinguished continental scholars, with whom that metropolis then abounded. With the abilities of Mr. Clinch, who was then a young man, Doctor Hussey had been already well acquainted; however, he deemed it advisable to have him examined, and accordingly had him introduced to that accomplished and ardent patron of literature, Edmund Burke. The questions which Mr. Burke had on this occasion thought proper to propose, were all stated in writing, and they were answered by Clinch in a style so masterly and brilliant, that the statesman, as a token of his decided approbation, presented him with a splendid quarto edition of Horace, taken from his own library. In it he wrote these words: "Edmund Burke presents this book to James Bernard Clinch in admiration of his talents." Mr. Burke, at the same time, addressed a letter to an influential dignitary of the castle, in recommendation of Mr. Clinch, by which means he could have obtained an important public situation, provided he would consent to take the requisite oath, but this he declined.

His admirable pamphlet on the veto was published before the memorable episcopal meeting of 1808. In the introduction, the author alludes to the veto-offer made by the ten bishops in 1799, and extenuates their acts with much feeling and candour: at the same time, he exhorts the prelates then about to assemble, to cancel the proceedings of that period, and adopt the glorious example of their episcopal predecessors in the Church of Ireland. Of those ancient Irish bishops, he thus writes: "It must be remembered, notwithstanding, that we owe much to Catholic episcopacy in Ireland. It is to the constancy, zeal, and laborious devotion to their sacred calling of Irish bishops, we are indebted for the present increase of the Catholic name, which, eradicated by the axe of law, from year to year, derived growth and vigour from perpetual wounds, and at this day overspreads the soil like an unmeasurable ruin. Selected from the priesthood, not by the profane reconnoitering of court intrigue, but by the hallowed test of venerable life—marked out for peculiar severity and disgrace, by the laws—presented by grand juries as infamous men—contemning safety—disdained by power—those ancient prelates confined their ambition to their apostleship, and addressed their labours to them on whom the Gospel was first expressly bestowed—to the poor, to the prisoner, to the weeping. Nor were the poor ungrateful for the heaven comforts. From beggarly means, and rich swelling hearts, come in return, and a place of refuge, and a love approaching Those humble evangelists have passed away, crowned with sufferings, works, and glorious infamy, and I repose upon their intercession, now that they are consummated spirits, in hope that their successors will not fall by the dissembling warfare of any power, such as formerly marked them out for proscription, and that on the eve of our deliverance, when the palsied knee should be braced, and the faint heart should be resolute, they will not suffer that light to go out offensively, which burned and gleamed in the tempestuous night of a long

became a favourite topic with the leading members of the English Catholic Board. This self-important body, in their anxiety to acquire the restoration of their rights, appear to have been utterly regardless of the means which they ought to employ: the measure of a veto met at once their acquiescence, but when brought to the conflict, they were too in-

captivity, as *the lamp of prophecy before the morning star*, and as a beacon to the troubled and sinking faith of nations." This pamphlet on the veto, which may be justly styled a masterpiece of profound reasoning and deep philosophy, concludes with these soul-stirring words: "Thus I conclude. The subject is fertile of meditation. As a Roman Catholic, as an enemy to arbitrary power, as an Irishman, as a subject, I protest against this right of appointment, as proposed by martial invitation, acceded to by desolate men, insulting to our truth, unconstitutional, scandalous, and the germ of endless civil war. I solicit no contradiction. I wish for none. I fear none. Let him, however, who will meet me, bring motives as disinterested, and sorrow as true as mine. For I have seen Ireland a kingdom. That kingdom was sold. I see Ireland still the first of Catholic Churches. This Church shall not be sold, nor transported, nor die. It is the inheritance of their children, who died to save it."

This zealous and truly learned man continued through life his most active exertions against the hated measure of vetoism. Under the signature of *Detector*, he published many admirable letters on the subject, in which he had occasional controversy with the celebrated Doctor Milner, whom he endeavoured to recall from his vetoistical propensities. That highly-gifted prelate, at length withdrew from the unholy warfare, on which occasion Mr. Clinch thus addressed him, in the language of thanks and congratulation: "You have done, my lord, a thing which atones to *us* for all the past, and in a manner worthy of us and of *you*. You stand *alone* in England at this moment, a Catholic and a bishop; and you have stood it out alone *for Ireland* and for Christ. You have, my lord, at last discovered what *Detector* told you in the year 1808, and what we had known for nine years before, that the scheme of Pitt was to Protestantize the Catholics, by making a prudent use, as Cecil expressed it in his plan to queen Elizabeth, of the statutes of præmunire. Therefore, do I welcome your name, which I always loved, to this hospitable country, which never forgets a benefit."

Some years afterwards, Mr. Clinch employed his powerful talents in the completion of a truly learned work "On Church Government." Of this work, Doctor Milner, in a letter addressed to the Most Rev. Doctor Troy, testifies "that it would do honour to the most learned canonist in the most learned age of the Church, but in the present age, it was a prodigy; that the author went to the bottom of the well in search of truth, and brought that precious treasure out of it." In the last pages of this work, Mr Clinch found occasion to give an epitome of vetoism, and again extenuates the conduct of the ten bishops in 1799. Alluding to the vote of thanks passed by the prelates of Ireland to Doctor Milner, for his firmness in resisting the notorious vetoistical fifth English resolution, he observes: "Doctor Milner resisted the pledge (or English vetoistical resolution), on two grounds. He asked, that the determination of the Irish prelates, with regard to the *extensive and complex arrangements*, should be waited for: again, he considered a lay assembly incompetent to stake the *Catholic* system for an undefined change of *Catholic* usage. Unluckily, the place and time were ill suited to his exertions. In the *Œcumenical Council* of the love feast, where solid gaiety, and harmony and vocal music presided, it was scarce to be hoped that arguments of a religious savour would go down. The bishop was not in unison with the symphonious liberality of the instruments, brandished by his lay-brother doctors of the Church. He was invited to *sit down* while pleading. He persisted: he stood

significant to be able to withstand the overwhelming power of Catholic opinion which had been arrayed against them. In the meantime, the advocates of emancipation in both houses of Parliament, at length disclosed their real sentiments: not content with a restricted veto, they insisted on the propriety of vesting in the crown an unlimited control in the future election of Catholic bishops. This avowal, coupled with the conduct of the Catholic Board in England, served to exhibit the whole scheme in its full deformity; it created a general disgust even among those who had for some time been enthusiastic admirers of the measure; many of them retracted and became proselytes to anti-vetoism, among whom the learned vicar-apostolic of the midland district, Doctor Milner, stood pre-eminently conspicuous.* The draft of an extraordinary Catholic bill, prepared at this time by Sir John Cox Hippesley, was in itself a convincing proof, that the dissolution of this ill-fated measure could not be retarded by political quackery—that its doom was fixed. He prescribed that on every vacancy a list of names, not less than four, nor exceeding eight, should be submitted to the chief secretary, to be by him laid before his majesty's government; while the remaining part of the machinery was carefully modelled from the original of 1799. In consequence, however, of an expected change of ministry, which continental reverses had at this time rendered probable, the opposition thought proper to steer another course, and the motion was accordingly abandoned.

While Ireland had been thus agitated, scenes of another kind were passing in awful succession on the great continent of Europe. The destinies of the universe seemed to hang on the victorious career of Napoleon: nations were revolutionized; emperors, kings, and statesmen felt the shock; sacrilege moved in rapid strides with despotism, while on the 16th of July,

alone—he stood it out alone. However, the Catholic bishops in Ireland, considering that he had acted and suffered for them, as well as for the rights of the Christian Church, thought it just to efface the slight, which their colleague had experienced, by a deliberate testimony of honour: they *thanked his apostolical firmness* in resisting the dangerous pledge. By this vote they recorded in their annals the name of MILNER along with their own constancy. They blessed a shamrock-wreath, and hung it around his trophies. "It does not fall—its *Catholic* green does not fade." This work on Church government, was lauded by the Irish prelates in their national synod, while the merits of its author were immortalized by a solemn vote of thanks. Shortly before his death, Mr. Clinch published a small pamphlet on the "Late Agitation," in which he triumphantly alludes to his *former victory* during the veto contest. Thus, from the first to the last, did this great man persevere in his attachment and unabated zeal for the glory and independence of the Church of Ireland.

* Doctor Milner's Letters to the Catholic Public; Lon

1809, Pius VII., the venerable father of the faithful, was seized in his palace and hurried into a French dungeon.

Notwithstanding the repeated sentiments of the prelates, clergy, and people of Ireland, on the measure of a veto, singular as the fact may appear, it still continued to be advocated. A letter received by the earl of Fingall from lord Grenville, in January, 1810, was the signal of an approaching attack, and once more awakened the public feeling. The prelates assembled in Dublin on the 24th of the following month: they declare their adherence to the resolutions of 1808; adding, "that the oath of allegiance which they had already taken was in itself a most adequate security. Moreover, that they neither sought nor desired any other earthly consideration for their spiritual ministry, save what their flocks might, from a sense of religion and duty, voluntarily afford them." On this occasion, likewise, they passed a merited vote of thanks to their agent, the Right Rev. Dr. Milner, for his late apostolical firmness in dissenting from and opposing the destructive system of vetoistical arrangements. The substance of these resolutions was embodied in an address directed to the Catholic clergy and people of Ireland, and was received with great applause at various public meetings convened about this time in Dublin, Kilkenny, and other places. In this address the prelates also pledge themselves to reject all briefs, bulls, or rescripts coming from Rome, until it shall be ascertained that his holiness is restored to the full exercise of his liberty. A subsequent address, published in 1813, ought to have convinced the advocates of vetoism, that in attempting to dislodge the Irish nation from the conscientious and firm ground on which they now stood, they had just as little chance of success, as the schismatics of the sixteenth century had in contending with the Catholics of Ireland at that period. For the purpose of removing those disqualifications under which the Catholics of these kingdoms had laboured, a bill was at this time introduced into parliament, while a veto, as usual, became the principal ingredient in the various clauses with which it abounded. This it was which elicited the solemn, decisive, and triumphant declaration of the Irish prelates: they denounce these clauses or securities as utterly incompatible with the discipline of the Catholic Church; and whereas the indispensable concurrence of the pope, who was then a captive, could not be obtained, they declare it impossible for them to accede to any such material alteration in church-discipline without incurring the guilt of schism.

Hitherto the weapons employed in this protracted warfare

had been collected from internal national resources, and were found unserviceable: the introduction of a document from Rome, in 1814, although in itself a mere indigested experiment, became the signal of a new system of attack. The venerable head of the Church had been still a captive, while the duties of vice-prefect of Propaganda devolved on Monsignor Quarantotti, now in the decline of life, and consequently less competent to encounter the difficulties of a dark and complicated piece of intrigue. By means of the Right Rev. Doctor Poynter, vicar-apostolic of the London district, and through the agency of the Rev. Doctor MacPherson, then rector of the English college in Rome, the aged and weak-minded Quarantotti consented to take a prominent part in the plot of vetoism: he caused an instrument in favour of that measure to be executed at Rome, and had it transmitted to Doctor Poynter, with directions to have it communicated to all the bishops and vicars-apostolic of the British empire. It has been already observed that the Irish prelates had, in their address of 1810, entered their solemn protest against the reception of any official documents coming from Rome, until such time as the supreme pastor of the Church might be restored to the full exercise of his liberty. With such a declaration placed on record, and still fresh in the recollection of the public, it is not easy to determine what object the authors of the rescript could have proposed, unless that of involving the hierarchy of Ireland in new difficulties, and of creating a general uproar throughout the country. At all events, that such was the result, the experience of a few months sufficiently attested.

The rescript of M. Quarantotti,* immediately on its publication, in May, 1814, was received by the Catholics of Ireland, lay and ecclesiastical, with feelings of the most marked contempt and abhorrence; the sensation which it evoked throughout the country was, in many respects, unprecedented. In the meantime, the letters of many of the Irish prelates in reply to Doctor Poynter's communication, written as they had been in a style of fearless and honest indignation, afforded a sufficient guarantee for the security of religion, and tended in a great measure to allay the ferment of the public mind. Among the clergy of the second order, if a few solitary exceptions may be allowed, there was but one sentiment: the rescript of Monsignor Quarantotti was alike reprobated throughout every diocese; that public expression should be given to this feeling, was denied by none, yet it was evident that some section of

* For this rescript see appendix iii.

the clergy should commence and set the example. During this brief suspense, the priests of the archdiocese of Dublin, with an intrepidity which does them eternal honour, were the first to come forward and meet the national expectation, by the announcement of a public meeting. This meeting took place in Bridge-street Chapel, on the 12th of May, 1814, Doctor Blake, then parish priest of SS. Michael and John's, presiding as chairman. That same spirit of uncompromising independence which had brought them together, may be traced in every sentence of the resolutions adopted on this memorable occasion. They denounced the rescript signed Quarantotti, as *non-obligatory*: they considered the concession of vetoistical arrangements in any shape, not only inexpedient, but, moreover, under existing circumstances, highly detrimental to the best and dearest interests of religion, and finally, they called on the Catholic clergy and laity of Ireland, to unite with them in an earnest entreaty, that the prelates of the kingdom would, without delay, remonstrate against this document, and at the same time represent to his holiness, now reinstated at Rome, the tremendous evils which would inevitably flow from its adoption.* The resolutions of the clergy of Dublin became the subject of universal panegyrism: the noble example which they had set, was immediately embraced throughout the respective dioceses of the kingdom.

In the meeting of the prelates, which was convened at Maynooth on the 27th of the same month, the fate of Quarantotti's rescript was decided; they considered it as not mandatory, and resolved that, for the purpose of opening a communication with the Holy See, two prelates shall be forthwith deputed to proceed to Rome, and submit to the chief pastor their unanimous and well-known sentiments on the subject.† This resolution was followed up by the appointment or the Most Rev. Doctor Murray and the Right Rev. Doctor Milner, as delegates to the Holy See. In the meantime the excitement created by the rescript of Monsignor Quarantotti continued furious and alarming; after a period it died away, while the document itself has been preserved merely as a memento of the intrigue, impotence, and folly of vetoism.

Such had been the posture of affairs both in this country and in England, when the fortunes of Napoleon underwent an unexpected revolution. In March, 1815, Buonaparte sailed from the isle of Elba to re-ascend the throne of France, while

* See resolutions of Dublin clergy in *Dublin Chronicle*.
† See resolutions of the prelates; *Freeman's Journal*, 1814.

Murat, king of Naples, at the head of ninety thousand men, undertook to revolutionize Italy in support of his former benefactor, and by forced marches led his army to the gates of Rome. In the meantime his holiness, accompanied by the whole court, quits the city, and having rested for a day at Viterbo, he directs his route into Tuscany. This state, however, being at all times defenceless, and withal powerless when contrasted with the forces of Murat, his sacred person is not yet considered to be placed in perfect security. He accordingly ascends the Appennines, and with their eminences enters Genoa, where an English garrison protected him from a *coup de main*, and an English fleet secured him a retreat by sea. Meanwhile the panic which had made its way through the nations became progressively alarming, and while the allies poured their myriads along the Alps and the Rhine, Napoleon was mustering his legions, and from the Camp de Mai proclaimed his bold determination to lead France to the new and general conquest of Europe.

It was during this period of universal terror, and while Pius VII. had been under the protection of the English at Genoa, that the vetoists recommenced their hitherto unsuccessful intrigues, and after repeated solicitations obtained, on the 26th of April, a letter from his holiness in reference to the long-desired interference of the British government in the nomination of Catholic prelates for Ireland. In the procuration of this document, which as we shall presently see was merely of a permissive nature and by no means mandatory, the English cabinet, besides the critical contingencies of place and time, had also recourse to the agency of individuals who were already virtually at its service, and whose pliant servility to foreign courts was equalled only by the extensive influence which they possessed over the generous mind of their unsuspecting master. Fontana, whom Pius VII. on his departure from Rome had brought with him as his private theologian, and Cardinal Gonsalvi, then secretary of state, were the mediums through which this instrument had passed into the hands of the British minister; the three copies which had been respectively addressed to Doctors Poynter, Milner, and Troy, were forwarded under the directions and signature of the prefect of Propaganda, cardinal Litta. The letter itself was penned and executed by Fontana; but it had, in the first instance, been obtained from the pontiff at the urgent persuasive suggestions of the state secretary, cardinal Gonsalvi. Before, however, this very interesting document shall be presented to the attention of the reader, the history of this able and celebrated

statesman must, at least in an abridged manner, be previously introduced.

Born at Rome of an ancient family, originally of Urbino, his eminence Gonsalvi had entered young into the diocesan seminary of Frascati; Henry cardinal duke of York, brother to the young Pretender, being then bishop of that see. The young Gonsalvi, now in deacon's orders, found means of securing the patronage of this influential cardinal, through whose interest he soon after obtained the prelate's cloak, and became Auditore di Rota, or one of the judges who preside in the court of civil appeal. Pope Pius VI. had, in 1798, been carried away prisoner to France, while the sacred college was dispersed by the immediate orders of the French directory. Upon this occasion Monsignor Gonsalvi followed the fortunes of his patron, who, deprived of all his revenues, obtained from his Britannic majesty a considerable annuity; thus renouncing the accredited independence which he had hitherto enjoyed, together with all his family pretensions to the crown of England. On the death of Pius VI., the sacred college assembled at Venice. His eminence of York having, by reason of his age and infirmity, been prevented from attending, Gonsalvi was sent and commissioned to act as his proxy—a circumstance which enabled him to unfold the vast resources of his genius, and to which his future exalted fortunes through life may be mainly attributed. During the four months that the conclave lasted, the agent Gonsalvi displayed extraordinary talent for business, particularly in whatever regarded the communications with foreign courts. In March, 1800, he was advanced to the office of secretary, and presented with the portfolio of state.

At this critical period it was that his holiness Pius VII. had proceeded to Rome, which city the victories of the Russian general Suwarrow had forced the French to evacuate. The battle of Marengo, however, soon changed the fortune of war, while the re-establishment of religion in France became the first object of the Holy See—an event which necessarily pre-supposed the concurrence of Buonaparte in all the views, religious and political, of the Roman court. Gonsalvi, lately decorated with the purple, undertook the arduous enterprise, from which cardinals of more age and experience shrunk with despondency. After a series of fruitless negociations, the apprehensions of every experienced man are realized; the eyes of the minister Gonsalvi are opened, and all his calculations vanish into air. On the 6th of July, 1809, the venerable Pius VII. was forced into captivity, while the

inflexible uncompromising firmness displayed by the confessor of Christ in his prison, saved from schism and ruin all the churches, as well as the ecclesiastical privileges of the French nation. The political results of his holiness' fortitude were not less conspicuous. An universal sympathy almost instantaneously pervaded Europe: those courts and nations which had hitherto looked on with indifference, became now the admirers of the holy father; every arm is raised against his unfeeling gaoler; his councils are struck by Heaven with folly; his legions are buried in the Russian snows; his friends desert him; his enemies conquer him, and that feeling of nations which Providence in its own time had evoked, precipitates the vanquisher from his throne, and restores the venerable pontiff triumphant to his dominions.

On the return of Pius VII. to Rome, Gonsalvi was reinstated, and accordingly entered once more on the exercise of his former ministerial functions. His negociations with Austria and Murat, not coming within the scope of this work, shall accordingly be passed over; certain it is that he proceeded to the congress at Vienna, with a view of effecting their ratification. His eminence, however, previously visited London, where it is supposed he received his first elementary lesson on vetoism. The alarm which the decree of Monsignor Quarantotti had created, was still fresh in the public mind, and prompted several individuals of prudence and experience to offer their advice to the secretary. Doctor Moylan, bishop of Cork, being then in England, made it his business to wait on the cardinal; he cautioned him against being a party to any such system of interference: on which occasion the secretary replied that the measure was as decidedly reprobated by himself and by the court of Rome as it had been by the Irish nation. In France, also, Mr. Francis Plowden placed in the cardinal's hands sixty pages of a manuscript, which he had drawn up for the express purpose of enlightening his mind on the subject; nevertheless, it is said that soon after his arrival at congress, he applied to Rome for full power to settle the point definitely with the English minister, lord Castlereagh. Doctors Murray and [illegible] being then at the Holy See, and having rendered the authorities there more cautious than Quarantotti had been, the powers sent to Gonsalvi were only *ad referendum*, that is, that he might confer on the matter with the British plenipotentiary, but should come to no definite arrangement without first referring it to his holiness. Whatever may have been the nature of the private compact which his eminence had

entered into during the sitting of that congress, it was at all events generally suspected that he did on that occasion pledge himself to the views of the British cabinet.

The reception which his eminence met with on his return to Rome was most flattering; he is considered by men of every order as the great liberator of the ecclesiastical states, and in the *allocutio* or speech from the throne pronounced by the pope before the full consistory of cardinals, on the 4th of September, 1815, he is emphatically styled "the most meritorious son that had ever served the Holy See." In the meantime the minister, having re-assumed the reins of government, set about amending many of the arrangements which had been projected by the provisional administration during his absence. Besides the various venerable congregations, those of Propaganda, the Council, the Holy Office and Immunity, which had from time immemorial administered the respective departments into which the multiplicity of church affairs, foreign and domestic, are divided, the secretary erects a new tribunal, to which he gave the general title of "A Congregation of Ecclesiastical Affairs." This judicial court, so memorable for its connexion with the affairs of Ireland at a subsequent period, had been got up for the avowed purpose of guiding the secretary of state in those matters of religion upon which he may have communications from the ambassadors of foreign powers.

Such was the lofty and difficult position to which this undoubtedly first of statesmen had been elevated, when Napoleon broke from Elba, and gave a new as well as an unexpected turn to the destinies of Europe. This was the crisis when the great disposers of kingdoms at Vienna received their first public lecture on the futility of human speculations; their dictation was soon proved to be visionary, and instead of planning the distribution of nations, they had now to collect their troops, and endeavour to stop the career of their mighty and formidable antagonist. Pius VII., as has been already noticed, arrived at Genoa, where his sacred person found a place of security under the protection of an English fleet. From this city, also, a document connected with vetoistical arrangements had been issued, bearing date the 26th of April, 1815, and [illegible] under the signature of cardinal Litta, prefect of the Propaganda, to Doctors Poynter, Milner, and Troy.* With respect to this letter, which soon after created such an unusual ferment throughout the country, two principal points are to be

* For this Genoese document see appendix iv.

considered: first, the nature of the document itself; and secondly, the agency by which it had been obtained. It will appear evident from the very tenor of the letter, that it was by no means mandatory, that it was merely *permissive*, and that even this permission had been expressed under certain conditions. It states that when complete emancipation is granted, when all oaths hitherto proposed are laid aside and replaced by one of the three forms mentioned in the letter, and when government renounces its demand for the revision of rescripts, denominated "Regium Exequatur," that then his holiness will not have a difficulty *to permit* an interference of the British government in the nomination of bishops for the Church of Ireland. The agency employed in procuring this official paper, was even at that period very far from being a mystery. Lord Bentinck, who then acted as British ambassador, frankly acknowledged to have used all his influence on this occasion, while it is equally certain that Dr. Poynter had contributed to advance the measure. This letter was addressed to the above-named prelates, under the signature of cardinal Litta; nevertheless, it is put fair to put on record the publicly-avowed declaration of this most upright and venerable prefect. "In Genoa (he observes), I said and repeated to the pope, to his advisers, and to all, *do not execute this letter*, meddle not in any shape with this matter; but my admonition was fruitless; and against my own decided private opinion I affixed my signature thereto."*

This letter, important as it must have been under the existing state of affairs, was, nevertheless, from motives which it is not difficult to conjecture, carefully concealed from the public eye. At length, after the lapse of three months, and towards the end of July, 1815, it began to be whispered abroad that vetoism had obtained a triumph, and that the holy father had been deceived into some concession favourable to the views of the British government. This rumour, at first vague and little credited, was soon after confirmed by the following extract of a letter from Rome, which appeared in the *Cork Mercantile Chronicle* of the 2nd August. "The pope in Genoa consented to the veto—Doctor Poynter was for it: Doctor Milner against it; but the number of English Catholi- who came here last winter persuaded his holiness; so Doctor Poynter went contented from the pope." As soon as this announcement had appeared, the most unexampled ferment pervaded all classes of society. That some official docum-nt

* MS. papers of Rev. R. Hayes.

on the subject of arrangements had reached this country was now, unquestionably, ascertained, and as people who are naturally open and ingenuous themselves, generally suspect the worst when they are not treated with equal candour by others, so the Irish Catholics concluded that this letter, which they were not allowed to see, had decisively lodged in the hands of the government that destructive authority which they had so long and so fearfully dreaded. Accordingly, the independent press teemed with productions against the hated measure; the Catholic Association met and summoned an aggregate meeting; the clergy addressed their prelates already assembled in Dublin; the laity waited on them by deputation, while the vetoists, whether masked or avowed, could set no limits to their exultation, and that vetoism might want nothing to render it as ludicrous as it was criminal, the no-popery yellers cordially enlisted under its kindred banners, and commenced in the press and elsewhere a furious crusade against the Catholics in support of the pope's infallibility.

In the midst of this scene of uproar and universal confusion, the Catholic bishops of Ireland assembled at Dublin in national synod, on the 23rd of August. The prelates, by the resolutions adopted in this synod, proved themselves to be the fearless and faithful guardians of the religion of their country. They pronounced every, the least, interference of the crown, direct or indirect, in the appointment of bishops for the Catholic Church in Ireland, *essentially injurious, and eventually destructive to the Roman Catholic religion in this country;* declaring themselves bound, by all canonical and constitutional means in their power, for ever to deprecate and oppose it.* This decision of the prelates was received by the clergy and people of Ireland with every mark of enthusiasm; encomiums commensurate with its merits had been passed on it by some of the first writers of the day; "it deserves (says Dr. Milner) to be engraven in characters of gold on a national pillar, as a monument to the universe, that Ireland is still Catholic." The prelates followed up their declaration by their deeds; an episcopal deputation, composed of two bishops, the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, coadjutor bishop of Dublin, and the Right Rev. Dr. Murphy, bishop of Cork, with the Very Rev. Dr. Blake, archdeacon of the metropolis, were directed to proceed with a remonstrance to Rome, and sailed in a few days.

That the resolutions of the prelates might be placed on a still more permanent record, and be supported by the whole

* See resolutions of the prelates, *Freeman's Journal.*

weight of the nation, an aggregate meeting of the Catholics of Ireland was held on the 29th of the same month, in Clarendon-street Chapel, at which Sir Thomas Esmonde, Bart. presided. In this meeting, the Catholic laity renew their expression of esteem for and gratitude to their venerable hierarchy, for the firm, manly, and decided manner in which they had reprobated every measure giving to the crown any control whatever over the appointment of bishops in this country; declaring, at the same time, that such measure must necessarily tend to destroy religion, and also materially injure the civil rights and liberties of the people of Ireland of all classes and denominations. As the clerical deputation had been already appointed, and was now ready to proceed to Rome, the meeting came to an unanimous determination of adopting a similar line of proceeding. Accordingly a remonstrance, in concurrence with that of the prelates, was ordered to be prepared, and a resolution was passed appointing the deputation. It consisted of Sir Thomas Esmonde, Bart., and Owen O'Conor, Esq., and to these delegates was joined, as their secretary, a man of tried integrity and intimately acquainted with the language and customs of the Roman court, the Rev. Richard Hayes.*

This disinterested patriot and learned man (who, in the discharge of this mission, made a sacrifice of his health and, it may be said, of his life on the altar of his country) was descended of a respectable family, and was born in the town of Wexford, on the 20th of January, 1788. Possessed of those extraordinary gifts which Nature distributes with so sparing a hand, and filled with a love for the ecclesiastical state, he resolved to retire to the continent, where now, as well as in ages past, the Irish student was sure to meet a friendly reception. Accordingly, in the 14th year of his age, he proceeded to Rome, where, having attached himself to the college of St. Isidore, he attained the object of his wishes, and made his solemn profession in the church of that convent, as a member of the Franciscan institute. The ardour with which he now entered on the course of his ecclesiastical studies, was commensurate with the extent of his powerful talents. To a knowledge of the Greek and Latin classics, which he had acquired in his native country, he added an intimate acquaintance with the Hebrew and the southern languages of Europe; this literary treasure he carefully enriched by becoming a perfect master of mathematics in all

* Resolutions in *Evening Post*, 1815.

its most sublime and intricate branches. Having devoted eight years to the study of the Scriptures, of church history, and of canon law, under one of the most learned consulters of the holy office, he returned to his native country, in August, 1811, a period, when, from the confusion of war and of military licentiousness, such a journey, as may be presumed, had been extremely hazardous.

The Rev. Richard Hayes was in Cork, attached to his convent, when, on Friday, the 1st of September, he received a letter from Mr. Hay, enclosing the resolutions which have been already noticed. The invitation, although flattering, was evidently the forerunner of a difficult and perilous task; nevertheless, Father Hayes responded to the call of his country, and arrived in Dublin two days after he had received the resolutions from the secretary of the association. In the meantime Sir Thomas Esmonde and Owen O'Conor having declined the journey to Rome, Mr. O'Connell read to the association a letter from the former, proposing Dr. Dromgole, then in Italy, in his stead. This proposal not having been attended to, the plan of a deputation was on the point of being abandoned, but the danger arising from vetoism becoming more alarming, the remonstrance to his holiness was at length drawn up, approved of, and placed in the hands of Father Hayes, thereby appointing him the publicly authorized delegate of the Catholics of Ireland to the Holy See. He accordingly proceeded on his journey, observing to his friends, that difficulties and dangers he set at defiance; for, said he, "while Ireland hates the veto, she will support me in spite of all intrigue, if I serve her with integrity." At London he obtained a passport from the French ambassador, and after some delay in France, then occupied by foreign troops, and a journey of five weeks, he reached Rome, on the 25th of October, two days after the arrival of the episcopal deputies.

A negociation such as that which, through their respective representatives, the prelates and people of Ireland were now going to commence at the Holy See, did by no means offer the most flattering prospects of success. The objects of this important mission, as contained in the resolutions and remonstrances of the prelates, priests, and people were, in the first place, to supplicate his holiness not to permit the British government to interfere in the regulation of their ecclesiastical concerns; secondly, to remove the pretext of such interference, by the enactment of a system of church government, exclusively domestic; and thirdly, to protest on both religious and political gounds against the said interference, and to state that

the bishops, clergy, and Catholics of Ireland, would oppose it by all canonical and constitutional means, as being essentially injurious and eventually destructive, not only to their religion but also to their civil liberty.

The episcopal deputation had, immediately on their arrival in Rome, deemed it advisable to wait on his eminence cardinal Gonsalvi, the secretary of state; they were received by this minister with peculiar marks of attention, explained to him the object and tendency of their mission, and soon after obtained their introductory audience with his holiness. In this first interview, their papers, including the resolutions and remonstrance of the Irish prelates, were regularly submitted to the holy father; but they were directed to refer them for further consideration to the minister of state, by which means they were accordingly detached from the cognizance of the Propaganda, and placed in the hands of cardinal Gonsalvi. On the 9th of November, Father Hayes, through the agency of cardinal Litta and the general of his order, was admitted to his first audience with the sovereign pontiff. Conceiving that the Propaganda was the regular legitimate tribunal for the investigation of an ecclesiastical subject, such as this had been, he was at first pre-determined not to allow the documents with which he had been intrusted to pass into any other channel. His holiness, however, was pleased to assure him, that the question, important as it was, should be referred for discussion to a congregation of cardinals, that the prefect of Propaganda should be consulted, and that his own peculiar care and inspection should not be wanting. Accordingly the papers of the lay deputation were, together with those of the prelates, referred to the secretary, cardinal Gonsalvi.

In the meantime a task of no inferior responsibility remained to be executed. A vetoistical faction in Rome, composed of Irish and English, had already poisoned the public mind, and produced unfavourable impressions even on many of the cardinals, by the circulation of the most unfounded misrepresentations; the calumnies of Sir John Cox Hippesley, and other political dabblers in ecclesiastical affairs, formed no inconsiderable part of the machinery, while the whole frame-work of the system was artfully kept together by the powerful intrigues of the British cabinet. These attempts to intimidate the delegates, although defeated, were, nevertheless, renewed, through the assistance which at this time they had obtained from the vetoistical portion of the Irish press. Among other publications, some numbers of *Carrick's Morning Post* had been transmitted to Rome, containing a furious para-

graph, in which the delegation and remonstrance of the laity had been called in question, and representing both as emanating not from the nation, but from an unauthorized junta of a few turbulent hot-headed individuals in Dublin. This statement, however, was but a mere assertion, and besides being anonymous, was clearly upset by other authentic documents; in the Propaganda, and particularly by cardinal Litta, it was discredited; Gonsalvi himself was at length constrained to admit the credentials, the remonstrance of the Irish people, and the authority of their representative.

During all this time the remonstrances, both lay and clerical, remained in the hands of the secretary, but no step was taken to bring the matter to a discussion: at length he consented to have the whole case submitted to the Tribunal for Ecclesiastical Affairs,—a proposal which, for various reasons, must have inspired the delegates with confidence. It removed the transaction considerably out of the hands of the minister of state; and although the business of this court had in a great measure been swayed by the influence of Gonsalvi, yet the delegates, resting on the merits of their cause, must have anticipated success in any ecclesiastical tribunal, especially in one where many of the authorities were men of discretion, weight, and experience. This mode of proceeding had, however, been scarcely determined upon, when cardinal Litta happened to be removed from the scene of affairs. A few days after he was appointed to proceed to Milan, as ambassador extraordinary on a congratulatory deputation to the emperor of Austria. However, before his departure he issued a formal notice to Fontana, secretary of the Tribunal for Ecclesiastical Affairs, and at the same time caused explanatory letters to be addressed to Doctors Troy, Poynter, and Milner, on the nature and tendency of the original Genoese document.

The absence of this amiable and impartial prelate was only the signal for further procrastination. Various conferences had been held with Gonsalvi, but no definite answer was returned; applications were made to Fontana and to the vice-prefect; these, however, declined interfering: at length it appeared evident to all competent judges, that the consequences of this postponement could be remedied only by removing the case altogether out of the hands of the political minister, and submitting it to the cognizance of the prefect of Propaganda, who, in fact, was the protector and regularly authorized guardian of the Irish Church. Accordingly, on the 22nd of December, Father Hayes obtained an audience with the holy father, on which occasion he presented, among other papers,

a memorial, praying that the discussion of the case might be referred to Propaganda, and at the same time entered a solemn protest against the interference of any state-officer in a question peculiarly connected with the religious concerns of a nation. This interview terminated with directions to hold these papers over until the return of cardinal Litta from Milan, to which the delegate respectfully submitted, leaving, in the meantime, the memorial and the protest against the minister in the hands of his holiness. About the same time the episcopal delegates had their second audience with the holy father; nevertheless, the examination of the measure with which they had been commissioned, appears to have made no progress whatever. More than three months had elapsed, and nothing was obtained but promises on the part of the secretary, and expectations that were far from being realized; even the project of submitting the case to the ministerial Tribunal for Ecclesiastical Affairs, appeared to have been abandoned. That no effort might be left untried, an immediate application was made to cardinal Doria, the vice-prefect of Propaganda; but this functionary refused to interfere, at the same time, recommending the applicant to await the return of cardinal Litta, and promising him his support.

Such had been the position of affairs when the prelates, on the 5th of January, demanded their passports, and prepared for their return to Ireland. On the following day their lordships received from the cardinal secretary an official document, which appears to have been industriously prepared, and was drawn up not by an ecclesiastical congregation, but, as had been supposed, by Monsignor Masio, the private secretary of Latin letters to his holiness. This instrument, so far from being a formal revocation of the Genoese letter (a point on which the delegates insisted), proved, on the contrary, to be a direct justification of that document; it contained, moreover, some unmerited remarks on the general proceedings of the episcopal body in Ireland. This letter, unsatisfactory as it was, could not be received. The prelates, on the 8th of January, returned it back to the minister, in consequence of the reasons already assigned, and, moreover, as it purported to [illegible] to the remonstrance of the hierarchy, but likewise [illegible] the laity. Their lordships immediately after had their final audience with his holiness, repeated their objections to the letter of his eminence the secretary, and took their leave. Father Hayes, on the following day, obtained his third audience with the holy father. This interview, which continued for three quarters of an hour, afforded the delegate an

opportunity of enlarging fully on every bearing of the subject. The holy father appeared deeply affected; he felt alarmed, too, lest the Catholics of Ireland might once more be subjected to persecution. "Holy father, (replied the delegate) we dread not persecution; but we dread your holiness's sanction of a measure which we must resist, as we would be thereby deprived of those sympathies of the Holy See, which have ever consoled us under the fierce trials we have endured for our attachment to the centre of unity." These and other observations made a deep impression on the mind of the sovereign pontiff, and he was pleased to promise that the business should be submitted to re-consideration.

The prelates having now proceeded on their journey to Ireland, Father Hayes deemed it most advisable to turn his attention to the all-important subject of domestic nomination, and which, under existing circumstances, seemed to be the only means of securing the Irish Church from the intrigues of foreign influence, and at the same time of inducing government to relinquish their demand for the veto. The pope, on his part, had no objection whatever to the measure, as he wished not to preserve any real or apparent influence in Ireland that might give umbrage to any party; while cardinal Litta, who had by this time returned from Milan, had frequently signified that the holy congregation entertained no views whatever of patronage, and sought only the advancement of merit, resting on proper recommendations with regard to the candidates. His eminence, although perfectly satisfied to patronize the measure, appeared, however, somewhat reluctant to enter on its immediate discussion. He observed that the cardinal secretary, Gonsalvi, had already forwarded the letter in a modified state, which had been so nobly rejected by the episcopal delegation; he accordingly judged it more prudent to leave the business untouched until it should be known what reception that document had met with from the prelates of Ireland. An excellent letter from the Right Rev. Doctor Coppinger, which reached the Roman capital at this period, served to give a fatal blow to the already detested spirit of vetoism. By the special directions of his holiness, this letter was placed in the hands of cardinal Litta.*

While the cause of vetoism was thus tottering in Rome, its overthrow was completed by means of an eloquent and powerful discourse delivered in Dublin by the Most Rev. Doctor

* MS. papers of the Rev. R. Hayes.

Murray, on the following Good Friday (1816). From the stand which, up to this period, had been made by the prelates, clergy, and people of Ireland against the measure of a veto, the effrontery of its advocates, and the whole train of their proceedings, would be altogether incredible, had we not the stern testimony of facts arranged in too clear a light before us. Even at this very crisis, no artifice was left untried to keep the machinery together: their meetings were generally convened in Eccles-street, and that their resolutions might appear palatable, and meet with a very favourable reception, they were always sure to be qualified and cautiously intermixed with a provisional declaration of obedience to the Holy See. This attempt to impose on the credulity of the public was, however, soon detected; the covering under which it lay concealed was happily removed on that memorable occasion, when Doctor Murray, in a strain of pathetic and irresistible eloquence so peculiar to himself, introduced the subject to the attention of an admiring auditory, and implored the misguided advocates of vetoism not to impose new and disgraceful bands on the mystical body of the Redeemer.* The effect produced by this appeal, coming from so exalted a character, cannot be well described; it made its way like a torrent, while the vetoists and the cause in which they embarked, were alike overwhelmed in the deep and power-

* The passage of the sermon alluded to is as follows: having arrived at that stage of the Redeemer's passion where he is represented as bound to a pillar, his grace observes: "To this bound and suffering Victim I would now implore the attention of those misguided Catholics who seem willing to impose new and disgraceful bands, not, indeed, on His sacred person, but on His mystical body, that is, His Church, which was ever more dear to Him than His personal liberty—more dear to Him than even His life. Does not St. Paul assure us (Eph. v. 26, 27), that for this mystical body *He delivered Himself up . . . that he might present unto Himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle . . . but that it should be holy and without blemish?* And could we suppose that it would be more painful to Him to submit His sacred hands to the ignominious cords, than to see this Church bound and fettered by restrictions, which would render it less capable of fulfilling the object for which it was formed, the object for which He poured out His most precious life? I know that our mistaken brethren would not consent to yield up any point which *they* deem essential, and that they look not beyond what *they* consider safe and honourable conciliation. But, unhappily, it is now too well known, that the conciliation which is expected is such as would imply the degradation and enslavement of the sacred ministry. And what virtuous Catholic would consent to purchase the chance of temporal advantages at the price of such a real spiritual calamity? Oh! if the stroke must come, let it come from those who have so long sought the extinction of our religion; but, in the name of God, let no Catholic press forward to share in the inglorious work. Let no one among us be found to say of his church, as the treacherous disciple said of its divine Founder: *what will you give me, and I will deliver him (it) unto you?*"—Mat. xxvi. 15.—*Dublin Chronicle* of 15th April, 1816.

ful flood of eloquence which now bore down so formidably upon them.

The affairs of the Church of Ireland, which had been hitherto so unaccountably obstructed, were from this time allowed to flow in their proper current; they were removed completely from the control of the Roman court, and placed under the management of the Holy See. This revolution was rendered still more successful by the arrival in Rome of the proceedings which took place in the synod of Kilkenny: they afforded another opportunity of introducing into Propaganda the system of domestic nomination; while his eminence the prefect was directed by the pope to inform the prelates of Ireland, that the Holy See would willingly establish that measure, provided a mode was proposed which would meet general satisfaction. Various systems had been suggested from various quarters; but to the prefect and to the congregation they appeared unsatisfactory. While the question, although admitted in principle, had been thus postponed, and was in imminent danger of being abandoned, Father Hayes undertook to propose a plan, which appeared calculated to reconcile all jarring interests, and which, with the exception of some minor details, met with the immediate approbation of the prefect. Agreeably to this plan, the parish priests, including the members of chapters, were to elect three candidates; the metropolitan and his suffragans should then place on record their opinions with respect to the merits of each, and finally the Propaganda should then institute upon their joint testimony. To this was superadded a distinct mode for the nomination of episcopal coadjutors. It ordained that the incumbent prelate should propose the candidate to his parish priests and canons; that these should give their assent by a plurality of votes; that the metropolitan and suffragans should then transmit their opinions of him, and the holy congregation decide accordingly.* Copies of this plan were distributed among the members of the sacred college, and afforded universal satisfaction.

In the meantime, various appeals, arising out of the collation of parishes, having arrived from different parts of Ireland, the establishment of the *concursus*, according to the council of Trent, was considered necessary by Propaganda; and letters commanding it were written to some of the bishops. To prevent these frequent appeals and differences, it was resolved, moreover, to renew the diocesan synods, archiepiscopal

* MS. papers and letters of Rev. R. Hayes.

courts of appeal, the chapters in each diocese, and the regular forms of trial in all ecclesiastical causes. Being standing laws of the Church, these matters could be enjoined by the prefect in the ordinary weekly congress of Propaganda; it was, however, deemed convenient to establish them in conjunction with domestic nomination. This latter measure, compared with which the concursus and other regulations, tended but remotely to prevent government influence, could not, on the other hand, be effected, unless by a formal decree passed in the general monthly congress, at which the cardinals of the holy congregation are bound to attend. In this congress it was proposed, that the affairs connected with the Irish Church, should not be brought under discussion, until the expected letters, regarding the then contested nominations in Clogher and Waterford, should arrive; thus was the subject of domestic nomination again submitted to the ordeal of procrastination.

The annual vacations, during which the business of these courts remains suspended, were now approaching,—a circumstance which induced the delegate to re-visit his native country. He communicated his intention to cardinal Litta, had an audience with his holiness, presented an address of filial attachment in the name of the Irish nation, and obtained the apostolic benediction. Yielding, however, to the representations of friends at Rome, Naples, and other places, he was prevailed upon to alter his intention,—a step which subsequent events proved to be, at least, imprudent. It was during this interval that he addressed two memorable letters, dated the 1st of February, 1817, to some members of the Catholic Board, requesting them to move the appointment of Doctor Dromgole and of the Rev. Count M'Auley, as his co-delegates, both of whom were then residing in Rome, and had considerable influence with the cardinal secretary and other members of the sacred college. This demand was not complied with; it appears to have been particularly discountenanced by the temporizing remnant of the Trimbleston-junta.

It was now the close of Lent, and various incidents occurr[illegible] to put off the expected congress, wh[illegible] several printed copies of the lette[illegible] been transmitted to Rome. Fifteen thousand English were then in the city, having flocked from all quarters of the continent to behold the majestic ceremonies of the season. The letter was circulated, while the sensation it produced cannot well be described. In the meantime, the new Hanoverian

ambassador, the baron of Ompteda, arrived in Rome. This envoy, who, it should be remarked, had been previously in England, made an immediate application to the secretary, cardinal Gonsalvi, and insisted upon the banishment of the Irish delegate. This, it appears, was at first refused, on the ground of his being a British subject. Recourse was then had to the general of his order; but this dignitary replied, that as no charge of immorality had been brought against Father Hayes, and whereas, he appeared in Rome as the delegate of a nation, he was on that account placed altogether beyond his jurisdiction. In the meantime, Father Hayes continued to direct his attention to the affairs of Ireland pending in Propaganda, the general congress of which had been fixed for the 19th of May. The plan of domestic nomination which he had already submitted, had been printed by Propaganda, three weeks previously, and distributed to the cardinals, who were to attend; various reasons for its adoption were appended thereto; and when the question was put to the congregation, all voted for it, with the exception of cardinal Fontana, the ex-secretary of the ecclesiastical tribunal. He proposed, by way of amendment, that before the decree would be passed, cardinal Litta should refer the question to the Court of Ecclesiastical Affairs, to which the latter yielded: thus was lost (for that time) the question of domestic nomination.*

Only two days had elapsed after the sitting of the late congress, when Father Hayes received an order of banishment from the Roman States. The cause of this extraordinary proceeding, occasioned, as may be supposed, no small conflict of opinion; by some it was attributed to the oppresive severity of the secretary, cardinal Gonsalvi, influenced by British intrigue; others were willing to throw the whole blame on the imprudent demeanour of the delegate: on this subject, however, an official document, addressed soon after to the Catholic Board, and which shall be presently noticed, must be considered the surest and best expositor. At length, and while suffering under a malignant fever, Father Hayes was arrested in the convent of St. Isidore, which was taken by escalade on the 28th of May. Here he continued under the custody of guard, for the space of eight weeks, and on the 16th of July, was carried out of the Roman States by an under-officer of gendarmerie or brigadier. After a journey of four days, they entered the frontiers of Tuscany, when the officer delivered to him a passport of banishment, and on the 24th of September,

* MS. papers and letters of Rev. R. Hayes.

he arrived in his native country. A circumstantial report of all these proceedings was presented by the delegate to the Catholic Board, on the 13th of the following December. In a general meeting of the Board, held in Dublin on the 19th of July, 1817, they addressed a remonstrance to his holiness, Pius VII., in which they complain that no answer had been returned to their former communication; stating, moreover, that the consummation of their disappointment was accomplished by the banishment of their faithful delegate. This remonstrance was replied to by a letter bearing the signature of the sovereign pontiff, and dated the 21st of February, 1818. In this document, two reasons are assigned for pointing out the inexpediency of returning a distinct answer to the original remonstrance from the laity: first, because, a sufficient reply had been already given on the subject to the episcopal delegation; and, secondly, the language employed in the remonstrance of the laity, was considered disrespectful, and unbecoming their professions of devotion to the Holy See. With respect to the banishment of the delegate, it disclaims every idea of foreign influence in the transaction; adding withal, that his deportment was unworthy the member of a religious institute, his intemperate writings, and incessant aspersions on the Roman government, and at length his offensive expressions to the sovereign pontiff himself, had been such, that his conduct could not be any longer overlooked, without an abandonment of personal dignity.*

Both these documents having been produced and read at a numerous meeting of Catholics, held at D'Arcy's tavern, in Essex-street, on the 1st of June, immediately following, Father Hayes came forward and opened a paper, containing a written declaration, which he read to the meeting.†

* The above are the expressions employed in the original.—See Orthodox Journal of July, 1818.

† This declaration is as follows :—

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen—Before any discussion arise upon the document which has been just read, I beg for a moment the favour of your attention. I have always made it a rule to sacrifice my private feelings and advantage to the public weal. Hence, acting at Rome in my official capacity faithful to my trust, no blandishment, no terror, could warp me from what I conceived to be my duty. Addressing the mild and venerable father of the faithful, or surprized in my bed of sickness by an armed force, I endeavored, according to the best of my judgment, to exhibit in my conduct the feelings and principles of my constituents

"But my delegated character has long since expired; I have now no public duty to perform; no public principle is involved in my conduct; I stand before this meeting a private individual; therefore, my every duty of *public* becomes *personal*.

"If the document now read censures my conduct whilst at Rome, I stop

From this period the labours of this unwearied and highly-gifted man, were exclusively devoted to the duties of his ministry. An instance of his attachment to the religion of his forefathers is to be found in the promptitude and firmness with which he spurned an invitation which he soon after received, from a numerous and powerful schismatical congregation, formed about that time in South Carolina. This communication, which was dated the 17th of February, 1819, and was conveyed through the agency of the Rev. Thomas Carberry, a priest residing in New York, was an avowed attack on the great Catholic principle of unity, and contained some furious invectives against the authority of the Holy See. It recommended Father Hayes to proceed to Utrecht, where a schismatical prelate had been already engaged to invest him with episcopal consecration; he was then to enter on the mission of Carolina, to consecrate other prelates, cut off all connexion whatever with the head of the Church, and thus introduce the doctrine and discipline of the Utrecht conventicle into North America. Immediately on receipt of this document, Father Hayes denounced the whole of this daring attempt at schism to the Most Rev Doctor Troy; he at the same time drew up an Italian translation of the document itself, both of which, together with his own prompt and noble denunciation of this dangerous conspiracy, he instantly trans-

not to inquire whether it be authentic or not; whether its charges be vague or specific, whether proved or otherwise. I stop not to investigate how the name of his holiness came to be attached to it; whether it be the result of legal or canonical discussion; or whether those who deprived me of my liberty, have succeeded in depriving me of my character in the eyes of the sovereign pontiff. I stop not to ask why the document did not precede my arrest; why it has been issued a twelvemonth later; in a word, why the indictment should follow the punishment—*enough for me if the holy father has been pleased to censure my conduct.*

"By faith a Catholic, by ordination a priest, by obedience a child of the Holy See, I bow with unhesitating submission, respect, and veneration, to the centre of Catholicism and source of ecclesiastical subordination, the vicegerent of Jesus Christ. I solemnly declare, that I should choose death rather than allow any private or personal feeling or consideration to betray me into the slightest contest with or disrespect towards the authority or dignity of the head of the Catholic Church, pope Pius VII. My tongue shall never utter a syllable of complaint, nor my pen trace a line of vindication; for, lest scandal should arise, in the words of the prophet, I exclaim, 'Take me up, and cast me into the sea'

"From this moment, therefore, I publicly announce myself unconnected with every proceeding to which this document may give rise; and this, my declaration, I shall, without delay, transmit to Rome; prostrating myself at the feet of the holy father, expressing my poignant regret that my conduct in any respect should have given him offence; humbly imploring his forgiveness, and assuring him of my obedience and readiness to comply with any further form of satisfaction which, in his paternal wisdom and goodness, he may vouchsafe to command."

mitted to the holy father, through the medium of cardinal Fontana, then prefect of the Propaganda. To this communication Father Hayes, on the 26th of August, 1819, received the following reply.

"Rev. Father,—I have presented to his holiness your letter of the 14th April, of this year (1819), by which you denounce to the holy father a conspiracy formed in North America, for the purpose of having bishops independently of the Holy See, and in which you also state that you yourself had been invited to obtain consecration from the bishop of Utrecht, and thence to proceed to the United States for the purpose of consecrating other bishops in that district. His holiness *has been highly pleased with your conduct* in this emergency. As much as the reprobate attempt, which appears in the letter addressed to you by some misguided Catholics of the United States of America, is highly to be deplored, in the same degree is the proceeding of your reverence on this occasion to be commended; in bringing immediately to the knowledge of his holiness so detestable an attempt, which, however, we hope in the divine mercy will disappear without leaving a trace behind, I congratulate you on having in this contingency manifested, by so dutiful an act, those sentiments of attachment to the Catholic religion—of fidelity, respect, and submission, which you had previously expressed; and while I pray the Lord to grant you every happiness, I at the same time recommend myself to your prayers.

"F. Card. Fontana, Prefect.
"C. M. Pedicini, Secretary.
"Rome, Propaganda, Aug. 26th, 1819."*

The painful ordeal to which this able and persevering man had been hitherto subjected, now wrought its natural effect on a constitution otherwise healthy and vigorous, and prevented him from perfecting several literary works which he had already in a state of considerable progress. He published, in 1823, a collection of sermons on both moral and doctrinal subjects; they were greatly admired, but to deliver [illegible] effect, and do them justice, the rev. author himself should be the preacher. The state of his health becoming still more alarming, he was recommended by his physicians to remove to France; he accordingly proceeded to Paris, in which city he died on the 25th of January, 1824, and was interred in the

* MS papers of Rev. R. Hayes.

cemetery of Pere la Chaise. A splendid monument, with an epitaph descriptive of his virtues, his learning and his patriotism, was soon after erected over his remains.

From the period of the late delegation, the spirit of vetoism began rapidly to decline: like a malignant distemper, the progress which it made, and the panic which it created, was felt intensely by the nation; but it met with a noble resistance, and was at length obliged to yield to the powerful moral constitution of a religious determined people. Various causes combined at this time to give the fatal blow to vetoism. The opposition of the clergy of every rank became as unanimous as it was loud and decisive; they were, in short, resolved to continue for ever in chains, sooner than expose to imminent risk, that precious deposit which had been long since consecrated by the blood of their predecessors. Moreover, the attitude which the Catholic Board now presented was not to be looked upon with indifference. Seven millions of people insisting on their natural claims to freedom, encompassed with the sympathies of the civilized world, and resting on constitutional grounds, were not to be silenced by such a conditional qualified restoration of their rights: they were well convinced that civil liberty ought not to be obtained at the expense of religion; they were equally convinced that they stood fairly entitled to both, and accordingly resolved that with nothing less would they be satisfied. Add to this the posture in which the question of a veto now stood at Rome. It was removed to Propaganda,—the proper legitimate tribunal for its discussion; while in Ireland it was completely unmasked by the conduct of its original parliamentary supporters, with whom an unlimited control in the appointment of Catholic prelates, tantamount to a direct and efficient one, was its peculiar and now openly-avowed definition. Finally, the luminous convincing evidence, produced in London during the year 1825, by members of the Irish hierarchy, including the late Doctor Doyle, appears to have set the measure at rest for ever,—a circumstance which naturally leads us to the eventful history of that learned and illustrious prelate.

Doctor James Doyle was descended from an ancient and highly respectable family, residing at Brianstown, in the county of Wexford: he was the youngest of six brothers, and was born in the year 1786, at Donard, a district in the parish of Poulpeasty, and same county. In obedience to the predominant inclination, which in early youth he had imbibed for the ecclesiastical state, he repaired, in the eighteenth year of his age, to the Augustinian convent of Grantstown, in the

county of Wexford, where he made his novitiate, under the Rev. F. Butler, and was admitted to his solemn vows. With a view of completing his studies, he proceeded during the spring of 1806 to Coimbra, in Portugal, where he entered on his theological course, which he continued to prosecute with brilliant and unexampled success. Just at this period the peninsula, overrun by the influx of contending armies, presented an awfully desolating scene: those retreats of literature, in which the youth of Ireland had for so many ages met a welcome reception, became completely deserted, and in 1809, James Doyle, accompanied by several other Irish students, was obliged to return to his native land. Even at this early period his talents were soon appreciated: he entered the Augustinian seminary at Ross, then conducted by the Rev. Philip Crane, where he taught theology until 1813, in which year he removed to the college of Carlow. Here he became professor of humanity: on the following year he taught philosophy, and was ultimately advanced to the chair of theology and of sacred Scripture. The duties of this important situation he continued to discharge with singular applause until the year 1819, when the united sees of Kildare and Leighlin became vacant by the death of the Right Rev. Doctor Corcoran. Merits such as this highly-gifted man possessed, were sure of being recognized by the intelligent and spirited clergy of this ancient diocese: he was the first of the three nominated by the parish priests,—a proceeding which met with the immediate concurrence of the bishops of the province. Doctor Doyle was accordingly consecrated in the parish chapel of Carlow, on the 14th of November, 1819.

The period at which this illustrious ecclesiastic had been elevated to the episcopal dignity, may well be numbered as one among those eventful epochs, according to which the transactions of the Church of Ireland might be historically classified. A nation appears mighty in numbers, wealth, and intelligence, yet reviled, rejected, and oppressed; enslaved for centuries, but now determined to be so no longer. Ages of uninterrupted persecution rolled on and finished their course, while the religion of the country and its priesthood outlived the storm, and became more compact and stronger than ever; violence and terror having failed, schemes of state policy were substituted in their place; the veto was still demanded; a law-provision for the Catholic clergy was alike proposed; the cry of the bigot became furious, and the truths of the Catholic Church were once more beset with misrepresentations of every grade, and with the vilest calumnies. A visitation

charge, delivered in 1822, by Doctor Magee, Protestant archbishop of Dublin, so far from attaining the object contemplated by the morality of the Gospel, served, in no small degree, to inflame the already irritated feelings of the nation. The inconsistencies with which it abounded, were nothing more than the natural result of his own peculiar system; they might have been overlooked as unworthy of public attention, but they were accompanied with offensive inferences, and were made the ground-work of a malignant and an unprovoked attack on the religious principles of all those who, in matters practical or speculative, had thought proper to differ from himself. The Presbyterians, for instance, were designated as a people who had a religion without a church, while, on the other hand, the Catholics were represented as having a church, but devoid of religion. This discourse of archbishop Magee, censured as it had been by every sensible well-meaning man, occasioned immediately after some beautiful interesting letters, under the signature of J. K. L., from the pen of Doctor Doyle.

On the following year, his "Vindication of the Religious and Civil Principles of the Irish Catholics," made its appearance. Since the days of Tertullian, so eloquent and powerful a defence of Christian truths has, perhaps, in no instance proceeded from the human intellect; it may, indeed, be termed an immortal production. Its substantial merits, however, are to be traced to those healing and beneficial effects which it produced on the public mind, not only at the time of its appearance, but even at every distinct period since its publication. While the lovers of order and of mutual good-will felt delighted at the conciliatory tone in which its language had been conveyed, the intolerence of the day shrunk beneath the mighty irresistible arguments which pervaded its entire composition. Alluding to some of the advantages derived by mankind from the genius of Catholicity, and to its compatibility with all the fundamental principles of freedom, the Vindication observes: "It was the creed of a Charlemagne, and of a St. Louis, of an Alfred and an Edward, of the monarchs of the feudal times, as well as of the emperors of Greece and Rome; it was believed at Venice and at Genoa, in Lucca and the Helvetic nations in the days of their freedom and greatness; all the barons of the middle ages, all the free cities of later times, profess the religion we now profess. The charter of British freedom, and the common law of England, have their origin in Catholic times. Who framed the free constitution of the Goths? Who preserved science and literature during

the long night of the middle ages? Who imported literature from Constantinople, and opened for her an asylum at Rome, Florence, Padua, Paris, and Oxford? Who polished Europe by art, and refined her by legislation? Who discovered the New World, and opened a passage to another? Who were the masters of architecture, of painting, and of music? Who were the poets, the historians, the jurists, the men of deep research and profound literature? Were they not almost exclusively the professors of our creed? Why, then, has the Irish nation been rebuked, assailed, reviled? But all this they suffer, because they are a people struggling by legal means to obtain their birth-right against a faction who would live by wrong, and fatten on the vitals of the country."

This admirable production was soon after followed by a series of letters on the state of Ireland, adapted to the religious and political circumstances of the day, and presenting a rare combination of eloquence, patriotism, and philosophy. The nerve, and unlaboured simplicity of the diction, together with the justness of the remarks with which they abounded, rendered them, perhaps, the most popular literary collection that had ever been published in this country. The paramount national good which resulted from them, has been decidedly acknowledged by men of all parties, and entitles their highly-gifted author to the thanks and gratitude of posterity.

The bill, introduced by Mr. Plunket, in 1821, with its vetoistical and other provisional securities, had passed the Commons, but was thrown out by a majority of thirty-nine in the House of Lords.* Ever since that time, the outcry against Catholic principles and Catholic security, became every day more clamorous; the venal hireling and the malignant bigot vied with each other in villifying, and in holding up to scorn, the conscientious opinions of the vast majority of their countrymen, while the press in both countries was, with few exceptions, disgracefully purchased, and kept actively employed in abusing that liberty with which it had been invested, and which, in fact, is the noblest and best privilege of which it can boast. To overturn the workings of this com-

* The sensation created by this bill throughout Ireland, was almost unprecedented. On its publication the clergy assembled in every [illegible] kingdom, and manfully denounced it. The following resolution of the clergy of the diocese of Cloyne, may be taken as a sample of those passed in other places:—"Resolved, That we enter our earnest protest against this bill of religious restrictions, and solemnly declare, that it is our firm conviction that no Roman Catholic priest can, with a safe conscience, subscribe to the oath which it proposes, or sanction the unprecedented innovations which it introduces into the discipline of our Church."

bination, and to afford injured innocence an opportunity of entering into a vindication of itself, it was deemed advisable to summon some of the heads of the Irish Catholic clergy before a committee of the lords and commons in London, and to receive their evidence on questions connected with the religious and political state of Ireland. Doctor Doyle was, on this occasion, particularly selected, together with the archbishops of Dublin, Armagh, and Tuam, and Doctor Magauran, bishop of Ardagh. To estimate the value of these interesting examinations, it would be necessary, in the first place, to be perfectly acquainted with the nature and extent of these almost incredible and, indeed, numberless calumnies which had, we may say, for centuries been gathering round the ancient and venerable creed of this country, and which now, when the sword and the gibbet became incompatible with national existence, had acquired a degree of malignity unknown, perhaps, in the bitterest days of general undisguised persecution. From the authorized parliamentary report of this evidence, the genuine history of these misrepresentations is to be accurately gathered. It must, indeed, have been carried to an extravagant excess, when an enlightened committee of a national legislature had found it advisable to direct its interrogatories not only to matters incidentally connected with social duties, but even to abstract, speculative, and devotional practices. The Catholic doctrine relative to the invocation of saints, to purgatory, indulgences, and other points, was subjected to an explanatory process, and those misstatements which had been a thousand times rebutted, are again, on this official occasion, distinctly proposed for the purpose, it is presumed, of having them authoritatively disclaimed and set at rest for ever. To what an extent had not this propensity for misrepresentation been carried, when it was supposed that the disclosure of some crimes, such as murder and treason, when confessed in the sacred tribunal, had been tolerated at Rome; that indulgences extended to the remission of the temporal consequences with respect to crimes to be committed, and that among the Catholic clergy, a notion had been generally entertained of transferring the temporalities of the Established Church to their own. Various questions arising out of these and other subjects, had been proposed to Doctor Doyle during the course of these examinations, and were followed by a reply which, in the judgment even of the most prejudiced, could not fail to have afforded complete satisfaction. But the prominent and leading topics of this evidence were those which related to the supreme authority of the pope, to the question of the veto,

and to that of domestic nomination. With respect to the first of these subjects, Doctor Doyle observed, that the authority of the pope is merely spiritual, and that it is limited by decrees of councils and also by usage; so that when he directs any decree respecting local discipline to any nation beyond the limits of his own territory, or the papal states, the assent of the bishops of such country is necessary, in order that his decree should have effect. In reply to the second question, the interference of the crown in the appointment of Irish bishops, and which had now for so many years kept the country in constant agitation, he would, he said, object to any arrangement, even sanctioned by the pope, which would go to give an influence, direct or indirect, to the sovereign in the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland. The third and last subject, that of domestic nomination, was one which, in his opinion, could be easily and satisfactorily adjusted by a concordat with the sovereign pontiff; "and I should (he adds) be more anxious that it were made, because it would secure to us always a domestic prelacy, and it would remove from us the possibility of the pope ever interfering more than he now does in the appointments to our Church."*

There was another question which was included among the securities, and which had given rise to much unpleasant discussion at this period; it was that which had a reference to pensions to be derived by the clergy from the crown. On this subject, Doctor Doyle declared that he would much prefer deriving his support from the contributions of the poor people for whom he laboured; if, however, this measure should be demanded as an indispensable step to the settlement of the great national question then under discussion, and if any opposition on his part should be considered an obstacle to its attainment, he was satisfied to give his assent to the principle of such arrangement, provided these intended pensions should be founded on law, and not emanate as a *Regium Donum* from the treasury. He likewise required that due time should be given to the prelates, clergy, and people of Ireland, for the purpose of taking the whole project into their consideration. In no sense whatever would he accept of it as a mere bounty from the crown. "If (said he) the prelates approve of a provision emanating from the treasury, if the ministers of Christ were to be paid by the minister of state for dispensing the mysteries of God, in that case I would not create dissensions amongst them; but sooner than my hand should be soiled

* Evidence before the Commons, p. 44.

by it, I would lay down my office at the feet of him who conferred it; for if my hand were to be stained with government money, it should never grasp a crozier, nor should a mitre be ever afterwards fitted to my brow."

The report of these important examinations had, from the very first day, occasioned an unusual degree of interest throughout the nation. The intolerants as well as the Catholics awaited with solicitude the result of this public inquiry; their motives, however, were widely different. It was considered by the Catholics as the best and, perhaps, the only effectual medium for removing for ever those numberless calumnies which had been for so long a time thrown out against their religious and political principles; by the opposite party it was selected as a fit opportunity for discomfitting the advocates of the Catholic religion, and by their overthrow setting up a renewed outcry against the claims and long-withheld rights of the whole nation. From the manœuvres of some individuals, it was evidently intended as a scene of acrimony and insult, while Doctor Doyle was the capital object against whom the united force of the faction was to be chiefly levelled. Never, perhaps, has there been witnessed a more complete and mortifying disappointment; seldom, indeed, so decisive, so successful a victory. His intimate and perfect acquaintance with the principles and details of each subject, the perspicuity and irresistible self-evidence which throughout had accompanied his illustrations, his own innate conviction, his very tone and manner,—all bespoke the vast decided superiority of this singularly gifted prelate, and made him appear in the midst of his interrogators as an instructor who, from motives of pity and humanity, had come amongst them to deliver a public lecture on the grand sublime elements of religion, philosophy, and sound rational government. The vantage ground on which he stood was admitted by all; even many of the adverse party had been forced to look on with silent amazement, and retired from the scene under manifest impressions of disappointment and confusion.

If the claims of the Catholics had not been on this occasion conceded, if the evidence of Doctor Doyle, irresistible and conclusive as it was, had not been immediately fol- by that desirable event, it must at all events be allowed to have been a powerful auxiliary; it removed misrepresentation, disarmed prejudice, disabused the public mi-, and placed both the religious and social principles of the Catholics in a clear, fair, and natural light before the eyes of the nation. With the testimony of Doctor Doyle that of the other prelates,

the Most Rev. Doctors Murray, Curtis, and Kelly, and the Right Rev. Doctor Magauran, were equally characteristic, to which, with great propriety, should be subjoined the comprehensive and luminous evidence of the Rev. N. Slevins, an able and learned priest of the diocese of Ardagh.

To the publication of various letters, tracts and essays on education, public morality, poor laws and the Catholic claims, the fruits of Doctor Doyle's literary labours after this period, the Irish nation and the empire at large must be for ever indebted. He lived to see the long-desired measure of emancipation triumphantly carried through both houses of parliament, and in a few years after, this great and good prelate closed his short but brilliant career. The admiration in which he was held during life was equalled only by the sorrow felt and expressed by the nation on the announcement of his death. Doctor Doyle died on the 15th of June, 1834, and in the forty-eighth year of his age.

The cause of religious toleration was, for the last twenty years, making rapid advances; its progress, under the auspices of the Catholic Association, became irresistible. That powerful body, soon after its foundation in 1823, began to assume a lofty and a commanding position, representing, as it did, the feelings and wishes of seven millions of people, its heart-touching appeals reached the most distant quarters of Europe; they were carried across the wide Atlantic, and were responded to from the free shores of the American continent. National enthusiasm contributed with wealth and influence to give importance to its proceedings; the talent and eloquence of the country were arrayed in its cause, and the basis on which that cause rested, was nothing else than the sacred and immutable principles of eternal justice. While a variety of circumstances had thus tended to render the Catholic Association of Ireland an object of admiration to every lover of freedom, its vitality, its moral power, and its triumphant issue, were all centred in that extraordinary man and greatest of patriots, Daniel O'Connell. From him it originated, under him it grew up a formidable but constitutionally organized body; it was secured by his vigilance, it was animated by the brilliancy of his eloquence, and it imbibed that genius and spirit of universal freedom, which formed so distinguished an ingredient in the character of that celebrated leader. The sufferings of a brave and a patient people have now awakened the sympathies of every thinking man; the honest, independent portion of the Protestant community is aroused; the liberal press volunteers its powerful aid; the nobility and

gentry of the nation assemble in Dublin, and the moment ordained by an all-wise and an inscrutable Providence having at length arrived, the Catholics of the British empire are emancipated.

CHAPTER II.

Successors of St. Patrick—Episcopal Sees—Religious Foundations of the Nineteenth Century.

Patrick Curtis, the immediate successor of the primate, Richard O'Reilly, was born in the parish of Stamullen, and county of Meath, about the year 1747. The avocations of a mercantile life, in which at an early age he had for a short period been engaged, were but ill-suited to that love for retirement, and other rare qualities, which so peculiarly marked his disposition; his inclination for the ecclesiastical state rose superior to every worldly consideration, and at length induced him to withdraw from his native country, where even still the advantage of a collegiate course of studies was most unwisely precluded. He repaired to Salamanca, a city memorable for its attention to Irish students; here he completed his ecclesiastical course, and acquired such reputation that the government of the Irish college, founded here in 1582, was committed to his management. If the virtues and learning of those eminent men who had at this time been the alumni of the Irish college in Salamanca, their veneration for Doctor Curtis, and the number of years during which he presided over the establishment, be allowed as criterions, we may be entitled to state that his administration had been a singular blessing, no less creditable to himself than to those from whom he had received his appointment. Doctor Curtis had now spent thirty years in the college of Salamanca, when the peninsula became the scene of warlike preparations, and Spain, once the asylum of religion and peace, is changed into a land of anarchy and terror. During the vicissitudes of this memorable campaign, Doctor Curtis, by his intimate acquaintance with the language of the nation, its localities, and the manners of its inhabitants, rendered an inestimable service to the duke of Wellington in his difficult operations; he furnished suggestions founded on his own experience, and had many of the students employed as interpreters, and distributed among the officers commanding in the various garrisons.

These acts, which a respect for his own countrymen, and a concern for the Spanish nation had prompted, raised him exceedingly in the estimation of the commander-in-chief; they were attended with personal acknowledgments, and the honour of a subsequent correspondence.

Having devoted thirty years to the superintendence of the Irish college in Salamanca, Doctor Curtis returned to his native country, where, as a token of the admiration in which his virtues were held, he was advanced to the metropolitan see of Armagh, on the death of the primate, Richard O'Reilly, and was consecrated on the 28th of October, 1819. By the moderate and steady tenour of his conduct, he became a favourite with all parties: the corporation of Drogheda, laying aside their inherent bigotry, presented him his freedom, with a gold box; but this distinction, however flattering, could never incline him to depart from the honest line of rectitude, and whenever he found that corporate body in error, as was generally the case on every national measure, he always voted against them. When the heads of the Irish Catholic hierarchy were summoned before a parliamentary committee, in 1825, the evidence of this prelate could scarcely fail of making a lasting impression; the candour, wisdom, and consistency of his observations, enhanced by his mild and venerable appearance, commanded the most respectful attention from men of every creed, and of every political party. His paternal regard for the religious orders was manifested on various occasions; at his death, he bequeathed small legacies to each of the regular communities established in the town of Drogheda. The primate Patrick Curtis presided over the metropolitan see until June, 1832, in which year he died, universally beloved, and no less deeply regretted.

His successor, the Most Rev. Doctor Kelly, was a native of the archdiocese of Armagh, an alumnus of the college of Maynooth, and ultimately bishop of Dromore, from which see he was translated to Armagh, as coadjutor to the primate, Patrick Curtis. The incumbency of this truly amiable prelate continued but a few years; he died in Drogheda, on the 13th of January, 1835, and was succeeded by the present primate, the Most Rev. William Crolly. This learned and venerable prelate was born in the county of Down, and having completed his studies at Maynooth, his merits entitled him to be raised to the distinguished situation of lecturer in philosophy. On the decease of Doctor Ferris, in 1809, Doctor Crolly professed moral theology, and ultimately succeeded Doctor Anglade in the chair of logic and metaphysics; the duties of which

office he continued to discharge with brilliant success for several years. His profound learning, and other endearing qualities, had already fitted him for a still more exalted station in the church of his native country; accordingly on the 1st of May, 1825, he was consecrated bishop of Down and Connor by the primate, Doctor Curtis, and fixed his residence in Belfast. The services which Doctor Crolly has rendered to religion and to society in that influential town, are too well known and appreciated to require any passing eulogy: his prudent zeal learned instructions, tempered with Christian moderation, have entwined round his name and his memory a wreath which shall ever flourish fair and vigorous in the recollections of that intelligent and grateful people. On the 8th of May, 1835, Doctor Crolly was translated to the archiepiscopal see of Armagh, and on the following year was invested with the pallium.

Thus have we succeeded in bringing down an uninterrupted and a triumphant series of prelates in the primatial chair of Armagh, from the introduction of Christianity into Ireland by St. Patrick to the present day, including a period of one thousand four hundred years. During that time states and empires have risen and fallen, the reigning powers of many nations have disappeared, the ancient line of monarchs were seen broken, and their thrones crumbling beneath the shock of political revolution; meanwhile, the primatial succession in this ancient see, and the whole venerable hierarchy of Ireland, like the rock on which they rested, have braved the fury of the darkened storm; and no state intrigue, no ordeal of persecution, no laws of blood or power on earth was able to crush the building which the great apostle of the nation had founded, and which was so triumphantly supported by the strong arm of the Most High.

The leading interesting questions which, during the nineteenth century, had engaged the consideration of the Irish hierarchy, were those of the veto and of domestic nomination. The former of these may be said to have been buried in its political grave on that memorable occasion when the evidence of the Irish prelates was submitted before the Parliamentary Committee of 1825; the settlement of [illegible] nomination is to be numbered among the occurrences of that eventful year, 1829. When his holiness Pius VII. returned from his captivity in 1814, five of the ancient sees of Ireland were vacant—namely, Tuam, Elphin, Killala, Ossory, and Ardagh; at the same time several of our prelates advanced in years, and worn down with the cares of a heavy ministry, were

hastening fast to that kingdom where labour and sorrow are never known. Doctoy Troy, the venerable archbishop of Dublin, had already, in 1809, provided for his see by the consecration of the Most Rev. Daniel Murray as archbishop of Hierapolis and coadjutor of Dublin. This latter prelate, the memory of whose virtues shall flourish for ever in the future records of his native country, was born on the 18th of April, 1768, at Sheepwalk, in the parish of Redcross, and county of Wicklow. He received his education in the Irish college at Salamanca, and at the period of his promotion to the archiepiscopal chair, was attached to the parish of St. Mary, in the city of Dublin. On the death of Doctor Troy, in 1823, he succeeded to the government of the archdiocese. His steady and zealous exertions during the discussion of the veto, need not, it is presumed, be recapitulated in this place;* while it must be observed, that his powerful and convincing evidence, in 1825, contributed to reflect new lustre on the principles of Catholicity, and to heal those wounds of his country which bigotry and misrepresentation would be still anxious to perpetuate.

The question of domestic nomination, which had formed so fruitful a subject for discussion, both in Ireland and in Rome, was universally admitted in principle; the only difficulty that arose was that which regarded the mode. At length, in 1829, a decree emanated from the Propaganda, and this point of discipline, so interesting to the Church of Ireland, was finally established. According to this decree, whenever a see becomes vacant, a vicar is to be appointed, agreeably to the form prescribed by the canons. In the meantime, the metropolitan, having been made acquainted with the vacancy, is by letters mandatory to enjoin the vicar, that, on the twentieth day from the date thereof, he is to assemble all the parish priests of the diocese, who are free from censures, and in actual possession of their parishes, together with the canons of said diocese, should a chapter therein exist, that they may recommend to the supreme pontiff three candidates, each of whom would be worthy to be advanced to the vacant see. The vicar, having been furnished with the letter of the metropolitan, is within eight days after the receipt thereof, to notify the same to the parish priests and canons; stating, moreover, the day and place of meeting. At this meeting, the metropolitan is to preside, or one of his suffragan prelates, delegated by him; he is to be furnished with a list of the names of all those who are entitled to vote, and these names are to be publicly called by

* See chap. i.

the secretary. Should one or more of the parish priests be absent, the vicar must certify that regular notice had been given to said persons; moreover, the proceedings of the meeting are valid, provided one-fourth of the parish priests and of the canons should be present. Such as are absent, from infirmity, or other proper cause, are entitled to transmit their suffrage in writing (to the president), by any parish priest or canon of the diocese; provided it be accompanied by the certificate of two medical men, and that the said parish priest, in recording his suffrage, had declared in the presence of two parish priests or canons, that in this act he was altogether uninfluenced by either favour or affection. The names of the three persons who have the greater number of votes are then to be announced by the president, after which two copies of the proceedings are to be drawn up, one of them to be transmitted to Rome by the vicar, the other to be referred by the metropolitan to his suffragans. The bishops of the province having assembled, are in a solemn manner to place on record their judgment and opinion as to the merits of the three priests aforesaid, which document is to be confirmed by their signatures, and transmitted by the president (their metropolitan, or in his absence, the senior prelate), to the Apostolic See. Should the bishops consider the said three priests as unqualified, the pope, by the plenitude of his power, is to provide for the see. The same order is to be observed in the recommendation of coadjutors. The individuals recommended must be natives of Ireland, gifted, moreover, with those qualifications which the exalted dignity of the episcopal state so imperatively requires. Finally, these proceedings are not to be termed an election, postulation, or nomination, but simply a recommendation; while it must be understood that the Holy See is by no means bound to elect any one of the three thus recommended.

According as those barriers which had for so long a period separated the Catholics of Ireland from their natural rights began to be removed, the evidence which this people afforded of their attachment and zeal for the ancient religion of the country, can scarcely find a parallel in the annals of any other nation. In no instance, perhaps, is this characteristic zeal more nobly displayed than in the foundation of [illegible] asylums, and in the erection of temples for the worship of the Most High. Notwithstanding the rapid decline of trade, the want of a protecting legislature, the necessity of a resident nobility, and the general distress which is known to pervade the great mass of the population of Ireland, the Catholics have, out of their own limited scanty resources, reared up and

decorated cathedrals and churches of such exquisite workmanship and splendour, as might do honour to any nation, even in the brightest era of ecclesiastical architecture. Among the cathedrals may be noticed that founded by the Most Rev. Dr. Troy, in the metropolis, in 1815, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary; the cathedral of Carlow erected during the incumbency of Doctor Doyle; and the magnificent cathedral of Tuam. Besides these cathedrals, the number of spacious and beautiful churches which, during the first twenty-nine years of this century, have been erected in almost every diocese throughout Ireland, would, if particularly noticed, extend this analysis beyond its intended limits. In the metropolis alone they present themselves in almost every direction; each completed in a style of costly magnificence, and all of them executed with such wonderful despatch, as strikes the mind not only of the stranger, but even of the very inhabitants with astonishment. Such indeed are the impressions which this wonderful progress of Catholicity is calculated to create; when, however, the zeal of the Irish Catholics, and the love which they cherish for their religion, are considered, this circumstance, surprising as it may appear, is at once satisfactorily explained.

The members of the religious communities in Ireland continue, in the nineteenth century, to afford their useful missionary co-operation, but the number of convents which they occupy is comparatively limited.*

Those foundations, in which their predecessors flourished, have long since become a mass of ruins; they serve, however, to remind us of the zeal, sufferings, and heroism of these great

* The DOMINICANS are at present located in Dublin, Kilkenny, Athy, Newbridge, Cork, Limerick, Drogheda, Dundalk, Galway, Esker, Portumna, and Sligo. The FRANCISCANS have convents in Dublin, Wexford, Athlone, Multifernam, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Clonmel, Carrick-on-Suir, Thurles, Curragheen, Ennis, Drogheda, Galway, Clare-Galway, and Melick. The convents of the AUGUSTINIANS are those of Dublin, Ross, Bannow, Callon, Athlone, Cork, Limerick, Dungarvan, Fethard, Tipperary, Drogheda, Galway, and Ballyhaunes. The CALCED CARMELITES are situated in Dublin, Kildare, Knoctopher, Moate, Kinsale, Tohergan, county of Roscommon, and Balingmale, county of Mayo. The DISCALCED CARMELITES have convents in Dublin and Loughrea; and several nunneries, among which are those of New Ross, founded in 1[illegible], Loughrea and Rehoboth, near Dublin. This order at one period had convents in Dublin, Meath, Kinsale, Loughrea, Galway, and three other places. Owing, however, to the ravages of persecution, most of these are now numbered among the ruins of the country. The CAPUCHINS have convents in Dublin, Kilkenny and Cork; there were fourteen convents belonging to this order in Ireland, among which those of Dublin, Kilkenny, Cork, Limerick, and Drogheda were the most considerable. To these must be added the invaluable establishments of the Jesuits in Dublin, Clongowes Wood, situated in the county of Kildare, and Tullabeg, in the King's County.

men, and of the religious spirit of other and better days. Some few of these ancient convents have been repaired and beautified; the Black Abbey in Kilkenny was fitted out in a style of superior elegance, and opened for the celebration of the sacred mysteries in 1817; those of Clonmel and Fethard immediately after; and the retired beautiful abbey of Multifernam, about the year 1830. The Calced Carmelites in Dublin have erected a magnificent church and convent on the very site where their ancient foundation stood (Whitefriar-street); while the Discalced Carmelites in Loughrea have completed their church on the ground which their predecessors enjoyed, and adjacent to the ivy-clad, but well-preserved, ruins of their original establishment. To this foundation the Clanrickard family have, both in ancient times and to the present day, proved themselves munificent patrons.

The advantages which, during this century, Ireland has derived from the several communities of religious females are truly incalculable. Among these, the nuns of the Presentation Order and the Sisters of Charity and of Mercy may be particularly noticed. The Presentation Order owes its foundation to Miss Nagle, a devout lady residing in Cork about the year 1780; while its constitutions were arranged by the Very Rev. Laurence Callanan, a saintly and learned Franciscan of that city,* and were patronized by that zealous and venerable prelate, the Right Rev. Doctor Moylan. Besides the usual vows, these religious bind themselves to the laborious and most useful duty of conveying the blessings of a moral education to the

* Laurence Callanan was born in the city of Cork about the year 1739. Having embraced the Franciscan institute, and completed his studies in the Irish convent of St. Anthony at Louvain, he returned to his native city and entered on his missionary duties, in the convent of his order, Broad-lane. Being deeply versed in ecclesiastical literature, he was for many years master of conference in the diocese of Cork, while the sanctity of his life shed additional lustre on these endowments, and rendered him an object of veneration to all. He was the intimate friend of Father O'Leary, and with him contributed in re-establishing order throughout the country during the period of whiteboyism. Among the many admirers of Father Callanan, the celebrated Doctor Walmsley (Pastorini) may be particularly noticed. A lengthened and friendly correspondence subsisted between them: that prelate was anxious that Father Callanan should become his successor; but this dignity the latter declined. By his advice, and under the patronage of Doctor Moylan, Nano Nagle commenced the formation of that religious community, so known under the denomination of the "Presentation Order." Father Callanan compiled the rule by which it was to be governed, and Doctor Moylan obtained for it the sanction of the supreme pontiff. This learned and excellent priest was twice elected provincial of his order. After a life spent in the service of religion, and adorned with every virtue, he died in his convent at Cork, on the 29th of January, 1818, and in the eightieth year of his age. His remains were interred with great solemnity in the church attached to the convent.

poor. Next to the parent institution in Cork, that of George's Hill, in Dublin, must be briefly noticed. By means of Maria Teresa Mullany, a religious lady of that metropolis, the convent of George's Hill was erected in 1787, and its community was solemnly established in 1794; in process of time it became justly celebrated, and from it springs, as filiations, the convents of Drogheda, Mullingar, Rahin, Richmond, and Maynooth. The religious and national benefits arising from this sublime order, are not circumscribed within the limits of any particular locality; the number of their convents amount to forty-one, while the light of a moral education imparted to no less than eighteen thousand female children, besides adults, diffuses itself, like the beams of the meridian sun, over the whole surface of the kingdom.

The congregation of the Sisters of Charity was founded in Dublin in the year 1815, by sister Mary Augustin Aikenhead, a native of Cork; the Most Rev. Doctor Murray, under whose paternal auspices it was established, being appointed by the Holy See ecclesiastical superior of the society in Ireland. These exemplary ladies, bound as they are by perpetual vows, consecrate their lives to the important duties of instructing the children of the poor, protecting young women of good character, visiting females confined in prison, and administering spiritual comfort and temporal assistance to the sick poor and dying, in their own dwellings. There are at present in the archdiocese of Dublin five convents of this religious order, including the hospital of St. Vincent, situated in Stephen's-green;* they have also a convent in Cork, one in Sydney (New South Wales) and one in Preston, in England, all belonging to the Irish congregation, and founded by Irish nuns from the parent house in Dublin.

The inestimable value of this order may be ascertained from the fact, that the averaged number of sick poor visited in their dwellings by these ladies, amount to upwards of seven hundred

* In this institution for the sick poor, which was opened on the 22nd of April, 1835, accommodations are prepared for the reception of eighty patients, who receive the most unremitted attention from the Sisters of Charity, and are provided for in every respect until they recover or pass to a better life. The number of sick poor admitted during the last year (1840) amounted to five hundred and fifty-three.

The convent of this order in Stanhope-street has attached to it a house of refuge, where virtuous and unprotected females are sheltered and employed until suitable situations can be obtained for them. In the penitentiary asylum at Donnybrook, there are at present forty-five penitents; and in the poor schools of Upper Gardiner-street, Sandymount, and King's Inn-street, attended by these charitable ladies, one thousand children receive the blessings of a religious education.

annually; moreover, the public hospitals of Jervis-street, of Baggot street, and the hospital of Incurables, in Donnybrook, are regularly visited by the members of this institute; and to complete the climax of their invaluable services, the prisons of Newgate, Kilmainham, Grangegorman-lane, and the Victoria Asylum, for females discharged from prison, are constantly attended by these ladies, for the purpose of imparting instruction to the female inmates, while their attendance at the last-named institution is specially required by his grace Doctor Murray, in consequence of a request to that effect emanating from the governors and directors thereof.

The order of the Sisters of Mercy was established in Dublin, in 1831, by sister Mary Catherine M'Auley, a benevolent lady residing in that city. Interested for the education of the poor, and moved with feelings of compassion at the sufferings of the sick and indigent, a community of pious ladies had been already (in 1827) formed under her guidance. She afterwards made her profession, in company with two other religious, in the Presentation Convent, at George's-hill, and, in 1831, under the sanction of the Holy See, and by the directions of his grace Doctor Murray, they removed to their establishment in Baggot-street, for the purpose of resuming the all-important duties of their institute. Gratuitous education, the protection of young females of good character, and the visitation and relief of the sick poor, constitute the noble objects to which the time and attention of these truly meritorious ladies, bound by perpetual vows, are devoted. Besides the countless number of sick poor visited and relieved in their own dwellings, these religious attend regularly at Mercer's Hospital, Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital, and St. Mary's Asylum, Drumcondra. In many other parts of Ireland their invaluable services have become the subject of universal admiration. They have convents in Tullamore, Charleville, Carlow, Cork, Limerick, Naas, Galway, Wexford, and Birr, besides those of Booterstown, Kingstown, and one in London, all subject to the ordinary of each respective diocese.* There are also at present in Baggot-street seven novices for establishments to be immediately formed, one in Birmingham, and the other in Newfoundland.

* One hundred and ninety members have embraced this institute since its foundation in 1831. The prisons and hospitals of the different towns above-mentioned are regularly visited by these religious; they impart gratuitous education to upwards of three thousand female children, and about sixty destitute females are sheltered and supported in the House of Mercy, in Baggot-street, Dublin.

The tender solicitude evinced by these religious Sisters of Charity and of Mercy, in administering to the wants of the sick poor, must entitle them to the gratitude of every friend of humanity; their unceasing and fearless attention during the late awful visitation of cholera can never be forgotten by the citizens of Dublin. Divested altogether of self-will, and guided by a spirit of holy obedience, these ladies, with Christian heroism, approached the abode of pestilence; they took their station around the bed of death; martyrs-like, they braved the contagion, and while friends and relatives fled from this mansion of terror, the endearing Sisters of Charity and of Mercy were there to be found, administering medicinal relief, and pouring the balm of consolation on the afflicted heart of the suffering expiring victim of cholera. With justice, therefore, are these communities considered a national blessing; their numbers are rapidly increasing throughout the kingdom, while their vast utility can never be sufficiently appreciated.

CHAPTER III.

Religious and Literary Characters of the Nineteenth Century.—General Observations.

Arthur O'Leary, a name revered by every lover of civil and religious liberty, was born in the western part of the county of Cork, in the year 1729. Yielding to the inclination which he felt for the ecclesiastical state, he withdrew from his native country, and attached himself to a convent of Capuchins at St. Maloes in Brittany, where he made his religious profession, and completed his ecclesiastical studies. During the war of 1756, numbers of the British troops, a great portion of whom were Irish Catholics, became prisoners in the hands of the French: Father O'Leary was appointed their chaplain, and continued in this capacity until the close of the campaign in 1762. Even at this early period, that stern integrity, which marked his character through life, and enabled him to forgive wrongs, whenever honour and conscience were in ques- was not without affording some rare and noble indicat- Attempts were made to tamper with the allegiance of the Irish soldiers engaged in the British service; the co-operation of the chaplain was for this purpose solicited, but every effort, even that of the French minister, the duc de Choiseul, was found unavailable; and although Ireland had been a land of

oppression for ages, and the chaplain himself was, to a certain extent, a literary exile, nevertheless, duty was preferred to revenge, and the offer of the minister was indignantly rejected.

Father O'Leary returned to his native land in 1771, at which period he contributed his aid towards the erection of a chapel for his order in the south part of the city of Cork. Here he continued, through the intercourse of private life, as well by his public instructions, to display many a striking symptom of those extraordinary powers, with which Nature had endowed him. His name and his talents had been hitherto devoted to the duties of the sanctuary, while, in 1775, the publication of a book by Blair, a Scotch physician, brought him out as an author. In this work, entitled "Thoughts on Nature and Religion," Doctor Blair undertook to assail many of the fundamental truths of revelation. It was a task which other infidels, of superior claims, had been already obliged to abandon; nevertheless, this publication was making its way through the community, and, as might be expected, the scandal which it occasioned, was not confined even within the extent of its circulation. Many refutations of it issued from the press; but the subject having at length been taken up by O'Leary, the sophisms of his opponent at once disappeared before the irresistible brilliancy of his powerful mind.

Some scholastic doubts having, about this time, arisen out of the formula of the oath of allegiance, then proposed to the Catholics, afforded their enemies an opportunity of renewing their outcry against their civil and religious principles. To vindicate the merits of both from every intolerant and foul aspersion, and to show that the terms of the formula were strictly compatible with the tenets of Catholicity, he published in 1777, an admirable tract, entitled, "Loyalty Asserted; or the Test Oath Vindicated, in a Letter to a Protestant Gentleman." Notwithstanding the peaceable and loyal demeanour of the Irish Catholics during the very critical period of 1779, when the French and Spanish fleets rode in the channel, and the kingdom was threatened with an invasion, and although at the same time Father O'Leary's "Address to the Common People," had been read with delight by men of every party, yet the angry spirit of the age was still cherished by political factionists on the one hand, and by designing fanatics on the other. Among the latter class stood John Wesley, the notorious inventor of Methodism. As a splendid specimen of his Christian charity, and, moreover, as an evidence

of the inspiration of heaven with which he pretended to be favoured, he embarks in a general crusade against liberty of conscience; and among the weapons which he employed, misrepresentation, abuse, and slander were not the least formidable. He published, in 1780, "A Letter concerning the Principles of Roman Catholics; and a Defence of the Protestant Association." This production was immediately followed by a reply from the pen of O'Leary; and while, by the power of his reasoning, he laid the inspired father of Methodism prostrate at his feet, he removed the mask, and, by plentiful effusions of native wit, served to exhibit him in his proper form to the public.

That the ground-work on which religious toleration rests might be better understood and better secured, he soon after produced his "Essay on Toleration; or, Mr. O'Leary's Plea for Liberty of Conscience." This tract elicited universal admiration; it got access into every circle, and was read with delight by all men who professed a regard for human happiness. It, moreover, established the author's character as a writer and a philosopher; and to it is generally attributed his election as a member of that celebrated society known at this period under the denomination of the "Monks of St. Patrick." This association, it is well understood, was composed of the first literary and political characters of the day—men of congenial talents, wit and politics; their object was the happiness of their native land, and the means which they used were the dictates of sound reason, circulated through the medium of their own powerful abilities. At the head of this society stood lord Avonmore, then Mr. Yelverton; lord Charlemont, Grattan, Flood, Curran, etc.; reason and genius presided at their meetings, while wit and patriotism harmonized to embellish the scene. For an exalted mind like that which O'Leary possessed, this was its proper element; he was favoured with the unsolicited honour of being elected a member, and in return, he dedicated to them the collection of his various tracts, which were republished in 1781.

During the year 1782, an epoch memorable in the annals of this country, among the many gallant corps of which the effective force of the volunteers had been composed, the Irish Brigade ranked, perhaps, the first and most distinguished. Of this corps Father O'Leary was constituted chaplain; and while as a moralist he inculcated the principles of fidelity, as a patriot he inspired these heroes with a love for rational freedom, and an ardent wish for the regeneration of their native land. To the invaluable exertions of this wise and good man,

Ireland was deeply indebted during the lamentable turbulence of whiteboyism. At that period he published three "Addresses to the Common People," which were far more instrumental in restoring tranquillity to the nation than all the terrors of the law; he accompanied the magistrates through several districts of the country, admonished the people, prevailed on them to make a sacrifice of their feelings, and continued his labours until order and harmony were once more established amongst them. Notwithstanding these services, he became, as well as the rest of his Catholic countrymen, a favourite subject with some of the malignant bigots of the day. That odious spirit of intolerance, which for ages had entailed such misery on mankind, was not yet banished from the land; it had even at this time its interested votaries, while the means which they employed in imposing on society, were as scandalous in themselves as they were degrading to the character of an enlightened nation: whenever the bigot wanted to advance his own interest by raising an outcry against his unoffending fellow-subjects, the pulpit and the press were sure to be brought into requisition. An effusion from the pen of Doctor Duignan appeared in 1786, under the signature of *Theophilus;* besides the vulgar abuse with which it teemed, it contained some gross calumnies on the motives, views, and character of Father O'Leary. This production would have remained unnoticed, had not its spirit been imbibed and its principles adopted by the then Protestant bishop of Cloyne, Doctor Woodward, in a pamphlet entitled "Present State of the Church of Ireland." On this occasion Father O'Leary published "A Defence of his own conduct and writings, together with a justification of the Irish Catholics, and an account of the risings of the Whiteboys." His powerful reasoning impelled by the vein of natural good humour which pervaded the entire composition, overthrew the bishop, and left him exposed to the mixed pity and amusement of the public.

With a view of co-operating still more effectually in the great cause of religious toleration, he repaired in 1789 to London, and became one of the chaplains to the Spanish embassy. About this time also, and through his exertions, the Catholic chapel of St. Patrick was founded in that metropolis. Although earnestly solicited to support the measures of government by his writings, he with equal firmness declined; in consideration, however, of his past services, and without any condition whatever, he at length became entitled to a pension of two hundred pounds per annum. This pension, it appears, was,

after a few years, withheld; by means of Mr. Francis Plowden he recovered the arrears, with which he purchased an annuity for life, but died before the expiration of the first quarter. The death of this justly eminent man occurred in London, on the 8th of January, 1802, and in the seventy-third year of his age. His remains were interred in the churchyard of St. Pancras, where a monument was erected to his memory by earl Moira. A similar tribute perpetuates the recollection of his name and virtues in the chapel of St. Patrick, London.

William Gahan, to whose religious and literary labours the Church of Ireland is greatly indebted, was born in the parish of St. Nicholas, in the city of Dublin, on the 5th of June, 1730. The attachment which, in early youth, he had formed for the ecclesiastical state being now abundantly matured, in the seventeenth year of his age, he made his solemn profession among the members of the order of St. Augustin, and immediately after proceeded to Louvain, for the purpose of prosecuting his ecclesiastical studies. In this celebrated retreat of literature, the genius of Gahan found ample means for developing its resources; he continued attached to its university for eleven years, and having graduated a doctor in divinity, he returned to his native country on the 23rd of September, 1761. The state of Ireland at this period afforded a prospect calculated to awaken the hopes and exertions of the people; the dawn of religious liberty began to appear, while those places of Catholic worship, so long subjected to the intolerance of the times, were now permitted to remain undisturbed, and were frequented with safety. In the metropolis, however, the supply of the parochial clergy was extremely limited, a circumstance which induced Doctor Gahan to accede to the wishes of his archbishop, the Most Rev. John Linegar, and undertake the arduous duties of a curate in the parish of St. Paul, in the city of Dublin. After a period of three years spent in the discharge of these duties, he retired to the convent of his order in St. John's-street, Dublin, where he commenced a new career of labours, and completed those inimitable works which remain to this day as so many memorials of his talents and piety. That which gave real efficacy to the preaching of Doctor Gahan, and in which the merits his excellent discourses may be said principally to consist, their universal practicability—their adaption to every state of life; to which must be added, his own disinterested and truly apostolic example. The great characteristic virtues of the Gospel—those of humility, of mortification, and of brotherly love, were all nobly exemplified in his own private and public

character; he sought for the salvation of his hearers and not for their empty applause, and his discourses were distinguished rather for unction and solidity, than for any studied ostentatiousness of sentiment or frivolous display of words.

Between the laborious duties of an active ministry and the composition of various useful publications, a considerable portion of Doctor Gahan's life had been assiduously devoted. He undertook, in 1786, a tour through England, France, and Italy, but the writings, descriptive of this journey, although replete with much valuable information, have never been published. It was at this period also, that he became acquainted with Doctor John Butler (lord Dunboyne), bishop of Cork. This prelate entertained a high respect for the virtues and learning of Doctor Gahan; an intimate and frequent correspondence took place between them, and served in after times to strengthen those compassionate feelings which he entertained towards that prelate in his unfortunate downfall. For the purpose of gaining possession of his family estate, Doctor Butler renounced the religion of his forefathers, in the parish church of Clonmel, on the 19th of August, 1787. Faith, as well as humility and other virtues, depends not on the strength of man; these are gifts from God; they may be lost, and actually have been lost by some of the first and greatest of men. Lord Dunboyne apparently persevered in his wretched course until he had at length, in May, 1800, found himself placed on the bed of death. During the course of that month, Doctor Troy received two letters from lord Dunboyne through the medium of his attending physician, Doctor Purcell, in one of which was enclosed a letter to the pope, expressive of contrition for the act which he had committed, and requesting to be received into the bosom of the Catholic Church. This enclosure Doctor Troy accordingly forwarded to Rome, but finding that lord Dunboyne's illness could admit of no delay, he directed Doctor Gahan to proceed to Dunboyne Castle, and comply with the wishes of the dying prelate. It was during this illness also that lord Dunboyne thought proper to bequeath his estate, in the county of Meath, to the trustees of the college of Maynooth, leaving in the meantime another estate which he possessed in the county of Tipperary to his sister and heir-at-law, Catherine O'Brien Butler.* This will

* This bequest of lord Dunboyne amounted to £1000 per annum; lady Dunboyne, however, having contested the legacy, the trustees, in virtue of an act of parliament made specifically for the occasion, entered into a compromise with her for one-half that sum; which annual income is now the permanent property of the college. In 1813, through the influence of Vesey Fitzgerald,

became soon after the source of some important law proceedings, in which Doctor Gahan was involved; but the troubles, and it may be said the persecution, to which he was subjected, were carried to a degree of severity altogether unbecoming the circumstances of the case, and the advanced state of life to which this venerable man had then arrived. The object of this litigation was, to prove that lord Dunboyne had died a member of the Catholic Church, and thereby to invalidate the will. After Doctor Gahan had undergone six painful examinations in the Chancery Office, Dublin, the case was referred to the Assizes at Trim, for a final decision. During the course of the trial, Doctor Troy deposed that he had, on the receipt of lord Dunboyne's letter, employed every means in his power to dissuade him from alienating any portion of his estate from his family, but that on finding his remonstrance ineffectual, he told him that some small gift, as a token of gratitude, would answer the purpose as well, and would be acceptable. A woman, who had been in the service of lord Dunboyne, and who professed the Catholic religion, was also produced as a witness on the occasion. The evidence of this witness was such, that no person, in any manner acquainted with the Catholic faith, could credit her testimony: she swore, that Doctor Gahan had, at several times, visited her master, and that on one occasion, after the Doctor had departed, she entered the chamber of lord Dunboyne, where she found a candle lighting, and a small silver box placed on the table; that she opened the box and saw therein the blessed Sacrament; that lord Dunboyne observing what she had done, desired her to bring him the box, and that he immediately after placed it under his pillow. This fiction, ill-constructed as it was, gained, nevertheless, a hearing from the court, and was credited by many of the jury. The religious and manly deportment of Doctor Gahan on this trial is, of itself, sufficient to furnish the reader with an exemplification of his character. He was asked various questions, to which he gave an explicit reply; but when coun-

then chancellor of the Irish Exchequer and member for the county of Clare, a sum of £700 per annum was obtained as an [illegible] the college. This sum, together with the Dunboyne annuity, is made applicable to the maintenance of an institution the most interesting [illegible]; and generally known under the denomination of the "Dunboyne Establishment." It consists of twenty members selected from among the most distinguished students, and who have completed the ordinary course of studies in the college; while their time is devoted to the study of an extended course of theology, ecclesiastical history, canon law, the Hebrew language, and the composition of dissertations on important ecclesiastical subjects.

sellor O'Grady required to know whether lord Dunboyne had, in his last illness, acknowledged to Doctor Gahan "what religion he professed—whether he was a Catholic or a Protant," Doctor Gahan replied: "that, abstracting from his clerical situation, he knew not; that he felt himself unable conscientiously to answer the question." This refusal elicited from lord Kilwarden, who presided at the trial, an opinion that Doctor Gahan was guilty of a contempt of court; he accordingly sentenced the doctor to a week's confinement in the gaol of Trim. To this sentence the venerable Gahan submitted with Christain complacency, at the same time assuring his lordship, "that, like Eleazar of old, he would sooner lay his head on a block and forfeit his life, than reveal the secrets which had been disclosed to him in the ministerial discharge of his duty." Immediately after the committal of Doctor Gahan, the jury, on a separate issue, returned a verdict, that lord Dunboyne had died a Catholic. The return of this verdict was accompanied by a decision from the court, that as the case of the plaintiff did not suffer from Doctor Gahan's refusal to answer the question proposed, and as it was evident he had acted from principle, the law should, on that account, be mitigated; he was accordingly ordered to be discharged. The remaining portion of Doctor Gahan's days was devoted to the unabated discharge of his duties. After an invaluable ministry, comprising a period of fifty-four years, he died in his native convent, on the 6th of December, 1804, and in the 74th year of his age. This learned ecclesiastic has written: 1. Sermons on Various Subjects; 2. A History of the Christian Church; 3. A Short and Plain Exposition of the Catechism; 4. The Christian's Guide to Heaven; 5. Catholic Devotion; 6. A Short and Easy Method to Discern the True Religion from all the Sects which undeservedly assume that Name; 7. Youth Instructed in the Grounds of the True Religion; 8. The Devout Communicant; 9. A Translation of the "Spiritual Retreat," from the French, by Bourdaloue; 10. An Abridgment of the History of the Old and New Testament.

Edward Ferris, the recollection of whose virtues may be associated with the brightest epoch of Maynooth College, was born in the county of Kerry, about the year 1738. The prospects at this time held out in Ireland to genius and enterprize, were most discouraging; he accordingly resolved to withdraw from his native land, and went to France, already celebrated as the liberal asylum for expatriated Irishmen. Filled with the ardour of youth, his inclination first prompted

him to engage in a military life, but Providence disposed more favorably: having formed an acquaintance with some members of that invaluable society designated the "Priests of the Mission," he attached himself to their community, and after a time, was advanced to the priesthood. Talents of the first order, and a spirit of industry which no difficulties could relax, naturally contributed in establishing his literary fame: he became vicar-general of the society, was held in the highest respect at the French court, and for sanctity as well as learning, was exceedingly venerated throughout Paris. His labours in arresting the progress of infidelity at the period of the revolution, exposed him to the tempest, by which the throne and the altar were then equally assailed; he took refuge in Italy, and was received at the court of Rome with marks of great kindness, by his holiness Pius VI. Italy, in turn, became the theatre of war: the sanctuary was invaded—her ministers were dispersed—the pontiff himself became a captive. Meanwhile, Doctor Ferris directed his route towards the north of Europe; he traversed the greater part of Switzerland, where he devoted some years to his missionary duties, and having encountered a variety of dangers, he at length proceeded to Vienna.

A period of forty-five years had now elapsed, since this learned ecclesiastic first departed from the shores of his native country; he returned to Ireland in 1800, and immediately after was appointed dean of Maynooth College. That rising establishment presented, at the time, an unrivalled combination of worth and talent: the learned Flood was its president; Ahern, Dolore, La Hogue, and Clinch, were among the distinguished teachers to whose care the future hopes of the Irish mission had been intrusted. It was at this bright epoch, that the important duties of dean devolved on the learned and saintly Ferris. Those who had the happiness of being placed under his superintendence (and many of them are still living), of being directed by his counsel—enlightened by his wisdom—encouraged by his example, will recollect with feelings of grateful love, the many endearing qualities that adorned the character of this wisest and best of superiors. The humility, which inclined him to conceal the vast resources of his mind, served but to reflect additional lustre on his other virtues; Maynooth, at that time, appeared, as it were, filled with his praise, and even at this day, his name is handed down by those who knew him, with an almost sacred veneration. On the death of Ahern, Doctor Ferris was prevailed upon to accept the vacant chair of moral theology, and was succeeded in the

office of dean by Doctor Coen, the present truly pious and venerable bishop of Clonfert. Doctor Ferris continued to teach moral theology with singular applause until 1809, in which year he died, and was interred in the cemetery of Lara Brian, near Maynooth.

Thomas Betagh was born in the town of Kells, and county of Meath, in the year 1738. The ancient and distinguished family from which he was descended, may be numbered among the first of those that had been marked out for ruin during the era of proscription, under the usurper Cromwell; his parents, nevertheless, enjoyed a respectable independence, and placed their son, at a very early age, under the care of the Rev. John Austin, an eminent father of the Society of Jesus, who at that time conducted a literary establishment in the metropolis. Filled with an ardent desire of attaching himself to that celebrated society, he repaired, in the sixteenth year of his age, to France, where, after the usual probation of two years, he entered on his course of ecclesiastical studies. Being now committed to the superintendence of men justly eulogized in the history of religion and of literature, as the patrons of merit, the talents with which he had been so highly gifted, found ample scope for their development. He completed his studies with brilliant success, and immediately after, was appointed to teach in the public schools attached to the college of the society, at Pont-a-Mousson, in the province of Champaigne. About the year 1762, he returned to his native country. The state of education among the Catholic community of every rank was, at this period, truly deplorable. Hitherto, this first and greatest source of national happiness had been closed against them by the strong arm of the law; periods of toleration, or of magisterial connivance might occasionally intervene; such indulgence, however, was precarious and transitory; the gleam of sunshine was allowed to appear and open a cheering prospect to the people, but the cloud immediately followed, and all their hopes were lost in the darkness of the storm. The accession of George III. to the throne, in 1760, inspired the Catholics with renewed vigour, and education became the leading object of their solicitude. It was about this period that Doctor Betagh, having now returned to Ireland, resolved to devote his time and talents to the same national object; he became a co-operator with Father Austin in the school which that invaluable ecclesiastic had long since established, and continued the same useful labours, in conjunction with the learned Father Mulcaille, for several years. While engaged in this

most laudable employment, he received his degree of professed father from Fr. Laurence Ricci, the last general of the society, and made his solemn profession in the hands of Fr. John Ward, the last superior of the Irish mission. The suppression of this distinguished society, to which the inhabitants of both hemispheres stand so deeply indebted, occurred in 1773, at which time Doctor Betagh was attached to Rosemary-lane Chapel, as assistant to the Rev. M. Field, then parish priest of SS. Michael and John's. This venerable pastor, by reason of age and infirmity, had been for some years incapable of supporting these weighty obligations, during which time Doctor Betagh was appointed administrator, and afterwards succeeded Father Field in the government of the parish. The improvement of the poor, through the medium of gratuitous education, and the removal of the deep-rooted misrepresentations, by a fair statement and open defence of Catholic truths, formed the leading features of his apostolical zeal: he opened an evening free school, which was commenced in School-house-lane, and was, after some years, removed to Skinner-row; where three hundred boys of the humbler classes received suitable instruction, and where he himself was to be seen placed in the midst of them as regularly as the returning evening. In this school more than three thousand children and adults received the blessings of a moral education, while their benevolent pastor was accustomed to clothe at least forty of the most destitute among them annually, out of his own limited resources. It was, however, in the discharge of his public ministerial duties, and particularly in his controversial discourses, that the talent and zeal of this great man shone resplendent. The beautiful simplicity of his language, combined with his peculiarly methodical arrangement and powerful strength of argument, rendered the cause of truth, in his hands, invincible: as a moralist, he took full possession of the hearts of his hearers; as a controvertist, and the champion of Catholicity, he stood in the field without a rival. The usual points which he selected as the subjects of these controversial discourses were the articles of the Apostles' Creed: he first proposed the doctrine which, according to [illegible] Catholic was bound to believe; he then established the [illegible] of this doctrine in a strain of perspicuous and irresistible reasoning, and in conclusion, he stated the objections which had been raised against it and satisfactorily refuted them. The zeal which burned within him was not to be circumscribed, it extended even to the future necessities of the sanctuary: several young men, distinguished for transcendant

talents, piety, and a vocation for the ecclesiastical state, found in him a director and a patron; through his encouragement they prepared themselves for the sacred ministry, and many of them continue to this day among the first and most brilliant ornaments of the Church of Ireland. After a most successful mission of upwards of forty years, Doctor Betagh died on the 16th February, 1811. On the announcement of his death, the metropolis was turned into one general scene of mourning, and at this day his name and his virtues remain embalmed in the recollections of a grateful people.

John Lanigan, the learned author of the "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland,' was born in the city of Cashel in the year 1758. Having attained the eighteenth year of his age, he repaired to Rome and entered the Irish college, where he commenced his course of ecclesiastical studies along with several young Irishmen, among whom Doctor Florence MacCarthy (afterwards coadjutor bishop of Cork), and Doctor M'Cann, of the county of Louth, stood pre-eminently distinguished. His transcendant talents assisted by unwearied application, soon raised him to an eminent rank; he took out his degree of doctor of divinity, and among the number of his admirers may be noticed that patron of literature, cardinal Marefoschi, at one period cardinal-protector of the Church of Ireland. Through his advice and patronage Doctor Lanigan removed to Pavia, where he was appointed professor of Scripture, Hebrew, and ecclesiastical history, in the Hanoverian college of the ancient and celebrated university of that city. Several of the Hanoverian and Austrian nobility, and even princes, received their education under this distinguished Irishman; his extensive acquirements ranked him among the first characters of the university; the learned Tamburini, by whom it was then administered, was accustomed to designate him the pillar and brightest ornament of the establishment. On one occasion the emperor Joseph II., having visited the university of Pavia, was pleased to honour Dr. Lanigan's lectures by his presence: the doctor delivered a Latin oration which was received with unbounded applause, the emperor at the same time observing, "that so young and so enlightened a professor [illegible] new lustre on the Irish nation, and reminded him of the ancient literary glory of that people."

The attachment which he now formed for the university, served to confirm a resolution which he had already contemplated, of spending the remainder of his days within its walls: circumstances, however, soon obliged him to adopt a different course. On the invasion of Lombardy by Napoleon, the

French troops entered Pavia in 1796; the professors and students became dispersed, and the university was broken up; yet it is but fair to observe, that Buonaparte issued a manifesto to the municipalities of Pavia, ordering them to recall the professors, to invite the students to resume their studies, and to assure all, that even amid the din of war, this sacred abode of literature and retirement should remain secure and unmolested. Doctor Lanigan, however, returned to Ireland, and having reached Dublin, he attached himself to Francis-street Chapel, through the invitation and encouragement of the Very Rev. Doctor Hamil, with whom he had been previously acquainted in the Irish college at Rome. Here he continued for some time, but finding it more convenient to reside with his intimate friend, the Rev. F. Corcoran of Church-street, he generally officiated in the conventual chapel, of which that amiable clergyman happened to be superior. About this time Doctor Lanigan was invited to accept a professor's chair in Maynooth College; his nomination was proposed by the Most Rev. Dr. O'Reilly, and was seconded by the Most Rev. Doctor Troy. Doctor Moylan, however, who happened during these proceedings to be absent, on entering the board-room and being made acquainted with the matter, suggested that the Jansenistical formula drawn up and already signed by the French clergy, should be previously submitted to Doctor Lanigan and receive his signature. To this the doctor objected; observing at the same time, that he would most willingly subscribe to the bull *Unigenitus*, emanating as it did from the head of the Church; but that he would never consent to bind himself down to the dictation or formula of any *foreign national church whatever*. The motion of the Right Rev. prelate was, however, overruled, yet the doctor thought proper to decline the appointment. Doctor Lanigan's literary reputation having been long since fully established, in 1799, he was unanimously elected by the members of the Dublin Society as their translator, editor, and corrector of the press; and in 1808, he became also their librarian,—a situation which his extensive acquaintance with the languages and his immense information, enabled him to fill in a manner honourable to himself and to that establishment. On this occasion the earl of Donoughmore, and several of the Irish nobility became his patrons: general Charles Vallancey, Richard Kirwan, and other literary characters, bore honourable testimony to his exalted merits. While in the discharge of the duties of this office, and about the year 1813, he commenced the arrangement of the materials which he had

already prepared for his noble and immortal work, the Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. These he revised, purged, and augmented with a variety of scarce and valuable matter, gleaned from the public and private libraries of his own country, and having completed the whole with diligence, and, it may be added with tremendous labour, in 1822 he published the work in four octavo volumes. There has not, perhaps, been ever written in any nation, or in any language, a work more distinguished for accuracy, impartiality, and sound criticism than this inimitable production; the precision with which he balances the several statements of our national records, prove him to be an antiquarian of the first order; while the immense mass of authority to which he refers, may enable us to form some idea of the herculean task which this great man had to encounter. By means of this immortal work he had rescued from oblivion, as well as from obloquy, the genuine records of his native land; he has placed the ecclesiastical antiquities of Ireland on a solid and an imperishable basis. Some critics may, perhaps, be dissatisfied with the manner of his arrangement; but when it is recollected that he handles each subject agreeably to a certain chronological order peculiar to antiquarians, and that he attends to facts, to truth, and to nothing else, this apparent deficiency may be readily overlooked.

Doctor Lanigan continued to discharge the duties of librarian for the Dublin Society until the year 1814, when, on account of the state of his health, he resigned; still retaining his former situation of translator and corrector of the press, on a salary of one hundred guineas per annum. In consequence of the orderly condition in which the library was kept, and his other services, he was presented, on two or three occasions, with a gift of one hundred guineas: it appears, however, that at one occasion a reduction of his salary was contemplated, but the proposition was almost universally negatived; even John Giffard, with all his prejudices, exerted his influence in favour of the librarian's interest. At the close of his life he retired to Finglass, on his annual salary of one hundred guineas, allowed him by the Dublin Society, as a token of the admiration in which they held his worth and talents. He was the author of the inimitable preface to the "Protestant Apology;" he has also written the preface to an edition of the Roman Breviary; likewise, in one volume, a Prolegomena to Commentaries on the Sacred Scriptures, which he intended to have continued, but the infirmities of old age prevented him. He died on the 7th of July, 1828, and was interred in the churchyard of Finglass.

William Coppinger, descended from an ancient and highly-respectable Catholic family, was born in the year 1753, in the parish of St. Finbar, in the city of Cork. The laws which debarred the Catholic youth of Ireland from the advantage of a liberal education being, even up to this period, enforced, he was, in consequence, obliged to adopt the example of many of his countrymen, and retire to the continent in quest of that literature which he had every right to expect, and to receive, in the land of his birth. He repaired to France, where he obtained an education suited to his rank; while the encouraging access to honour and distinction which the French service now so liberally presented, and an inherent spirit of noble emulation, inclined him at first to embrace the military profession. To think of satisfying the bias of his mind by any such prospects in his own country, would be worse than visionary; the ranks of the British army being then closed against the advancement of Catholics, no matter how high their descent or how transcendant their talents. This determination, however, was afterwards, through the suggestion of some friends, entirely abandoned; it yielded to a more useful and a more exalted calling; and at length he resolved to relinquish honours empty and transitory, and to consecrate the remainder of his days to the duties of the ecclesiastical state. He accordingly entered the Irish college in Paris, where the strong powers of mind with which he was gifted, were soon and brilliantly displayed, and having completed his studies, he returned, about the year 1780 to his native city. The missionary career of this invaluable ecclesiastic was commenced in his own native parish, that of St. Finbar, to which he was appointed curate; he was soon after advanced to the parish of Passage, and became vicar-general of the diocese.

About this time the melancholy defection of lord Dunboyne occasioned, as may expected, an unusual degree of scandal; in Passage the affliction was severely felt, but the unremitted zeal and charity of its good pastor supplied the people with paramount consolation. At this period also, the aged and venerable Doctor MacKenna, bishop of Cloyne, found it necessary to apply to Rome for the appointment of a coadjutor; through the recommendation of that prel[illegible] supported by Doctor Moylan, bishop of Cork, William Coppinger was the person selected; he was accordingly consecrated in the year 1788, and entered immediately on the discharge of those high functions which the religious and political state of the times had now invested with awful responsibility. Among other singular opinions, springing out of the prejudice of this

age, that of lord Redesdale, at the close of the eighteenth century, is not the least notorious. His lordship undertook to maintain that the existence of the Catholic clergy in Ireland was not recognized by law; this assertion was instantly taken up by Doctor Coppinger, while from the very statutes passed during the registration era of queen Anne, he overthrew the chancellor, and left him exposed to the humour and sarcasms of Curran and other legal contemporaries. Neither the piety nor exalted station of this prelate was sufficient to protect him from the shafts of a malignant faction; the corporation of Youghal, like the rest of their brotherhood throughout Ireland, had been deeply tinged with those party prejudices which at length created such general disgust in the public mind, that their extinction by law appeared in the eyes of every honest men as a blessing to the nation. Selfish and intolerant as they had been at all times, during the distractions of 1798 they became furious. To avoid the consequences of their resentment, this peaceable and inoffensive prelate was obliged to withdraw from that town. His apostolical zeal and exertions in the government of his diocese, cannot but be gratefully remembered by his clergy and people; in him the hated measure of a veto found an unceasing and a powerful opponent. In the national synod of 1808, when these arrangements were solemnly rejected, the resolution passed on that occasion originated principally from Doctor Coppinger; while, by this means in 1816, the transaction was altogether placed under the cognizance of the Propaganda,* and vetoism, without the hope of a resurrection, was soon after consigned to its political grave. The effects of Doctor Coppinger's literary labours, which continued until the period of his death (1830), being well known, stand not in need of eulogy; besides his writings against Horace Townsend, this prelate has also produced a translation of the Imitation of Christ, by Thomas à Kempis, a General Catechism, and a Life of Miss Nano Nagle: productions which must alike contribute to edify the faithful, and hand down the name and virtues of this excellent prelate to an admiring and grateful posterity.

Having thus conducted the reader through the history of our national Church, comprising a period of upwards of fourteen hundred years, we feel, from the general series of [illegible] as well as from the transactions of the last twenty-nine years, sufficiently authorized to repeat the observation already stated in the preface of this work, and to re-assert "that the power

* See chap. i.

of an all-ruling Providence has most mercifully, as well as visibly, interfered in the establishment, progress, and final triumph of the ancient, venerable, persecuted Catholic Church of Ireland. Is it necessary to recapitulate the scenes, circumstances, and characters of the last three hundred years? or are we called upon to look back on those ages of terror, when the tempest, loud and long, thickened round the edifice, and threatened with destruction even the mighty consecrated ROCK on which it rested? The posture in which this national Church had been placed during the incursions of the Danes, was truly terrific—when the temple and the altar became a scene of desolation, and the sanctuary overflowed with the blood of its priesthood; nevertheless, this ordeal, appalling as it must appear, is reduced to the level of an ordinary process, and sinks almost into insignificance, when put in contrast with the tremendous crucible through which this same Church had been afterwards doomed to pass. That the truth of that important proposition already stated may be placed before us, supported by still further illustration, let a parallel be drawn between what has occurred in the Church of this country, and the events connected with the rise and downfall of other deservedly celebrated national churches. Carthage at one period was an illustrious church; so was Hippo: Alexandria had its patriach, and Jerusalem enjoyed the same dignity; but these churches, with their celebrity, have almost disappeared: the sun of their glory has gone down, and at this day they remain like the melancholy remnants of a wreck, with scarcely anything but tradition to point out the greatness and grandeur of their former glory. Nor can many of the great national churches of Europe claim an exemption from the same descriptive outline. The ancient churches of the north of Europe have all vanished from the map; England and Scotland, too, have lost their hierarchy: even France and other great kingdoms have suffered beneath the shock of revolution and infidelity; while in all these countries heresy and schism, the real, visible scourges of mankind, have more or less made their inroads, upsetting all the long-established, venerable, and beneficial institutions of these once religious, happy and celebrated nations. Fortunate Ireland! cherished, protected land! in ancient days known to Christendom as an Island of Saints; in this our day, recognized throughout the same Christendom as a nation heroic in their attachment to the faith, invincible in their moral power to preserve it, favoured with a hierarchy pious as it is learned, firm as it is apostolical, and blessed with the possession of a Church which no human power has been

able to upset, and which now flourishes bright, fair and vigorous, like the never-fading green with which the lovely valleys of the country itself are so highly embellished.

Providence, however, in its sublime and mysterious ways, designs not unfrequently to operate through the medium of ordinary instruments. The inherent natural reverence of the Irish people for the ancient faith of their country, enkindled within them that hallowed and ever-burning zeal which no length of time could consume—which no severity of sufferings could extinguish; it made them look down with pity and scorn on the ephemeral novelties of the day; it enabled them to smile on death sooner than surrender the venerable creed of their sainted forefathers. Add to this the tender and powerful ties of unionship which at all times subsisted between the Catholic people of Ireland and their truly meritorious priesthood. This it was which cemented the whole into one irresistible mass; it created a reciprocity of feeling; they partook of each others joys, felt for their mutual afflictions; they were rendered compact, they became one, they became invincible. During those dark and dismal epochs, when the recesses of the mountains were prepared by Nature as the grand asylums of shelter for this people, their proscribed priests, like the martyrs of primitive days, were to be seen in the midst of them; they made them the cherished object of their thoughts, they clung to them with the affection of fathers—they never forsook them. The people, in their turn, have gratefully treasured up an indelible everlasting remembrance of these endearing services; they have them as the darling subject of their private contemplation and of their public eulogy; they are handed down as a sacred legacy from one generation to another; and at this day there is not, perhaps, under heaven, a nation that, in overflowing love and reverential attachment to its priesthood, can adequately compete with the high-minded, persevering, proverbially-faithful Catholics of Ireland!

But there is another link the most binding of any, because it is of divine foundation: it is that which connects them all, priests and people, with the great centre of unity, the Rock of ages, and without which the whole would have long since [illegible] in a wreck. This is the beacon lit up by infinite Wisdom for the Christian mariner; and by keeping it in constant view, those great men who stood at the helm of the Irish Church, guided the vessel in triumphant security; they set the billows, and the tempest, and the terrors that encompassed them at defiance. In unabated fidelity and veneration for the Chair of St. Peter, the Catholics of Ireland have never yet been sur-

passed by any Christian nation on earth; and for their conscientious adherence to it, no other nation has ever suffered so much. This it was which forced James I. to exclaim, "that the very atmosphere of Ireland was infected with popery." It was this which made bigotry outrageous, generated the penal code, drew forth the sword of persecution, and at divers periods reduced the noblest country in the world to the frightful condition of a desert. Nevertheless, the same ancient belief continues to flourish triumphant amongst us; and now, in the nineteenth century, Ireland, with her millions, glories in the appellation of Catholic; her churches are rising up magnificently and almost without number throughout the land; the glory of ancient times is revived in her seats of literature, and that the last age of this singularly protected Church may, in some respects, correspond with the days of her primitive glory, she has, within the last few years, sent forth her numerous missionaries to various nations: to the east and to the west—climates to which the light of Christianity had scarcely ever before penetrated. But that which completes her triumph, and to which Irishmen had for too long a time been strangers, is at length returned; the sun of civil and religious liberty has appeared above the horizon, the clouds of bigotry are dispersed, the wall of separation, where craft and self-policy were wont to conceal themselves, is thrown down, and the Catholic Church of Ireland, divested of all overgrown wealth, upheld by a learned and a pious priesthood, and allowed to rest on its own merits, now overspreads the land in all its lustre, independent—glorious—immortal.

APPENDIX I.

ARCHBISHOP USHER'S "DISCOURSE ON THE RELIGION ANCIENTLY PROFESSED BY THE IRISH,"* ANALYZED AND REFUTED.

NOTHING can, perhaps, more forcibly exhibit the perversity of the human mind, than its constant inclination to assail truths already incontestibly established, and which, in many instances, had become even self-evident. There is scarcely a principle in either natural or revealed religion that has not, at some period, been questioned. In modern times we find Berkley denying the existence of matter and the testimony of his own senses; while among the ancient philosophers, Pyrrhus raised up the doctrine of a general doubt; he doubted of everything, even of his own existence. Should we be inclined to find out a third character for the purpose of forming a trio, Dr. James Usher, Protestant archbishop of Armagh, might, indeed, with great propriety, be selected. Will it be believed that this man, celebrated for antiquarian research and for accuracy likewise, whenever the subject seemed not to clash with his own temporal interest, had actually undertaken to maintain that the religious doctrines of the ancient Irish had been, in most respects, perfectly similar to those professed by Protestants at the present day?—that neither St. Patrick, nor any one of the ancient fathers of the Irish Church, had ever recognized such a doctrine as the supremacy of the Roman pontiff, the sacrifice of the Mass, Purgatory, the invocation of saints, and other tenets now and at all times so steadfastly embraced by Catholics; and that, of course, the Christian religion must have been, at some period antecedent to the sixteenth century, corrupted in this country. Ledwich, who denied the existence of St. Patrick himself, may have some claim to our pity—*he was an illiterate bigot;* Usher, on the contrary, was deeply read in the antiquities of our country, and hence the bigotry which has tarnished his character, so far from being palliated on the score of ignorance, has acquired even an additional hue, from the downright determined malice with which it must have been accompanied. His intolerance during the reign of James I. is well known to every one acquainted with the history of that period. When, however, he found that Catholicity was not to be rooted out of Ireland by the sword, he then had recourse to this last wretched expedient, one which, in all probability, he adopted not so much from a hope of successful proselytism, as from a desire to wound the feelings of the people, by misrepresenting and maligning the religion of their forefathers. We shall, however, in the subsequent sheets, endeavour to follow the arguments of this singular polemic, observing, at the same time, that it is with great reluctance we devote any portion of our time or paper in attempting to illustrate a subject which is as solidly established as any fact recorded in history, and which might, with all propriety, be pronounced self-evident. Nor need we undertake the task of analyzing his arguments; this has been done, and, indeed, with great precision, by his favourite admirer, Harris.

There are, however, one or two principles which, by way of preliminary, we shall take the liberty of examining. The first of these refers to the mission and episcopal jurisdiction of St. Patrick. That this our national apostle had derived his mission and received his jurisdiction from the bishop of Rome, is

* London edition, 1631, in Marsh's Library.

a fact which Usher himself does not deny. Nevertheless, to place it beyond a doubt, we may be permitted to quote a few unquestionable authorities. In the fourth life of St. Patrick, contained in Colgan's "Triadis Thaumaturgæ," we read :—"Wherefore St. Germanus sent the blessed Patrick to Rome, that with the permission of the bishop of the Apostolic See he might go forth to preach, for order so requireth. But Patrick, having arrived at Rome, was most honourably received by the holy pope Celestine, and the relics of saints having been delivered to him, he was sent into Ireland by pope Celestine." Again, Eric, in his life of St. Germain, writes :—"Germain directed Patrick to the holy Celestine, pope of the city of Rome, by means of Segetius, his priest, who was to give a testimony of ecclesiastical probity for this most excellent man before the Holy See; and having, in its judgment, been approved of, being supported by its authority and strengthened by its benediction, he repaired to the regions of Ireland." Nennius also states :—"He (Patrick) is sent by Celestine, pope of Rome, to convert the Scots (Irish) to the faith of Christ." To these might be superadded a host of other authorities, did the limits of this appendix permit, or were it in any manner necessary. Hence it is evident that the source whence St. Patrick had derived his ecclesiastical jurisdiction was the head of the Church in the Apostolic See, the bishop of Rome. Hence also it is evident that the discipline and tenets of Catholic faith, professed and taught by pope Celestine, were and must have been identically the same as those which Patrick had been sent to announce to the Irish nation, a commission which, as we have seen, he afterwards executed with such amazing triumphant success. Now will any dispassionate man venture to assert that this great and saintly apostle, after having been specially sent by pope Celestine to preach certain doctrines to the Irish, had, on his landing in the country, recklessly renounced all his professions, and set about teaching a creed altogether different from that which he had received at the hands of those by whom he had been originally commissioned? An act of this description would argue nothing less than downright insanity—an instance of the kind is not to be found in the whole range of history—an instance of the kind has never occurred. With justice, therefore, we conclude that the very same principles of belief which had been embraced and taught by pope Celestine at Rome, were, in like manner, inculcated by St. Patrick, when he had entered on his mission among the inhabitants of this country. Now either pope Celestine believed in the tenets of the Catholic faith as they are at this day taught, or he did not—either he believed in the sacrifice of the Mass, in private sacramental confession, in purgatory, in the invocation of saints, etc., or he did not. If he did, then it follows that St. Patrick must, in like manner, have believed in them, and must have taught all these doctrines to our forefathers; then we see in one view what had been the religion of Ireland in the fifth century. But should it by any possibility be asserted that pope Celestine knew nothing about these doctrines, practised none of these doctrines, taught none of these doctrines? The man who would attempt to make such a ridiculous assertion, becomes at once a public object of scorn;—all the monuments of antiquity are against him;—he might as well commence forthwith and reject all historical evidence; to act with consistency he should take his proper position and join the ranks of Pyrrhonism. Such an assertion, indeed, has never been advanced; therefore we again conclude that the tenets of the Catholic faith as they are at this day held, were the very identical doctrines which were taught to our forefathers by the great apostle of the Irish when he came amongst them and converted them to the Christian faith in the year 432.

We shall, in the next place, direct the attention of the reader to another point equally true and equally interesting—we allude to that profound, unshaken veneration which the ancient Irish had at all times evinced towards every religious tenet delivered to them by their beloved apostle. There never was in any part of the Christian world a people who evinced a more reverential attachment to whatever had been handed down to them by their apostle than the ancient Irish. Should this truth require any illustration,

innumerable instances could be adduced. Look, for example, to the paschal controversy. Here is a question that has no connection whatever with Catholic faith, a mere matter of discipline; and yet, before it could be settled—before the Alexandrine Cycle could be introduced—see what determined opposition had been raised against it, what an uproar had been created from one extremity of the kingdom to the other. Yet on raising this outcry, what argument had they? Simply this one—that their ancient paschal cycle was that which they had received from St. Patrick; that whatever corresponded not with it was a mere novelty, and could not, according to the judgment of this proverbially tenacious people, be admitted as a substitute. But if, instead of discipline, which may and does vary, an attempt had been made to corrupt the faith of the country,—if some dogmatizer had started up and proposed a new tenet of belief, the reception which such a character would meet with may be readily anticipated. If they had raised such a reclamation on the score of discipline, what would they not have done had the faith itself been in danger?

Having proceeded thus far with these preliminary principles, let us now direct our attention to the arguments by which Dr. Usher endeavours to maintain, that the creed of the ancient Irish was totally distinct from that of their Catholic successors at the present day. For the purpose of establishing this singular proposition, the archbishop has made a favourite selection from among the several articles of Catholic faith, he has also condescended to take notice of our discipline. Were we to believe this disinterested theologian, the ancient Irish knew nothing whatever about the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, or of the sacrifice of the Mass, or of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the Eucharist, or of prayers for the dead, or of the invocation of saints, or of images or relics; moreover, the use of chrism was never practised amongst them; every one was allowed to read the Scriptures, and the clergy were tolerated to marry. This, without doubt, is a bold, a commanding position; but how, it may be asked, does he endeavour to maintain it? He attempts to maintain it by garbled isolated extracts, taken generally from the mystical works of some few of our ancient Irish writers, putting his own construction thereon, and making it, in despite even of common sense, exactly answer his own purpose, while at the same time he industriously takes care to pass over in silence those clear conclusive authorities, which would at once serve to point out to the reader what had been in reality the faith, as well as the practice, of the acient Church of Ireland. "I shall quote," he observes, "ancient writers, by which we must judge whether of both sides hath departed from the religion of *our ancestors*."* Let us therefore patiently and respectfully attend to his quotations.

On the Supremacy of the Pope.—In treating on this subject the archbishop refers to two authorities, namely, to Sedulius and Claudius.† Sedulius, an Irish ecclesiastic of the ninth century, in his commentary on this passage of Isaiah, "Behold I lay a stone in Sion for a foundation," observes, "It is certain that by the stone Christ is signified." Claudius thus expounds the passage: "On this rock I will build my Church." That is, "upon Christ our Saviour, who granted unto Peter, His faithful lover and confessor, the participation of His own name; that from Petra (the rock) he should be called Peter." From these passages the doctor concludes that both Sedulius and Claudius had taught that the foundation-stone laid in Sion and the rock on which the Church was built is Christ. But, pray, what Catholic denies it?

* Epistle to the Discourse, &c. Ussher in Marsh's Library.

† There is no sufficient authority for supposing that Claudius was an Irishman. The only grounds on which that supposition rests is the term *Scoti*, contained in the heading of the preface to his Commentary on St. Matthew: "Claudii Scoti Presbyteri ad Jastam." This is not, however, considered by antiquarians to have been the correct text. Mabillon, quoting this preface of Claudius, omits the word *Scoti*, and has merely *Claudius præcepter*, while Labbe maintains that the author of both the preface and commentaries was Claudius of Turin, who, according to all authorities, was a Spaniard.—See Dissert. in Bellarmin. De Sc[illegible] Fleury, Hist. Eccl. lib. 46—7.

That Christ Jesus is the rock, the great corner-stone on which the whole edifice rests, is a truth inculcated by the Catholic Church; but does it follow from this that Christ, the invisible corner-stone, or if you will, the invisible head, could not or has not appointed a visible substitute—a visible head to govern His Church on earth, and without which visible head the house would soon become divided against itelf, presenting nothing less than an indiscriminate scene of confusion, a crumbling tottering ruin? Witness, for example, the various sectaries that have separated from this head; having no centre of unity, they soon became divided among themselves, until at length you find, even within the limits of one small island, almost as many religions as there are inhabitants in the country. The necessity of this visible authority, and the actual appointment of this authority, were truths of which Claudius was perfectly convinced, and hence he observes that "Christ our Saviour granted (not unto John, or Thomas, or James) but unto Peter, His faithful lover and confessor, the participation of His own name." Or as it is elsewhere expressed, the participation of His own power, in these words: "And I will give unto you the keys of the kingdom of heaven: whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Had Claudius said that Christ never granted unto Peter a participation in His name, or a participation of His authority, then, indeed, there might have been just grounds for an objection. This commentator, however, says quite the contrary. It is, therefore, most clear and certain that neither Scotus nor Claudius ever professed or inculcated any other doctrine, relative to the supremacy of St. Peter and his successors, except that which has been handed down from the days of the Apostles, and believed in all ages and nations with such reverence and fidelity by the Catholic Church.

The next authority by which the archbishop endeavours to prove that the ancient Irish were unacquainted with the doctrine of St. Peter's supremacy, is a solitary quotation, taken from a hymn written by St. Secundinus, in honour of St. Patrick. In a part of the hymn are these words: "He (Patrick) is constant in the fear of God and immoveable in the faith, upon whom the Church is builded as upon Peter, whose apostleship also he hath obtained from God, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against him." This quotation contains three subjects for panegyrism: first, the nature of the apostleship which St. Patrick received; secondly, the stability of this apostleship; and thirdly, the consequences of that stability. As to the apostleship itself, we are informed that it was that of St. Peter, "whose apostleship also he hath obtained" (of course) from God. But how or through what medium was this apostleship of Peter been communicated to Patrick? Was it not by his having received ordination in a church holding communion with the successor of Peter, and of having received his missionary jurisdiction from the hands of St. Peter's successor? Unquestionably it was; and for this very same substantial reason, Patrick had recourse to the chair of Peter, before he ever entered on the arduous duties for which Heaven designed him—before he ventured to embark on the mission of Ireland.

In this manner it was that the blessed Patrick, already invited by a heavenly call, had obtained the apostleship of Peter; from this apostolic chair he never separated, for "he was immoveable in the faith;" with this apostolic chair he continued in constant communion,—he became as it were incorporated with it; and hence the venerable author of the hymn, in his peculiar poetic diction observes, that "upon him the Church is builded as upon Peter, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against him." This extract from the hymn of Secundinus cannot, therefore, be of any service to the cause of the archbishop; on the contrary, it militates powerfully against him. Let us suppose that Patrick had not received his ordination or his jurisdiction from pope Celestine, but that he had recourse for these essentials to some Arian bishop; in that case would he be considered by the learned author of the hymn as having obtained the apostleship of Peter? He certainly would not; and for this capital reason, that the source to which he applied had already been separated from the chair of Peter; because the Arian, by his heresy as well as by his

schism, had already cut himself off from all communion with the apostolic chair. Such being the case—the undoubted fact—what then becomes of the priestly jurisdiction of archbishop Usher? Has *he* the apostleship of Peter? The Arian had it not, because he separated himself from it; the archbishop has done the same: let us therefore leave him in his proper company; let us link the two together, and continue to offer some further observations on the subject which is still under discussion.

The quotations already advanced are those by which our great antiquarian has endeavoured to prove that the doctrine of St. Peter's supremacy was a thing altogether unknown to, and never professed by, the ancient Church of Ireland; the same prelate, however, has industriously and very unfairly secluded altogether from the view of his reader, the avowed and unequivocal testimony of some of the brightest luminaries of the Irish Church; he has designedly passed over many of the public acts of this same Church, connected with that doctrine, and has treated with the same indifference some of the most interesting canons of her ancient national synods. Columbanus, who flourished in the sixth century, and whose learning and sanctity contributed to shed a new radiance around the glory of that age, may, with great justice, be admitted as a competent witness on the subject now before us. In his fourth epistle to pope Boniface, this father of the Irish Church thus addresses the supreme pontiff: "To the most lovely of all Europe; to the head of all the churches; to the beloved father; to the exalted prelate; to the pastor of pastors," etc. In the body of the letter he proceeds to say: "For we Irish are disciples of St. Peter and of St. Paul, and of all the divinely inspired canonical writers, adhering constantly to the evangelical and apostolical doctrine. Amongst us no Jew, heretic nor schismatic can be found, but the Catholic faith unaltered, unshaken, precisely as we have *received it from you*, who are the successor of the Apostles. For as I have already said, we are attached to the chair of St. Peter, and although Rome is great and renowned, yet with us it is great and illustrious only on account of that apostolic chair. Through the two apostles of Christ you are almost celestial, and *Rome is the head of the churches of the world.*" Here is straightforward, conclusive testimony, so conclusive that it would be folly to employ a single syllable in attempting to illustrate it. But let us proceed to facts: when in the subsequent century, the controversy connected with the Paschal Question had been carried to the utmost limits of excitement, and when in the national synod of Old Leighlin, the fathers of the Irish Church could not be prevailed upon to come to some settled resolution on this subject, what was the ultimate and decisive plan proposed by the leading prelates of the nation and instantly adopted by the whole assembly? It was a regular appeal to the Apostolic See; a proceeding founded not only on the doctrine which they had received from their predecessors, but also on an express canon ratified and handed down to them by St. Patrick himself. This we have already seen when treating of the events of the seventh century,—a circumstance which saves us the trouble of any recapitulation in this place. But to put the question at rest for ever,—to place it beyond the bounds of all controversy, let us quote the canon itself, that ancient Irish constitution which, fifteen hundred years ago, was established by the great apostle of this nation, long before either a heretic or a schismatic had been known in the country; let this canon be produced, and then the dispassionate reader will be enabled to judge whether or not the ancient Irish believed in the supremacy of the Apostolic See. This concise but comprehensive canon is contained in these words: "Si quæ quæstiones in hac insula oriantur, ad Sedem Apostolicam referantur." "If any questions (difficulties on religious subjects) should arise in this island, let them be referred to the Apostolic See." Or, as more fully expressed in a canon copied by Usher himself from an ancient book of the church of Armagh, and passed in the synod of Patrick, Auxilius, Secundinus and Benignus, substantially to the following effect: "If any difficult cause should occur, which cannot be easily decided by the Irish prelates and the see of Armagh, we have decreed that it shall be referred to the Apostolic See

that is, to the chair of the apostle St. Peter, which hath the authority of the city of Rome." The doctrine of the spiritual authority of the Apostolic See, comprehended in this canon, was steadfastly practised by the pastors of the Irish Church at all subsequent periods; it was confirmed by the illustrious example of our national apostle himself. Had not the supreme authority of the chair of St. Peter been an universally received doctrine, what necessity had Patrick for having recourse to Rome previously to his entering on the mission of Ireland? Could he not have received his ordination and his missionary powers from St. Germain of Auxerre, or from St. Martin of Tours? These were prelates of acknowledged eminence, and the sees over which they presided had obtained a high rank in the Christian Church, yet we find that they were the very men who sent our apostle to pope Celestine, in order that from that successor of St. Peter he might receive his ordination, together with licit powers to enter on the sublime enterprise for which Heaven designed him. This self-same doctrine he has transmitted to his successors; by them has it been handed down with sacred reverence from one generation of pastors to another, and although the sword and the storm have raged unabated for centuries, nevertheless the Catholic Church of Ireland has proceeded majestically in her course, never for an instant separating herself from the great centre of unity, or from that apostolic doctrine with which she was entrusted, and which flourishes at this day as vigorously as during the fairest and brightest epoch of her primitive glory.

THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS.—On this subject as well as on the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the Eucharist, the archbishop appears to have been completely puzzled. Compelled by the unequivocal testimony of our writers, our liturgies, and our canons, he was obliged to admit that the ancient Irish were in the constant practice of offering up the Eucharistic sacrifice, and that Masses, termed *Requiem Masses*, used to be daily celebrated. Indeed, so interwoven is the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice with the whole body of our national records, that in order to deny its practice, he should necessarily reject the antiquities of the country altogether. Cogitosus, in his life of St. Brigid, and in his beautiful description of the church of Kildare, says, "there were two doors leading into the church; by one door the bishop together with his clergy entered, for the purpose of *immolating the Lord's sacrifice*, and by the other the abbess and her nuns entered, that they might enjoy the banquet of *the body and blood of Jesus Christ*." In the ancient Acts of St. Columbkill, written by Adamnan, it is stated that when St. Cronan was on a visit at the monastery of Hy, he was directed by St. Columba to offer the sacrifice, or, as the venerable author expresses it, "*To make, according to custom, the body of Christ.*" We read in the ancient life of St. Kieran of Saigir, that on every Christmas night, the saint was accustomed to repair to the nunnery of St. Cocchea, "*that there he might offer up the body of Christ.*" In fine, whenever any of these ancient Irish writers are treating on this august subject, the terms which they invariably employ are "the Sacrifice of Salvation—the Sacrificial Mystery—the Mysteries of the Sacrifice." It would be an endless task, and would carry us beyond our intended limits, were we to give insertion in this place to an almost countless mass of authorities which could be adduced from the ancient writers and fathers of the Irish Church. The canons and liturgies to which we shall hereafter refer, will form a powerful argument in support of our proposition, while it must be recollected that Usher, unable to resist such a host of evidence, was compelled to acknowledge that the sacrifice of the Mass was a doctrine universally believed and practised from the earliest period in the Church of Ireland. Having been thus constrained to make this important concession, the reader will, no doubt, be somewhat astonished at the reckless struggle which he makes in attempting to extricate himself from the difficulty; while at the same time he endeavours to impose on his readers, by pretending that it was only a sacrifice of thanksgiving, and as such was offered up for those happy souls who were in the possession of eternal bliss, but that it had not been believed or prac-

tised in the ancient Irish Church *as a sacrifice of propitiation.* In order to establish this sweeping proposition, a few isolated quotations from Adamnan's life of St. Columba are most pomposnly produced. In one of these it is said, "that Columbkill caused all things to be prepared for the Eucharist, when he had seen the soul of St. Brendan received by the angels." On another occasion, when the death of Columbanus, bishop of Leinster, occurred, the same saint is represented as having acted under similar religious feelings,—"For," says he, "I must this day celebrate the holy mysteries of the Eucharist, for the reverence of that soul, which this night, being carried beyond the starry firmament between the choirs of angels, ascended into paradise." From these passages the archbishop labours hard to persuade his reader, that with the ancient Irish the Eucharistic oblation was always one of thanksgiving, and that it never, forsooth, was an offering of propitiation. But, pray, by what process of fair reasoning is he entitled to draw this comprehensive inference? Where is the man, even partially acquainted with the principles of Catholicity, who does not know that the Catholic Church holds the sacrifice of the Mass to be a sacrifice both of thanksgiving and of propitiation? In the cases alluded to in the foregoing extracts, the sacrifice was certainly offered by way of thanksgiving, but it does not from hence follow that it had *never* been offered as a propitiation. On the contrary, this mystical oblation was always considered by the ancient Irish as propitiatory, and to demonstrate this truth we shall have recourse to such authorities as cannot by any possibility be called into question. Of all the sources, whether moral or physical, by which the faith or discipline of any national church can be ascertained, the surest and most indisputable is to be found in the public acts of that Church, that is, in the existing canons which were passed at the national synods, composed of the fathers and guardians of that church. Taking our stand on this principle, we shall now have recourse to the ancient canons of the Church of Ireland, and make it appear as evident as the sun rolling in the heavens, that the Eucharistic oblation was considered by the Church of Ireland not only as a sacrifice of thanksgiving, but also of propitiation. In an ancient canon contained in D'Achery's Collection, (l. 2, cap. xx.) the synod says: "The Church offers for the souls of the deceased in four ways: for the very good the oblations are simply thanksgivings; for the very bad they become consolations to the living; for such as were not very good, the oblations are made in order *to obtain full remission;* and for those who were not very bad, *that their punishment may be rendered more tolerable.*" Here we have the doctrine of the Eucharistic oblation being a propitiatory sacrifice in plain unequivocal terms. When it is offered up for souls that are very good, that are blessed and happy, it is in that case (says the canon) a sacrifice of thanksgiving; and of this description was the oblation of St. Columba, already noticed: should it be offered for souls that were very bad in the sight of Heaven, even so the faithful on earth will derive consolation from it. But should the sacrifice be offered for such as were not very good or were not very bad, then the object of it is, that the punishment to which these souls were subjected may be rendered more tolerable, and that they may at length obtain full pardon. What do you call this but propitiation, and of such a character also, that it not only decides our present subject, but, moreover, establishes in the clearest manner that the Catholic doctrine of praying for the dead, was a tenet universally believed and practised in the ancient Church of Ireland. With this important canon [illegible] was well acquainted, why then has he not produced it, why has he concealed it altogether from the view of his reader? He knew right well that had this public document, this solemn attestation of the Irish Church, been produced, the whole baseless fabric of his hopeless cause would soon fall to pieces—the truth should then come forth—it would be out of his power to impose any longer on the credulity of the public. But may we be allowed to ask, when a man undertakes a statement in which the religious character of a whole nation is involved, and that he stands notoriously [illegible] and wilful suppression of the truth, what claim can that man have to credi-

bility? It must, moreover, be remarked, that the question now before us is not, strictly speaking, a polemical one; it is not whether the Catholic doctrine relative to the sacrifice of the Mass be right or wrong, or whether the ancient Irish were right or were wrong in believing it to be a sacrifice of propitiation; but the question is, did they believe it to be propitiatory? Hence, it is altogether an historical question. Usher undertakes to delineate the character of the ancient Irish: he represents them as holding the Eucharistic oblation to be nothing more than a mere sacrifice of thanksgiving; he represents them as differing "toto cœlo" from their Catholic descendants of the present day: their character, therefore, rested in his hands, while honour and justice required that he should have dealt with it fairly and candidly. Had he been inclined to act in an upright manner, he would, in the first instance, have produced this canon, and then let him, if he were able, convince his readers that it did not or could not militate against the position on which he set out. He should do the same with their liturgies; in a word, as it was an historical subject, he should fairly treat it as such, and not by obtruding a few garbled isolated extracts—which, by-the-bye, prove nothing for his cause—endeavour to gain a currency for his own absurd inventions, and at the same time malign and depreciate the character of an ancient, a faithful, and a steadfastly orthodox people.

To the aforesaid canon may be added another still more ancient; it is the twelfth among the canons of the synod of St. Patrick, and is entitled, "*Of the Oblation for the Dead,*" in these words: "Hear the apostle saying, *there is a sin unto death, I do not say that for it any one do pray.* And the Lord: *Do not give the holy to dogs.* For he, who will not deserve to receive the Sacrifice during his life, how can it *help* him after his death?" From this canon it follows, that the Sacrifice was accustomed to be offered up for the purpose of *helping*, and that of course it was considered *propitiatory.* The sin unto death, above referred to, is that of final impenitence. For persons dying in this state, that is for impenitent sinners, the Sacrifice was not offered, and why? because it could not help them. "For, (says the canon,) he who will not deserve to receive the Sacrifice during his life, how can it *help* him after his death?" Hence it is clear that he who did deserve to receive it during life could, according to the fathers of the synod, receive *help* from it after death; in consequence it becomes propitiatory. Now, this canon of St. Patrick has, in the hands of the archbishop, shared the same fate with the former; he has cushioned them both, while at the same time he has treated the character of our apostle, of the fathers of the Irish Church, and of the nation at large, in a manner manifestly unbecoming that of a man of principle or a scholar.

We have already alluded to the ancient liturgies of the Irish Church; let us therefore in a brief manner examine one of these, and see whether or not the ancient Irish believed the sacrifice of the Mass to be one of propitiation. For this purpose the reader shall be referred to the ancient Irish Missal, the Cursus Scotorum. As a description of this very ancient Missal shall be given in a subsequent appendix, we shall now have recourse to some of the orations, or as they are called in the Missal, *contestationes,* in order to show that the masses contained therein were propitiatory. In the Mass for the dead, entitled "*Pro defunctis,*" is contained the following oration: "Grant, O Lord, to him, thy servant deceased, the pardon of all his sins, in that secret abode, where there is no longer room for penance; do you, O Christ, receive the soul of thy servant, which thou hast given, and forgive him his trespasses more abundant than he has forgiven those who have trespassed against him." This Missal has also a Mass for the living and the dead, "*Pro vivis et defunctis,*" in which we read the following oration: "Propitiously grant, that this sacred oblation may be profitable to the dead in obtaining pardon, and to the living in obtaining salvation; grant to them (the living and the dead) the full remission of all their sins and that indulgence which they have always deserved."

Were it necessary, we could illustrate the subject by a host of additional evidence; the authorities, however, which have been already advanced must, in the mind of every fair, impartial reader, be considered conclusive; they exh

in the plainest terms what was the faith of the ancient Irish on this most important dogma, as well as the folly of the man who undertook to malign their creed, and impose on the public by his extravagant misrepresentations.

THE REAL PRESENCE.—In endeavouring to steer his course through the last subject, the archbishop soon found himself beset with insurmountable difficulties; but when he had entered on the doctrine of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, and ventured to show that it was never numbered among the religious tenets of the ancient Irish, he was clearly compelled to abandon the enterprize. If clear and expressive language be admitted, the universal belief of this apostolical doctrine in the ancient Church of Ireland is as incontestably established, as the very existence amongst them of Christianity itself. Does it not follow, as a regular corollary from the testimonies which have been already advanced on the sacrifice of the Mass, that the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist was a doctrine universally believed from the very infancy of our national Church? otherwise, what means that strong expression of St. Columba, "*to make according to custom the body of Christ*;" or these words of Cogitosus, that the bishop entered by one door "*to immolate the Lord's Sacrifice*," while St. Brigid and her nuns entered by another "*that they might partake of the banquet of the body and blood of Jesus Christ*"? But as we shall have occasion to produce some further testimony in the sequel, let us first attend to the archbishop, and endeavour to learn on what grounds he could so confidently assert, that the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist was a doctrine with which the ancient Church of Ireland was totally unacquainted. Here the reader may, perhaps, expect to find an overwhelming selection of authorities, or at least some one authority containing a positive denial of the doctrine. But no such thing appears; for in the several passages which Usher found scattered throughout the works of these ancient writers, the Eucharist is distinctly called the body of the Lord, the body and blood of Christ, the sacrament of the most sacred body and blood of the Lord; expressions perfectly similar to those used by all Catholics at the present day. Unable to resist such obvious language, he wanders completely from the subject, and at length is compelled to rest the whole merits of his case on an extract selected from the writings of Sedulius, the commentator whom we have already had occasion to notice. In his commentary on St. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians (xi. 24), touching the words "*in remembrance of me*," Sedulius observes "that Christ has left a memory of himself unto us, just as if one that was going on a distant journey, should leave some token with him whom he loved; that as often as he beheld it he might call to remembrance his benefits and friendship." It would require an extraordinary mind to discover anything in this passage which could exclude the real presence of Christ in the sacrament; on the contrary, his real presence is that which makes it an invaluable token of his love. The commentator, too, was speaking the language of Catholics when he said, that Christ has left unto us a memory of himself; for every Catholic acknowledges that this mysterious sacrament is commemorative of the sufferings of Christ, although Christ himself be verily and substantially contained therein, yet in a manner not subjected to our senses. The real presence of Christ under the sacramental species by no means prevents it from being a memorial; it even makes the memorial more impressive and endearing. There is nothing then in the expressions employed by Sedulius which could indicate a denial of the real presence: on the contrary, these very same expressions have
many of the most eminent doctors and Catholic writers of ev
Thomas of Aquin, in a hymn which he composed for the feast of
Christi, says, "That in the sacrament is kept up the memory of that most excellent charity, which Christ manifested in His passion—and that in the last supper, when having celebrated the Pasch with His disciples, as He was about to pass from this world to His Father, He instituted this sacrament *as a perpetual memorial* of His passion, and thus has left a singular consolation to the persons grieved for His absence." Will archbishop Usher undertake to say that St. Thomas of Aquin did not believe in the real presence; and yet where

is the difference between his language and that which has been already quoted from Sedulius? He has, it appears, taken a particular fancy to the evidence of this distinguished commentator; he professes a singular veneration for his name, and sets the highest value on his testimony; but we shall soon see how unfairly, how dishonorably he has dealt with both the writings and the character of this ancient and learned author. Sedulius, in a passage immediately antecedent to the one already noticed, while commenting on the words of Christ, as quoted by St. Paul: "*Take and eat; this is my body,*" has these words —"As if Paul said, beware not to eat that body unworthily, whereas *it is the body of Christ.*" Now it must, in the first place, be remarked, that this passage has been altogether omitted by Usher; and secondly, while it contains an explicit avowal, that the Eucharist is the body of Christ, it must at the same time serve to illustrate the commentator's meaning of the sentence which immediately follows, and which, as we have seen above, has been of no use whatever to the hopeless cause of our uncandid opponent.

In fact, the united testimony of our ancient records, and the whole chain of circumstances connected with the history of the Irish Church, most clearly demonstrate the extravagance of the cause which Usher so gratuitously attempted to establish. It may be recollected that our apostle St. Patrick converted Ethnea and Fethlimia, the daughters of Leogaire: the Tripartite life, written by St. Evin, gives us the following remarkable account of this event: "But when they had been more and more desirous to behold their spouse, the holy man (St. Patrick) says to them, 'clothed in mortal flesh ye cannot see the Son of God; but to behold him in the brightness of His majesty, it is necessary to lay aside the corruptible covering of flesh, and first to receive *His body and blood lying concealed after an invisible manner under the form and species of bread and wine.*' On hearing these words, the virgins, inflamed with more ardent love, instantly begged to receive the communion of *the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.*" Surely no Catholic at the present day could speak or write in more clear and expressive language than this. In the fourth life of St. Brigid it is stated, that "St. Nennidh, on hearing that the blessed Brigid was sick, went to see her, and at the hour of her departure she received *the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God,* from the most pure hands of the saint, as she herself had foretold." In like manner we read,* that "St. Fechin having been strengthened by the *sacrament of the most holy body and blood of the Lord,* resigned his soul to his Creator." St. Columbanus, after having in his Penitential, enjoined the necessity of confession before Mass, has these words: "For the altar is the tribunal of Christ, and *his body which is there with his blood* marks out those who approach in an unworthy state." What language can be plainer than this? "His body which is there (on the altar) with his blood," etc., how could it be there if there was nothing but the figure,—how could it be there if it were absent? Had Columbanus indeed foreseen that such a man as archbishop Usher would at some distant period start up and make an attempt, by misrepresenting his words, to malign the ancient religion of that country, of which the great saint was the glory and ornament, it is very probable that the above concise but conclusive sentence might be followed by something else—by a warning, which, it is probable, might be disregarded, but would not on that account be the less awful. The number of similar quotations which could be produced would fill a volume, but we deem it unnecessary to waste any more time on the subject. Before, however, we put a close to this paragraph, let us for a moment contemplate the peculiar circumstances of the Irish Church at the early period. Her missionaries, nay, her apostles, had been scattered over the surface of Europe: Columbanus was preaching at Bobbio, Gallus at Constance, Rumold in Mecklin, Virgilius in Saltzburg, Donatus in Tuscany: and these men were all in constant connexion with the head of the Church, and were held in the highest esteem both by the Apostolic See and by the prelates of all the national churches throughout the western world

* Fechin's Life, chap. xlvii.

Would this respect, this veneration have been paid to them had they denied the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, rejected the sacrifice of the Mass, or renounced the supremacy of the apostolic chair, *doctrines which at that time were professed all over the Christian Church*? If the doctrine of these apostolic Irishmen had been such as Usher endeavours to represent it, it must then follow that the same had been the creed of the Gallican, of the Roman, and of the whole western Church, and that consequently the popes Boniface, Gregory the Great, Celestine and the other pontiffs, who sat in the chair of St. Peter during those ages, had neither believed nor practised any of the above-mentioned Catholic doctrines—an absurdity which no man, unless bereft of all common reason, would seriously venture to put forward. Moreover, the character of the Irish Church, in consequence of her schools and the great influx of scholars from all parts of Europe, was rapidly and widely circulated; the religious tenets which she professed were well known not only to the prelates of Britain, but also to those of Gaul, Germany, Italy, and other great national Churches, yet we find that neither Bede nor any other writer of those times has ever accused her with having denied the doctrine of the real presence, or any other doctrine embraced and inculcated by the Catholic Church. We have already proved that the belief of the real presence was that which was preached by our great apostle when he converted the nation; if, then, the idea of a figurative presence had been ever known amongst them, it must have been introduced at some subsequent period. We, therefore, demand by whom was it introduced, or when or how did this innovation take place; let us have a fair historical account of this most public, most important event; let the annalist be mentioned—let the record be produced. Unfortunately for the cause of the archbishop, no such annalist can be discovered—no such record can be found. On the contrary, all our ancient writers, all the remnants of our national antiquity, with one universal testimony proclaim aloud, that the doctrine of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, was that which was believed by the ancient Church of Ireland, in every district and in every age, since the introduction of Christianity into the country. We, therefore, with every reason conclude, that the ancient Irish believed in this great sacrament exactly as the Catholic Church teaches, and as their Catholic descendants do undividedly and steadfastly believe at the present day.

On Purgatory.—Notwithstanding the clear stern testimony of our ancient canons, and the numberless instances of prayers for the dead, which are to be found in almost all the ecclesiastical records of the country, archbishop Usher is determined that this doctrine also shall be submitted to his impartial observations, and roundly asserts that the practice of praying for departed souls was a matter altogether unknown to the ancient Irish. Let us, then, briefly examine the grounds on which he endeavours to establish this most extravagant proposition. In a tract said to have been written by St. Patrick, and entitled "De Tribus Habitaculis," we read: "There are three habitations under the power of the Almighty: the first, the lowest, and the middle; the highest of which is called the kingdom of God; or heaven; the lowest is termed hell, and the middle is named the present world, or the circuit of the earth. The extremes of these habitations are altogether contrary to each other, but the middle hath some resemblance to the extremes. For in this world there is a mixture of good and bad, whereas in the kingdom of God there are none bad but all good; but in hell there are none good but all bad, and [illegible] are supplied out of the middle. For of the men of this world, some are called to heaven, others are thrust down into hell. For like [illegible] like, that is to say, good to good and bad to bad—just men to angels, transgressors to disobedient angels. The blessed are called to the kingdom prepared for them from the beginning of the world, and the wicked are driven into eternal fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels." In the first place must be remarked that there exists a great diversity of opinion as to the author of the work "De Tribus Habitaculis." Some ascribe it to St. Patrick, others to St. Augustin, and many to St. Bernard. Secondly, admitting it to be the work of St. Patrick, it amounts to no more than a mere negative argument;

does it follow because the author is silent as to a place of purgation, that he did not believe in the existence of any such place? Thirdly, an account of this state of temporary punishment had nothing to do with the object contemplated by the writer in the aforesaid work. His object was to give a general description of the three principal states of men—that of trial and those of misery and happiness. Now, the souls in purgatory are happy—wherever there is hope there is happiness. The damned in hell can have no happiness, for they cannot hope—they never can expect to enjoy the beatific vision. Not so with souls suffering for venial faults, in that prison where the justice of heaven will demand the last farthing; for they have hope, they are certain of at length beholding their God, and of becoming partakers of His glory. Hence they are to be numbered among the happy; and for this reason the author was not called upon to enter into any particular description of their state. Finally, the above quotation evidently proves nothing; the principal passage of it is contained in these words: "For of the men of this world some are exalted to heaven, others are thrust down into hell." Here the author says, that of the men of this world, some are exalted to heaven, but he does not say that these souls are exalted to heaven *immediately* after their death. Mankind is divided by this writer into two classes, namely, the just and the unjust. Now had he stated that all the just go to heaven *immediately* after their departure from this world, this indeed might be an argument of some value to Ussher, but he states no such thing; it is, therefore, most evident that no inference can be deduced from the above-mentioned quotation which could in the least prove to us that the Catholic doctrine of purgatory was a tenet unknown to the ancient Church of Ireland.

To this he adds a canon ascribed to an ancient Irish synod, which runs thus: "That the soul being separated from the body is presented before the tribunal of Christ, who rendereth its own unto it according to its actions; and that neither the archangel can lead it into life until the Lord judge it, nor can the devil carry it into pain unless the Lord do damn it."* How this canon can militate against a belief in purgatory is a point rather difficult to discover. The archangel cannot lead the soul into life until it is first judged, and even then the canon does not state that the soul is presently introduced into heaven. Besides, a transitory state of purgation is life; for the soul therein detained is just in the sight of God and consequently has life; and will, according to the divine mercy, become a partaker of the kingdom of heaven. Usher, in conclusion, enters into some unmeaning allusions to St. Patrick's purgatory in Lough Derg; but what has this to do with the belief of the ancient Irish as to the Catholic doctrine of purgatory? In fact the man himself seems to be sensible that in the fruitless attack which he had made on the religion of this ancient people, he had actually to contend against the united testimony of all the ecclesiastical records of the country. The canons and liturgies which we have already placed before the reader, when treating on the sacrifice of the Mass,† are more than sufficient, without the aid of any other evidence, to upset at once his absurd chimerical assertion. We may, however, by way of conclusion, take notice of the following authorities: in D'Achery's collection of the canons of the ancient Irish we find the following: "The Church now offers the sacrifice to God in many ways (for many reasons); first, for itself; secondly, for the commemoration of Jesus Christ; and thirdly, *for the souls of the departed*."‡ Here is an express canon conveying the belief of the whole Irish Church. Let Usher give us something like this and we shall be inclined to listen to him. It is stated in the life of St. Pulcherius,§ that "he was accustomed to pray for the repose of the soul of Ronan, a chieftain of Ele, and that he had frequently recommended the soul of the same chieftain to the prayers of the faithful." In a life of St.

* MS. in Bibliot. Cotton.

† See p. 439, et seqq.

‡ Synodus ait: Nunc Ecclesia multis modis offert Domino, primo, pro seipsa; secundo, pro commemoratione Jesu Christi, qui dixit: "Hoc facite in meam commemorationem," tertio, pro animabus defunctorum.—Lib. ii. cap. 9.

§ Chap. xviii.

Brendan, quoted by Usher himself, we read: "*That the prayer of the living doth profit much the dead.*" It is recorded in the ancient life of St. Ita, that "she had constantly prayed for the soul of her uncle, and that alms had been given by his sons" for the same purpose. Did our space permit, or were it indeed required, numberless similar authorities could be produced; we therefore conclude that the doctrine of praying for the dead, or in other words, of purgatory, was universally believed and constantly practised in the ancient Church of Ireland.

IMAGES—PRAYERS TO THE SAINTS.—In noticing the observations which archbishop Usher has thought proper to make on these subjects, we are certainly throwing away both time and paper. He gives us an extract from Sedulius to the following effect: "That it is impious to adore any other besides the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that all the soul oweth unto God, if it bestoweth it upon any besides God, it committeth adultery."* To this he subjoins a passage from the commentator Claudius, "That God doth not dwell in things made with hands, nor in metal nor stone."† What has this to do with the respect which the ancient Irish paid to the cross and to the images of Christ and his saints? No Catholic adores the cross, nor does he believe that any divinity resides in the metal, stone, or other material of which the image is constructed. Moreover, Usher was perfectly incorrect in introducing Claudius; for, as we have already seen, this commentator was not an Irishman. On the contrary, he was, in all probability, the Iconoclast bishop of Turin against whom our learned countryman Dungal had written his celebrated work, "Responsa contra perversas Claudii Taurensis episcopi Sententias." The very writings of Dungal would indeed have been sufficient to convince Usher, that the practice of paying a relative veneration to the cross, to relics and images, and of invoking the intercession of the saints, was universally observed in the ancient Church of Ireland. Against the heretic Claudius, Dungal has published the work already mentioned, and in it he shows that, from the most primitive times, the cross of Christ, and the relics and images of the saints, were universally preserved in churches, for the purpose of recalling to the minds of the faithful the sufferings and example of Christ and of his saints. This proves that due respect and veneration had been always paid to them. Dungal then enters on the doctrine of the invocation of saints, in which he observes: "If the apostles and martyrs, while in this world, could pray for others, how much more so can they do it after their crowns, victories, and triumphs?" We meet with the practice of this devotion in the recorded acts of all our ancient Irish saints. The metrical life of St. Brigid, written by St. Brogan in the seventh century, concludes with these words: "There are two holy virgins in heaven who may become my protectors, Mary and Brigid, on whose patronage let each of us depend." In like manner St. Livinus, in the epitaph which he composed to perpetuate the memory of St. Bavo at Ghent, thus implores the prayers of the saint: "This church which thou hast founded, mayest thou, O holy Bavo, protect by thy merits." But what necessity for dwelling longer on this topic? all our ancient liturgies bear an unanimous testimony to the belief and practice of this apostolical doctrine among our forefathers, since the very introduction of Christianity into the country. There have been, as we shall see, in our account of the Cursus Scotorum‡ masses appointed for the festivals of the Blessed Virgin, for those of the Apostles and of other saints; while the collects of all these masses contained the prayers of both priest and people, imploring the intercession of these saints through the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is, therefore, a most undeniable fact, that these Catholic doctrines were believed and practised in the ancient Church of Ireland, exactly as they had been from the introduction of the Gospel into the other national churches of the Christian world.

CHRISM.—When a man undertakes to defend a tottering cause, and that at length he finds both himself and it on the brink of the precipice, he is

* Comment. on Galat. chap. vi. † Id. Mounth. chap. ii. ‡ See appendix iii.

glad to lay hold on anything. This it was which urged the archbishop to have recourse to a letter addressed by Lanfranc to Gothric, in the eleventh century, and in which that prelate complains that, among the Irish, chrism had not been used in the administration of baptism. Now, Usher knew perfectly well that the application of consecrated chrism had nothing whatever to do with *the essence of the sacrament of baptism;* that it was nothing more than a mere ceremony, and that consequently it was neither opposed to Catholic faith, nor contrary to the apostolical institutions. The Irish Church, not considering it essentially necessary, had not, it is probable, enjoined its observance; but what objection can be grounded on this? Various other ceremonies had, in many churches, been employed in the administration of the sacrament of baptism, while in lapse of time they fell into disuse; in short, ceremonies have nothing whatever to do with faith. An important observation may, however, be drawn from this letter of Lanfranc. Had the Church of Ireland been such as Usher would wish to represent it—had the supremacy of the Pope, the real presence, the sacrifice of the Mass, and purgatory, been doctrines which the ancient Irish neither practised nor believed, why did not Lanfranc, in his letter, accuse them of it? why confine himself to the omission of chrism, a mere ceremony, and pass over the essential dogmas of the Christian religion? We are well accustomed to hear persons impudently asserting, even at the present day, that these tenets, or, as they term them, Romish practices, were introduced into this country by Henry II. and the Normans. Now, Lanfranc was a Norman; and if, for example, the Church of Ireland had, in his time, believed that the blessed Eucharist was only a figure of the body of Christ, why not make mention of this in his letter? if they had differed so essentially from him, and from the Gallican Church, whence he came, why not reprimand them? why has he passed over all these great dogmas in profound silence? The reason is evident: because the Irish people believed in them as well as he did; they believed in them and practised them in every age since the light of Christianity had first beamed on the nation; and the same belief continues to flourish triumphantly to this day, notwithstanding the multiplied grinding oppressions to which this faithful persevering people have been for so many ages subjected. The letter of Lanfranc, therefore, so far from being available to the cause of Usher, contributes most clearly and powerfully to upset his extravagant system altogether.

On the Celibacy of the Clergy.—The discipline of the ancient Irish has, it appears, engaged the attention of the archbishop no less than the venerable faith which the same people professed. The reader must have been already aware that the question relative to the celibacy of the Catholic clergy is only a mere matter of discipline, it is purely an ecclesiastical law, and, consequently, has no connection whatever with the principles of the Catholic faith. According to Usher, this law had no existence in the ancient Church of Ireland; and hence, he maintains that the clergy were permitted to marry. In support of this, he refers to the sixth canon of the synod, called Of Patrick, Auxilius, and Iserninus, which runs thus: "If any clerk from the ostiarius, or door-keeper, up to the priest, shall be seen without his tunic, and if his head be not shorn according to the Roman manner, and if his wife will walk out without her head veiled, he shall be contemned by the laity and separated from the church."* In the first place, it is manifest that this canon cannot be placed among the number of those ascribed to St. Patrick. It enjoins the observance of the Roman [illegible]. Now, we have seen that this tonsure had not been introduced into Ireland until about the middle of the seventh century; hence, the canon now [illegible] must have been framed either at that or at some subsequent period. Moreover, from this canon, it cannot, with any degree of certainty, be inferred

* "Quicumque clericus, ab ostiario usque ad sacerdotem, sine tunica vi turpitudinem ventris et nuditatem non tegat; et si non more Romano ea[illegible] et uxor ejus si non velato capite unbi laverit; pariter a laicis contemnantur separentur."—Can. vi.

that priests had been permitted to marry. It says: "If any clerk, from the ostiarius *up to the priest (usque ad sacerdotem)*, shall be seen," etc.; this, then, may signify the clerks or ecclesiastics of the several orders up to priesthood, but not the priest; it includes all the orders up to priesthood, but *not that order;* and in this sense the term priest, as it stands in the sentence, bears an *exclusive signification.* Should this canon be construed so as to admit the marriage of priests, it would certainly be at variance with many of the most ancient constitutions of the Irish Church. In the Penitential of Cummian, to which reference has been so frequently made, we find a canon which condemns the marriage not only of a monk, but also of a clerk. "If (says the canon) a clerk or a monk, after he has devoted himself to God, shall return to his secular habit or *marry a wife*, he shall do penance for ten years, three of which he shall spend on bread and water, and shall ever after abstain from the use of matrimony." According to the Penitential of Columbanus, "ecclesiastics who were married before they had taken orders, and whose wives were still living, were bound to abstain from them, under pain of being considered as adulterers." The twentieth canon of this penitential is contained in these words: "If any clerk or deacon, or ecclesiastic of any degree, who was a layman in the world with sons and daughters, shall, after his conversion (to religion), know his wife, and beget a child, he must know that he has committed adultery; wherefore, he must do penance for seven years on bread and water." In like manner, the twelfth canon of the Penitential attached to the Cursus Scotorum, ordains: "If any clerk, or superior degree, *who had a wife, and after his dignity (his ordination), shall again know her*, he must be considered as having committed adultery; if a clerk, he must do penance on bread and water for four years; if a deacon, for six; if a priest, for seven; and if a bishop, for twelve years." From these canons, it is evident that the ecclesiastical law of celibacy was observed in the ancient church of Ireland, and consequently the explanation which has been given to the first-mentioned canon must be admitted as the most probable and consistent. The canon already quoted in the commencement of this paragraph, had been evidently drawn up either in the seventh or in the eighth century; if, then, the marriage of priests had been tolerated at this period, it may, with every probability, be presumed that the same toleration had been allowed in the ages which immediately followed. A practice of this description could not have easily fallen into disuse, and hence it must have prevailed in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Now, we may be certain that no such toleration existed in the Church of Ireland during the eleventh century; if there had, would Lanfranc, in his letters, have passed over a matter of such importance in silence? Neither did it exist in the twelfth century: Giraldus Cambrensis would have readily availed himself of such an occurrence, in the many and furious invectives which he was accustomed to pour forth against the habits and character of the Irish clergy. In all our ancient records we do not read of one married priest; no such character is to be found, and it is most certain that the law of clerical celibacy was enforced and observed in Ireland exactly as it had been in the Roman, Gallican, and other national churches.

On the Use of the Scriptures.—We shall, in conclusion, briefly take notice of an extract or two which Usher has quoted, for the purpose of showing that the use of the Scriptures had been general among the ancient Irish, and, as it would appear, of enlisting that people among the [illegible] of the day. Sedulius observes: "Search the law, in which the will [illegible] contained;" and Bede, treating of the successors of St. Columba, "They observed diligently all those works of piety and chastity which could learn in the prophetical, evangelical, and apostolical writings; and all who went in company with Aidan, whether they were shorn or laymen, were obliged to exercise themselves either in the reading of the Scriptures, or in the learning of psalms."* It requires some study to discover the inter

* Eccl. Hist. lib. 3

which can be deduced from all this. Surely, the Catholic Church does not prohibit the use of the Scriptures, provided these sublime and difficult writings be read with the proper dispositions. It appears that all who went in company with St. Aidan (of Lindisfarn) were in the habit of exercising themselves in the reading of the Scriptures. Truly so they might, for in the perusal of these mysterious obscure books, they could not possibly have a better expositor, a safer guide, than the very man in whose company they were reading. Sedulius says, "search the law," but he does not say, give your own meaning to the law, or interpret the law according to your own private judgment, and set at nought the authority of the Church. What a pity it was that Sedulius and the fathers of the Irish Church had not some taste for fanaticism! what a misfortune it was both to religion and to society that they had not filled the country with bibles, and allowed every child and every illiterate man to take the sacred volume and interpret it so as to make it answer his own particular whim and fancy! Notwithstanding all their missionary labours, and all the copies of the sacred text which they had transcribed, they could never boast of more than one church; but archbishop Usher and his biblical followers can glory in some thousands, all disagreeing from each other, and each sturdily maintaining the orthodoxy of his principles, by passages taken from the most difficult portion of sacred writ. The ancient fathers of the Irish Church allowed no man to preach the Gospel until he had been first qualified by education, and by the reception of holy orders; but now, every man being competent to become his own expositor of the Bible, we have preachers of every rank, age, and sex.

But is it not a melancholy circumstance to witness the talents and research of such a man as archbishop Usher thus literally thrown away on a controversy so groundless and extravagant, and in which it is evident he could never succeed? He knew right well that the position which he had taken was untenable; he was well aware that the character which he had laboured to fasten on the ancient Church of this country was in open contradiction to all the records and antiquities he had ever read. It is then surprising that he made such a bad use of those rare endowments with which nature had furnished him for far different purposes. There is one way, and only one, for explaining this apparently unaccountable circumstance. He was a bigot, and an implacable persecutor of his Catholic countrymen; to this abominable spirit of religious bigotry he became a victim; under its influence he composed the book which we have briefly reviewed in the foregoing pages, and by it he has left to posterity an awful exemplification of that bane of society and scourge of mankind, religious intolerance.

APPENDIX II.

PENITENTIAL CANONS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH OF IRELAND.

Among the ancient Irish, the penitential canons, so characteristic of primitive times, had been most rigorously enforced even down to the eighth century, and would in all probability have been continued, were it not for the confusion which the Danish wars had created throughout the nation. In order to give the reader an idea of the nature of these penitential canons, as observed in the Church of Ireland, we shall have recourse to some of our ancient penitentials, and particularly to that of Cummian.* A brief selection may suffice, as an exact enumeration of all these canons would carry us beyond our intended limits. In the sixth chapter, on the crime of murder, the canon ordains—Should a layman maliciously murder another, he must withdraw from the church for forty days, and do penance for seven years on bread and water; but he is not to be allowed to the holy communion until placed on his death-bed. Should he kill another by accident, he must perform a similar penance for five years.† If a person should intend to commit murder, but had not the power of perpetrating it, he was to do penance for three years.‡ Should any person, in a quarrel, maim or injure another so as to render him deformed, he was bound to defray the expenses attending the illness of the injured man, and to do penance for six months on bread and water; but should he be unable to meet these expenses, he must perform the penance for a year.§ The sin of drunkenness was punished by fasting on bread and water for a week; if attended with vomiting, the fast was to be continued for fifteen days.‖ The crime of adultery was punished by a penance of three years, during one year of which nothing was allowed but bread and water.¶ The sin of concupiscence indulged in thought, was punished by a penance of one year. Immodest conversation was subjected to a penance of forty days. For fornication, a penance of two years was to be enjoined.** For the crime of perjury, a penance of three years was to be enjoined; if the perjury had been committed in a church, this penance was to be continued for eleven years. Should a layman, through a motive of avarice, be guilty of perjury, he was bound to sell all he had and give it to the poor, after which retiring into a monastery, he should there serve the Lord during the remainder of his life. A simple lie unattended with injury, was punished by a repetition of thirty psalms, or the constant silence of three days.†† Should a man be guilty of theft, he was to

* Another celebrated Penitential observed in those times was that of Columbanus, or, as it is called, *De Pœnitentiarum Mensura Taxanda*, and which, it must be observed, is altogether a distinct treatise from his *Regula Cœnobialis sive de Quotidianis Parvitentis Monachorum*, the latter having been intended for his institute, whereas the former was an universal ecclesiastical canon.—Vide Collect. Sacra, ap. Fleming.

† Si laicus alium occiderit odii meditatione, septem annis pœniteat (in pane et aqua) et quadraginta dies abstineat se ab ecclesia; circa exitum autem vitæ communione dignus habeatur, qui non voluntarie, sed casu homicidium perpetravit, quinque annis pœniteat.—Ex. cap. vi.

‡ Si voluerit et non potuerit, tribus annis pœniteat.

§ Qui per rixam debilem vel deformem hominem fecerit, reddat impensas medicis, ægritudinem restituat et medium annum pœniteat in pane et aqua; si non habuerit unde reddat, anno pœniteat.

‖ Si laicus fidelis inebriatur, pœniteat unam hebdomadam, in pane et aqua: si per ebriet[illegible] vomitum facit quindecim dies pœniteat. Ex cap. ii.

¶ Si quis adulterium fecerit, id est cum uxore alterius, aut sponsa, vel virginem corrumpat, aut sanctimonialem, tribus annis pœniteat, primo ex his in pane et aqua.

** Si quis fornicaverit de laicis, duobus annis pœniteat. Qui concupiscit mente fornicari non potuit, anno pœniteat, maxime in quadragesima. Qui turpiloquio vel aspectu coinquinatus est, quadraginta dies pœniteat.

†† Si quis perjurium fecerit, laici tribus annis pœniteant, clerici quinque, subdiaconi sex, diaconi septem, presbyteri decem, episcopi duodecim. Qui perjurium fecit in ecclesia, undecim annis pœniteat. Si quis laicus per cupiditatem perjurat, totas res suas vendat et donet (Deo) in pauperibus, et conversus in monasterio usque ad mortem serviat Deo. Mendax et si non pœnit, damnetur; tribus diebus tacendi, vel triginta psalmos cantet. Ex cap. v.

make immediate restitution, and fast for 120 days on bread and water; had he committed the crime frequently, and was unable to make restitution, he should do penance on bread and water for two years, and another year for 120 days, after which he was to be reconciled to the Church at Easter.* He who indulges hatred to his brother, so long as he neglects to overcome that feeling, must do penance on bread and water. The person who, through envy, is guilty of detraction, or who willingly listens to the detractor, must alike do penance for three days on bread and water.† Should a man be guilty of usury on any account, he must do penance for four years, one of these years on bread and water. In fine, whoever refused to receive guests under his roof, or neglected to exercise hospitality, so long as he thus persevered, or did not give alms, he must for an equal period do penance on bread and water; but should he remain obstinate in his avarice, he is to be separated from the faithful.‡

APPENDIX III.

CURSUS SCOTORUM, OR MISSAL OF THE ANCIENT IRISH.

THE liturgy usually called *Cursus Scotorum* was that which had been first brought to Ireland by St. Patrick, and was the only one that had been used until about the close of the sixth century, that is, during the times of the first class of Irish saints. About this period the Gallican liturgy (*Cursus Gallorum*) was, it is probable, introduced into this country. The *Cursus Scotorum* is supposed to have been the liturgy originally drawn up and used by St. Mark the Evangelist; it was afterwards followed by SS. Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, and other Greek fathers; then by Cassian, Honoratus of Lerins, St. Cæsarius of Arles, St. Lupus of Troies, and St. German of Auxerre, from whom St. Patrick received it when setting out on his mission to Ireland. A copy of the *Cursus Scotorum* has been found by Mabillon, in the ancient monastery of Bobbio, of which establishment Columbanus was the founder, and which missal that learned writer believes to have been written at least one thousand years before his time. The canon in this liturgy is almost the same as that of the Roman missal; but in the *Communicantes*, after Cosmæ et Damiani, it has Hilarii, Martini, Ambrosii, Augustini, Gregorii, Hieronymi, Benedicti. It contains two masses for the dead; one a general mass, and the other *Missa Sacerdotis Defuncti*. Among the feasts are the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, the Cathedra S. Petri, the Invention of the Holy Cross, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, the feasts of SS. Peter and Paul, of SS. James and John, of St. Michael the Archangel, of St. Stephen, St. Sigismund, and St. Martin of Tours. It has a penitential annexed to it, and a credo, the same in substance as that called the Apostles' Creed, but not as forming a part of the Mass.

* Si laicus semel furtum fecerit, reddat quod furavit, et in tribus quadragesimis cum pane et aqua pœniteat. Si sæpius fecerit et non habet unde reddat, annis duobus in pane et aqua pœniteat; et alio anno tribus quadragesimis, et sic postea in Pascha reconcilietur.

† Qui odit fratrem suum, quamdiu non repellit odium, tamdiu cum pane et aqua sit. Qui causa invidiæ detrahit, vel libenter audit detrahentem, tribus diebus in pane et aqua separetur. —Ex cap. ix.

‡ Si quis usuras undecumque exegerit, quatuor annis pœniteat, uno ex his in pane et aqua. Quicumque hospites non recepit in domo sua, sicut Dominus præcepit, quanto tempore hospites non recepit, neque eleemosynam fecit, tanto tempore pœnitet in pane et aqua, permanens autem in avaritia alienetur.—Ex cap. viii.

The *Cursus Gallorum* had been introduced into Ireland during the times of the second class of Irish saints. This liturgy is ascribed to St. John the Evangelist, and was followed by St. Polycarp, St. Ignatius, St. Irenæus and others. In progress of time it contained a great number of masses for Irish saints, and particularly the edition which had been used by the monks of the Columbian Order. This *Cursus* continued until the twelfth century, when the Roman liturgy and offices were introduced into Ireland by the legate, Gillebert, bishop of Limerick, and were universally received about the time of St. Malachy.

APPENDIX IV.

REMONSTRANCE OR DECLARATION OF LOYALTY PROPOSED BY FATHER PETER WALSH.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.—Your majesty's faithful subjects, the Roman Catholic clergy of your majesty's kingdom of Ireland, do most humbly represent this their present state and deplorable condition.

That being intrusted by the indispensable commission of the King of kings with the cure of souls and the care of their flocks, in order to the administration of sacraments and teaching the people that perfect obedience which, for conscience sake, they are bound to pay to your majesty's commands, they are loaden with calumnies and persecuted with severity.

That being obliged, by the allegiance they owe and ought to swear unto your majesty, to reveal all conspiracies and practices against your person and royal authority that come to their knowledge, they are themselves clamoured against as conspirators plotting the destruction of the English among them, without any ground that may give the least colour to so foul a crime to pass for probable in the judgment of any indifferent person.

That their crimes are made as numerous and as divers as are the inventions of their adversaries; and because they cannot with freedom appear to justify their innocence, all the fictions and allegations against them are received as undoubted verities; and what is yet more mischievous, the laity, upon whose consciences the character of priesthood gives them an influence, suffer under all the crimes thus falsely imputed to them; it being their adversaries' principal design, that the Irish, whose estates they enjoy, should be reputed persons unfit and no way worthy of any title to your majesty's mercy.

That no wood comes amiss to make arrows for their destruction; for, as if the Roman Catholic clergy, whom they esteem most criminal, were or ought to be a society so perfect, as no evil or indiscreet person should be found amongst them, they are all of them generally cried down for any crime, whether true or feigned, which is imputed to one of them; and as if no words could be spoken, no letter written but with the common consent of all of them, the whole clergy must suffer for that which is laid to the charge of any particular person among them.

We know what odium all the Catholic clergy lie under by reason of calumnies with which our tenets in religion and our dependence upon the pope's authority are aspersed; and we humbly beg your majesty's pardon, to vindicate both by the ensuing protestation, which we make in the sight of heaven and in the presence of your majesty, sincerely and truly, without equivocation or mental reservation.

We do acknowledge and confess your majesty to be our true and lawful king, supreme lord, and rightful sovereign, of this realm of Ireland, and of all other your majesty's dominions. And, therefore, we acknowledge and confess ourselves to be obliged under pain of sin to obey your majesty in all civil and temporal affairs, as much as any other of your majesty's subjects, and as the laws and rules of government in this kingdom do require at our hands. And that, notwithstanding any power or pretension of the pope or see of Rome, or any sentence or declaration of what kind or quality soever given or to be given by the pope, his predecessors, or successors, or by any authority spiritual or temporal proceeding or derived from him or his see, against your majesty or royal authority, we will still acknowledge and perform to the uttermost of our abilities our faithful loyalty and true allegiance to your majesty. And we openly disclaim and renounce all foreign power, be it either papal or princely, spiritual or temporal, inasmuch as it may seem able or shall pretend to free, discharge, or absolve us from this obligation, or shall any way give us leave or licence to raise tumults, bear arms, or offer any violence to your majesty's person, royal authority, or to the state or government. Being all of us ready not only to discover and make known to your majesty and to your ministers all the treasons made against your majesty or them which shall come to our hearing, but, also, to lose our lives in the defence of your majesty's person and royal authority; and to resist with our best endeavours all conspiracies and attempts against your majesty, be they framed or sent under what pretence, or patronized by what foreign power or authority soever. And, further, we profess, that all absolute princes and supreme governors, of what religion soever they be, are God's lieutenants on earth, and that obedience is due to them according to the laws of each commonwealth respectively in all civil and temporal affairs. And, therefore, we do here protest against all doctrine and authority to the contrary.

And we do hold it impious and against the word of God to maintain that any private subject may kill or murder the anointed of God, his prince, though of a different belief and religion from his. And we abhor and detest the practice thereof as damnable and wicked.

These being the tenets of our religion, in point of loyalty and submission to your majesty's commands, and our dependence on the see of Rome no way intrenching upon that perfect obedience which, by our birth and by all laws divine and human, we are bound to pay to your majesty, our natural and lawful sovereign, we humbly beg, prostrate at your majesty's feet, that you would be pleased to protect us from the severe persecution we suffer, merely for our profession in religion; leaving those that are or hereafter shall be guilty of other crimes (and there have been such in all times, as well by their writings as by their actions,) to the punishment prescribed by the law.

APPENDIX V.

REMONSTRANCE OR DECLARATION OF LOYALTY, SIGNED BY THE NATIONAL CONGREGATION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY OF IRELAND IN 1666.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.—We, your majesty's subjects, the Roman Catholic clergy of the kingdom of Ireland together assembled, do hereby declare and solemnly protest before God and his holy angels, that we own and acknowledge your majesty to be our true and lawful king, supreme lord, and undoubted sovereign, as well of this realm of Ireland as of all other your majesty's dominions; consequently, we confess ourselves bound in con-

science to be obedient to your majesty in all civil and temporal affairs, as any subject ought to be to his prince, and as the laws of God and Nature require at our hands. Therefore, we promise, that we will inviolably bear true allegiance to your majesty, your lawful heirs and successors; and that no power on earth shall be able to withdraw us from our duty herein; and that we will, even to the loss of our blood, if occasion requires, assert your majesty's rights against any that shall invade the same, or attempt to deprive yourself, or your lawful heirs and successors, of any part thereof. And to the end, this our sincere protestation may more clearly appear, we further declare, that it is not our doctrine that subjects may be discharged, absolved, or freed from the obligation of performing their duty of true obedience and allegiance to their prince; much less may we allow of or pass as tolerable any doctrine that perniciously and against the word of God maintains, *that any private subject may lawfully kill or murder the anointed of God, his prince.* Wherefore, pursuant to the deep apprehension we have of the abomination and sad consequences of its practice, we do engage ourselves to discover unto your majesty, or some of your ministers, any attempt of that kind, rebellion, or conspiracy against your majesty's person, crown, or royal authority, that comes to our knowledge, whereby such horrid evils may be prevented. Finally, as we hold the premises to be agreeable to good conscience, so we religiously swear the due observance thereof to our utmost, and we will preach and teach the same to our respective flocks.* In witness whereof we do hereunto subscribe, this 15th day of June, 1666.

APPENDIX VI.

RESCRIPT OF MONSGR. J. B. QUARANTOTTI, ADDRESSED TO THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM POYNTER.

TRANSLATION.

Most Illustrious and Right Reverend Lord—We have learned with heartfelt delight, that the law proposed last year for the relief of the Catholics of the British empire, and rejected by a small majority of votes, is likely to be brought forward in the sessions of the present year. Would to heaven that this so desirable a law might be at length passed; and that the Catholics, who have always given the noblest proofs of their loyalty and fidelity, may finally be relieved from the heavy yoke which has so long oppressed them; so that under a just equality of honours and privileges, they may apply themselves with alacrity to the discharge of those duties which religion and the good of their country equally demand—a result of which the pleasing hope may be indulged from the goodness of a most beneficent monarch and the wisdom of a renowned empire, which by its equity, prudence, and other virtues has, as well in all times past, as more especially in the present, acquired so much glory in the eyes of surrounding nations. And as it has been submitted to us that certain questions and differences of opinion have arisen among the bishop touching the condition on which the Catholics were to be [illegible] a favour other subjects; we, who during the absence of the chief pontiff, are charged with the care of the sacred missions, and have been furnished with all ecclesiastical powers for that purpose, have thought it a duty attached to our functions to clear up all ambiguities, and remove every difficulty that might impede an argument so desirable, and, on those points to which the episcopal power might not extend, to supply its deficiencies by the authority and consent of the Holy See.

* To this was appended the three Sorbonne Declarations.—See cent. xvii. chap. i.

Having, therefore, convened a council of the most learned dignitaries and divines, the letter of your lordship and that of the archbishop of Dublin being first read, and the matter being then maturely deliberated upon in a particular meeting, it has been decreed, *that the Catholics may, with willingness and gratitude, receive and accept of the law which was proposed for their emancipation last year*, according to the form which has been submitted by your lordship.

One point there is which requires some explanation, namely, the second part of the oath, by which the clergy are bound to hold no communion with the pope or his court, which may directly or indirectly tend to subvert, or in any manner disturb the established religion of the state. It is universally known, that by divine obligation the principal duty of the ministers of the Church is, to propagate the Catholic faith as the only guide to eternal happiness, and to combat all errors contradictory to it. This is proved equally by the precepts of the Gospel, and by the examples of the apostles and their successors. Now, if a Catholic should recall to the orthodox faith a Protestant individual, he may be supposed to have incurred the guilt of perjury, inasmuch as, by withdrawing that individual from the Protestant Church, he may be considered as having weakened it in a certain degree. If the matter be thus understood, the oath cannot be lawfully taken, being inconsistent with Catholic principle; but if the meaning of the legislators is, that the ministers of the Catholic Church are not forbidden to make use of preaching, persuasion, and advice, and are only prohibited from employing force or fraud for the disturbance of the Protestant Church and establishment; that is sound doctrine and agrees perfectly with our principles. It will be your part, therefore, with all zeal and humility to implore government, for the purpose of tranquillizing and keeping unhurt the consciences of the clergy, to put forth some modification or explanation of any oath of that kind that may be proposed to be taken, which removing all ambiguity may allow full permission for peaceful preaching and persuasion. And should the proposed law be already passed in the same words, or should the government decline to make any change therein, let the clergy acquiesce, and it shall be enough that they openly declare, that they swear in such sense only as that the orthodox faith shall remain inviolate by their oath, and not otherwise. And in order that their said declaration may become known to all, and even serve as an example to posterity, it shall be preserved in the proper archives. It would be desirable also, if it could be effected, that a declaration should be obtained from some members of the British parliament, that the government imposes the oath on the Catholic clergy in this exact sense and no other. As to the other points which, according to your letter, are contained in the proposed law, they are matter of charitable indulgence, and as such acceded to by the Holy See.

As to the desire of the government to be informed of the loyalty of those who are promoted to the dignity of bishop or dean, and to be assured that they possess those qualifications which belong to a faithful subject; as to the intention also of forming a board for the ascertainment of those points, by inquiring into the character of those who shall be presented, and reporting thereon to the king, according to the tenor of your lordship's letter; and, finally, as to the determination of government to have none admitted to those dignities, who either are not natural born subjects, or who have not been residents in the kingdom for four years preceding; as all these provisions regard matters that are merely political, they are entitled to all indulgence. It is better, indeed, that the prelates of our Church should be acceptable to the king, in order that they may exercise their ministry with its full concurrence, and also that there may be no doubts of their integrity even with those who are not in the bosom of the Church. For, "it behoveth a bishop (as the apostle teaches, 1 Tim. iii. 7) even to have a good witness from those who are not of the Church." Upon these principles, we, in virtue of the authority intrusted to us, grant permission, that those who are elected to and proposed for bishoprics and deaneries by the clergy, may be admitted or rejected by the king, according to the law proposed. When, therefore, the clergy shall have, according to the usual custom, elected those whom they shall judge most worthy in the Lord

to possess those dignities, the metropolitan of the province, in Ireland, or the senior vicar apostolic of England and Scotland, shall give notice of the election, that the king's approbation or dissent may be had thereupon. If the candidates be rejected, others shall be proposed, who may be acceptable to the king; but if approved of, the metropolitan or vicar apostolic, as above, shall send the documents to the Sacred Congregation here, the members whereof having duly weighed the merits of each, shall take measures for the obtainment of canonical institution from his holiness. I perceive, also, that another duty is assigned to the board above mentioned, namely, that they are charged to inspect all letters written by the ecclesiastical power to any of the British clergy, and examine carefully whether they contain anything which may be injurious to the government, or anywise disturb the public tranquillity. Inasmuch as a communication on ecclesiastical or spiritual affairs with the head of the Church is not forbidden, and as the inspection of the board relates to political subjects only, this also must be submitted to. It is right that the government should not have cause to entertain any suspicion with regard to the communication between us. What we write will bear the eyes of the world, for we intermeddle not with matters of a political nature, but are occupied about those things which the divine and the ecclesiastical law, and the good order of the Church, appear to require. Those matters only are to be kept under the seal of silence which pertain to the jurisdiction of conscience within us; and of this, it appears to me sufficient care has been taken in the clauses of the law alluded to. We are perfectly convinced, that so wise a government as that of Great Britain, while it studies to provide for the public security, does not on that account wish to compel the Catholics to desert their religion, but would rather be pleased that they should be careful observers of it. For our holy and truly divine religion is most favourable to public authority, is the best support of thrones, and the most powerful teacher both of loyalty and patriotism. There is nothing, therefore, in the nature of things, more wished for, or more grateful to the Holy See, than that the completest concord, and most perfect mutual confidence, may be maintained between the British government and its Catholic subjects; that the governors of the state may have no possible cause to doubt of the loyalty, fidelity, and attachment, of the Catholics; and that the Catholics, may, on their part, discharge the duties they owe their country with all possible alacrity, sincerity, and zeal. Wherefore, we exhort all in the Lord, but especially the bishops, that laying aside all contention, for the edification of others, all may with one heart entertain this only wish and sentiment, *that no room shall be given to schism*, nor any injury done to the Catholic cause. But if a law shall be passed, by which the Catholics may be relieved from the penalties to which they are liable, then we desire that all shall not only embrace it with alacrity, in manner as we have already said, but also express the utmost gratitude to his majesty and his illustrious parliament, for so great a favour, and prove themselves worthy of it. Finally, we entreat your lordship to take measures that this letter shall be communicated to all bishops and vicars apostolic of the empire, and in the hope that they will promptly and unreservedly conform to the things which, in virtue of the power assigned to us, have been decreed, we pray Almighty God that He may long preserve your lordship; and, in the mean time, I declare myself attached to you with all respect,

Your most obedient servant,

J. B. QUARANTOTTI, Vice-Prefect.
M. A. GALEASSI, Substit.

To the most Illustrious and Right Rev.
WM. POYNTER, Bishop of Halys, Vicar
Apostolic of the London District,
London.

From the College of the Propaganda at Rome,
16th February, 1814.

APPENDIX VII.

GENOESE LETTER TO THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM PO'

TRANSLATION.

Most Illustrious and Right Reverend Lord,—Your Lordship lately informed me of your intended speedy return to England, earnestly requesting me, at the same time, at length to make known to you the sentiments of his holiness with regard to the conditions to be *acceded to* and *permitted*, in order that the Catholics may obtain the desired Act of Emancipation from government. His holiness, therefore, to whose decision, as was my official duty, I had referred the whole subject, being forced by the present unexpected change of the times again to abide far from the city, before the examination thereof, which had long since commenced, could be fully completed, has, in his exceeding prudence, declined to pronounce in a solemn form his judgment on a matter of so great moment. He has, however deigned to declare to me his sentiments, with regard to the conditions which *alone* (totally rejecting all others whatsoever hitherto proposed) his beloved children, the Catholics of Great Britain, can with a safe conscience accede to, in case the long-hoped-for Act of their Emancipation be passed. For his holiness trusts, that the august king of Great Britain, and the most serene prince, his son, in their own singular clemency, wisdom, and generosity, will most certainly crown with new favours and benefits those already conferred on the Catholics; especially as they have found them always most faithful and prepared, with the Divine assistance, to endure the worst dangers, rather than fail in anywise in their duty to their sovereign.

The points, however, that may now come under consideration, and which the aforesaid government, to secure its own and the state's tranquillity and safety, seems to require on the part of its Catholic subjects, are: the oath of allegiance to be taken by them; the mode of appointing bishops to the vacant sees; and the revision of all rescripts, breves, and constitutions whatsoever of the sovereign pontiff, before the same be put in execution.

As to the first, his holiness flatters himself that the government of Great Britain would by no means exact from the Catholics any other oath but such as, whilst it gives to the government itself a still surer pledge of the fidelity of the Catholics, may, at the same time, neither clash in the least with the principles of the Catholic religion, nor cast any affront upon the same most holy religion of Christ. In case the aforesaid Act of Emancipation be enacted so as *in every respect* (omninò) to be favourable to the Catholics, his said holiness will permit them to take that one of the following forms of oath, which the government shall think most advisable; for each of them seems perfectly calculated to answer both the above-mentioned ends, and therefore cannot but satisfy the government.

The first is as follows: I swear and promise, upon the holy evangelists, obedience and fidelity to his royal majesty, George the Third. I also promise that I will not hold any communication, be privy to any plot, or keep up any suspicious connexion, either at home or abroad, to injure the public peace; and if it shall come to my knowledge, that anything is projecting, either in my diocese or elsewhere, to the prejudice of the state, I will reveal the same to government.

The second runs thus: I swear and promise that I will continue faithful and entirely subject and obedient to his royal majesty, George the Third, and

that I will not in anywise disturb the peace and tranquillity of this realm, nor give any aid or assistance to any person who, either directly or indirectly, may be an enemy to his majesty and the present government of England.

The third: I swear and promise obedience and true fidelity to our most beloved lord, George the Third, whom I will, with all my might, defend against all conspiracies, assaults, or attempts whatsoever against his person, crown, and dignity; and if it shall come to my knowledge that any such are forming against him, I will reveal the same to his aforesaid royal majesty. Moreover, I also faithfully swear and promise, that I will, with all my might, preserve, support, and defend the succession of the crown in the family of his majesty, against any person or persons whatsoever, within or without the realm, who may boast or pretend a right to the crown thereof.

Hitherto of the oath. Now of the election of bishops.

With regard to the latter, his holiness first most earnestly exhorts, and absolutely commands those whose custom it is to name to vacant sees the persons to be presented and recommended to the Holy See, to use the utmost care and diligence, that such only be admitted into the number of candidates who, to their other pastoral virtues, join the most conspicuous prudence, love of peace, and fidelity to his royal majesty. Moreover, although any one of the proposed forms of oath to be taken by the newly elected bishops may be more than sufficient to content the government; nevertheless, for the greater satisfaction of the said government, his said holiness will not hesitate to *permit that those, to whom it appertains, may exhibit a list of the candidates to the king's ministers, in order that government, if perchance any of them be disliked or suspected, may immediately point out the same, to have him expunged*, but so as that a sufficient number may remain for his holiness, out of which to elect those whom he may judge in the Lord most worthy to govern the vacant churches.

As soon, therefore, as the legislature of Great Britain shall promulgate, in due and authentic form, its aforesaid Act of Emancipation, conformable to the sentiments of his holiness, as above expressed, with which I presume the British government is already acquainted, his holiness will, on his part, likewise send a timely brief to all the Catholic bishops and faithful of Great Britain, in which he will publish to the universe his sense of gratitude towards the clemency and generosity of the most powerful British government, will exhort the Catholics, especially after this newly-received favour, to adhere with still more fervent loyalty to their august king; and finally, in a solemn form, will *permit* them to observe what I have hitherto stated with regard to the oath and the election of bishops.

As to the revision of rescripts, of which mention is made by me in the head of this letter, or, as it is termed, "The Royal Exequatur," it cannot become the subject even of a discussion. For the same, as your lordship well knows, being essentially injurious to the liberty of that superintendence of the Church which is of divine appointment, it would be truly criminal to allow or concede it to the lay power, and, in fact, it has never been permitted to any country. For if some, even Catholic governments, arrogate such powers to themselves, that is to be attributed not to the right exercise of due authority but to an abuse which, to prevent greater evils, the Holy See is forced, it is true, to endure and tolerate, but can by no means sanction. However, that no injury or danger whatsoever is to be dreaded in England to the public peace or his royal majesty from this indispensably necessary independence of the supreme head of the Church in feeding and instructing the flock of the Lord, besides other most evident proofs, which it would be tedious to specify, and which are most notorious, the following circumstance alone should be a sufficient security—namely, that the object in question is fully provided for by the very method prescribed to the bishops and vicars apostolic, which is to be found in Article I. of the "Questionarium," published by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, where they are severely prohibited from inserting in the reports, which they are bound to send to the Holy See touching their respective churches, anything that may regard the political state of the country. Hence it is to be confidently hoped that the government will by no

means persevere in its determination on this head, since the Church cannot yield her right; and the exercise of such a right, as constant experience [illegible] is in nowise injurious to government.

To conclude, I have been induced to give [illegible] in a view that the same may serve as a rule [illegible] bishop, whom in the meantime I heartily pray the most [illegible] almighty God to bless with a prosperous journey and abundance of every happiness.

LAURENCE CARDINAL LITTA,
Prefect of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

To the Right Rev. WM. POYNTER,
Bishop of Halys and Vicar Apostolic of the London District.

At Genoa, 26th April, 1815.

THE END.

AUG 75
N. MANCHESTER,
INDIANA